

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

*the* French Revolutionary  
*and* Napoleonic Wars

A Political, Social, and Military History



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VOLUME THREE

Entries R–Z

Primary Source Documents

Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Editor

A B C  C L I O

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## Preface and Acknowledgments

**A**pocryphal though the story may be, it has long been asserted that when, at the close of the Battle of Waterloo, General Cambronne, commander of Napoleon's Imperial Guard, found himself confined in a square of grenadiers and surrounded at close quarters by British troops, he answered the summons to surrender with a declaration as eloquent as it was defiant: "The Guard dies but does not surrender!" Other accounts dismiss this as sentimental nonsense, insisting that he merely cried out a simple expletive.

Perhaps it matters little to which version of events one ascribes the truth, for the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars produced so many instances of heroism, folly, triumph, and tragedy that one may be forgiven for regarding the characters and events of the time as somehow larger than life. Indeed, the extraordinary and undying appeal of the subject is easily explained, for it was an age when soldiers, resplendent in ornate uniforms, still stood shoulder to shoulder in the firing line, or fought on horseback, wielding sword, saber, or lance. The impersonal era of the "invisible battlefield" had not yet dawned; a soldier in 1815 usually confronted his opponent at less than a hundred yards' distance—and often hand-to-hand. He could even trace the path of a round shot, emerging from the smoke of the cannon whence it came, bounding toward him.

It was an age when great literature and great music flourished; when empires could be vanquished in a few short months, only to rise again to renew the struggle a few years later; an age when a single day's encounter—as at Trafalgar or Waterloo—could literally change the course of history. It was an age when the snows of Russia could expose the vulnerability of the greatest commander of his—and perhaps of every other—time and reduce his army of gargantuan proportions to a shadow of its former self. It was an age when new principles and ideologies—some enthusiastically welcomed, others detested—were spread with reforming zeal at the point of the bayonet; a time when political objectives ceased to

have limits and battle became a brutal contest for a decisive result rather than a distasteful measure of last resort. If military technology had changed little in the preceding century, the end to which it was applied unmistakably had. For these reasons, among many others, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars continue to fascinate students, scholars, and a respectable portion of the public alike.

My motives in preparing this encyclopedia have been numerous, including a desire to produce a useful work of reference while the bicentennial of so many seminal events is now heightening both public and scholarly interest in this period; to present a much more thorough coverage of the conflict than has been possible in existing single-volume dictionaries and encyclopedias; to provide a resource that includes exhaustive listings of the vast and ever-expanding literature on the subject; and to bring together the wider social, cultural, scientific, and economic aspects of the period in order to place the military conflict into proper perspective.

However ambitious my intentions when this project commenced, I soon discovered that a work of this size can neither be assembled seamlessly nor present facts—not least troop strengths and losses—with definitive accuracy. If Cambronne took pause at the prospect of imminent death (cruel fate, in the event, left him merely wounded), at least he was spared the daunting prospect of editing a work of some 980,000 words. Still, it has been, for the most part, a labor of love, for I have been fortunate in having been able to draw upon the expertise of contributors—many of them leading authorities in their particular fields—from around the world, including the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland, Russia, Australia, and elsewhere. Their efficiency and dedication ensured that mercifully few were the moments when I felt myself struggling to cross an editorial Berezina, with howling Cossacks at my heels on one side of the icy river and, worse still, imminent deadlines looming on the other.

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## Notes on Technical Points

### *Aristocratic and Other Titles*

A good deal of time can be spent trying to master the intricacies of aristocratic titles of this period, though one risks premature death doing so. Titles given in the entry head are those by which the individual was known by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, and it is important to stress that they may not have received such a title until well into the period under study. Indeed, many titles were not granted until the first defeat of France in 1814, in recognition for the services rendered by the recipient.

The full title of an individual may be found in the headword, except in the cases of French marshals, who often held such lengthy titles as to render their headwords unwieldy. Their full titles may be found in the entry “*Marshalate*.”

Great care has been taken to render all aristocratic titles as accurately as possible in the text, notwithstanding the acknowledged problems that they present. As many titles in use on the Continent defy perfect English translation, recourse has been made wherever possible to supply their proper title in their native language. Hence, *comte* is preferred to *count*; *freiherr* instead of the loosely translated *baron*; *graf* instead of the inadequate semi-equivalent, *count*; these are to name but a few examples. It should also be noted that in Britain, *marquis* can be spelled *marquess*.

Even if one masters an understanding of this minefield, there is always the problem of advancement up the ladder of ranks. The case of the Duke of Wellington is a good example of this. He began his service in the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 as Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley; that is to say, while he had been knighted, he had not yet been raised to the peerage. After the Battle of Talavera in 1809, however, he became Viscount Wellington; in February 1812, the Earl of Wellington; in October of that year, the Marquis (or the anglicized *Marquess*, which is not used in this work) of Wellington; and finally, Duke of Wellington, after the fall of France in 1814. Technically speaking, therefore, he cannot in all accuracy be referred to as the Duke of Wellington during his period of service in Iberia, notwithstanding frequent errors to the contrary in numerous sources. Thus, with respect to Wellington, and indeed with all other individuals—whatever their nationality—holding aristocratic rank, considerable care has been taken to ensure that the subject’s title is correct within the context under discussion. In a few cases, a series of changing titles can cause confusion, such as with the Duke of Wellington’s brother, Richard Colley Wellesley, who moved progressively from first Viscount Wellesley, to the second Earl of Mornington, to first Marquis Wellesley. Consistency

dictates that he is identified by his proper title according to the period under discussion.

Those British officers who in the course of their careers received a knighthood are identified as such with the title *Sir* appearing before their names. Where, however, they subsequently received a peerage, it is common practice to drop *Sir* in favor of the aristocratic title.

A number of the more prominent Prussian generals received aristocratic titles in the wake of the campaign of 1813; hence, readers will note references to “Gebhard von Blücher” in numerous entries, for instance, yet “Gebhard Blücher von Wahlstatt” in those covering the period after which he received his new title. Metternich held the title *Graf* (Count) until late 1813, after which he became *Fürst* (Prince), though he did not use the title *von*. He thus appears in slightly different guises between 1813 and 1814. Similarly, Napoleon made many of his generals counts beginning in 1808, and thus readers will find this designation for those individuals so ennobled, but only in those entries which cover the period after which the title was conferred. It is also often the case that readers will encounter an abbreviated form of a title on first mention, the full treatment being reserved for the headword of the entry.

In a few cases there is dispute as to whether or not an individual was entitled to hold a particular title, such as with *Sir* Sidney Smith and August *von* Gneisenau. In both cases, common acceptance has prevailed, and these men are identified as bearing the titles identified above. Then there is the considerably simpler problem of correcting historical error, such as the widely but mistaken belief that General Jean Andoche Junot was a marshal, which he was not. Nor, as mentioned above, was Wellington a duke until after Napoleon’s first defeat.

Individuals bearing aristocratic names are often identified solely by such names, and not by their family names, though it is important to note that a number of personalities were identified by their first names, as with Archduke Charles, or Eugène de Beauharnais—the latter always being known as Eugène and never as Beauharnais. The form of address for Napoleon also raises difficulties, which is dealt with at length below under “*Personal Names*.”

### *Medals, Decorations, and Orders*

For purposes of space, discussion of the names of the medals, decorations, and orders held by individuals mentioned in the text has, in most cases, been excluded.

### *Punctuation, Spelling, Capitalization, and General Usage*

Readers should note that the encyclopedia, with significant exceptions, as where concessions have been made to scholarly convention in the field, generally conforms to the not universally accepted *Chicago Manual of Style* (CMS).

Some capitalization decisions will cause raised eyebrows on the European side of the Atlantic, where titles are normally capitalized, for example, *Emperor* of Austria, as opposed to *emperor* of Austria or *king* of Italy. With respect to French titles, this work conforms to the French method, employing lower case for aristocracy, such as *comte* de Provence. Britons may find such forms as *chancellor of the exchequer*, *leader of the House of Commons*, and *secretary of state for war and the colonies*, rather offensive to the eyes; however, in an effort to bridge CMS style and scholarly convention I have tried (whether boldly or foolishly) to reach a compromise in favor of historians. It should be noted that the CMS does make concessions to using uppercase for British aristocratic titles, if not so much for political offices. This work has also deviated in some cases from the CMS with respect to the capitalization of *Emperor*, when referring to Napoleon, as well as with respect to (among others) *Revolutionary*, *Romanticism*, *Allied*, and *Allies*, the latter in reference to belligerent states forming part of a coalition against France. Conferred French titles, such as *King of Rome*, for Napoleon's son, and *King of Spain*, for Joseph, Napoleon's brother, also appear capitalized, whereas this is not the case for hereditary titles.

Hyphens used in the French language can pose particular problems for an editor, not least because different sources identify individuals both with and without hyphens between forenames. For example, *Marie Louise* appears sometimes with, sometimes without hyphens, depending on the source.

Punctuation presented various problems, not least because, like grammar and spelling, it is employed slightly differently on either side of the Atlantic. It is of course simple enough to use American spelling uniformly, and thus one will not find *centre*, but *center*, and *caliber* instead of *calibre*; *while* instead of *whilst*; *that* instead of *which*; *waggon* instead of *wagon*; *color* instead of *colour*; *toward* instead of *towards*, and so on. The dominance of American, over British, English in this work is no more apparent than in the presence of the split infinitive, abhorrent to British eyes and ears, yet a common and acceptable feature of English as spoken and written in North America. "To boldly go where no man has gone before" continues to produce smiles of derision in Britain, and not for reasons of poor grammar alone. Those accustomed to British English will also note that this work follows the recent American practice of dropping hyphens between compound nouns or with ranks, thus producing such words such *antirevolutionary*, *noncommissioned*, and *Vice Admiral*; still, I have allowed some hyphens to be retained, as with *demi-brigade*, *pro-royalist*, and *sans-culotte*. The original orthography for *flèche* (a V-shaped earthwork) is preferred over the more modern *flèche*.

Where *revolutionary* refers specifically to the French Revolution it appears capitalized: The French *Revolutionaries*; a wave of *Revolutionary* fervor; *Revolutionary* governments in France, and so on. Not so, however, for *royalist*, *republican*, or other descriptive terms which have no association with a recognized major political movement.

The use of *army* and *Army* has been dictated by the following rule: Where discussion focuses on the entire institution, it is capitalized; where it discusses a specific army in the field or a specific fleet at sea, it is rendered in lower case. Hence, it may be said that thousands of Irishmen enlisted in the British *Army* during the course of the Napoleonic Wars, whereas the British *army* landed in Portugal in 1808. Similarly, the Prussian *Army* underwent numerous reforms between 1808 and 1813, whereas the Prussian *army* in 1813 was led by General Gebhard von Blücher. Readers should also note that where the term *Royal Navy* appears, this is invariably a reference to the naval establishment of Britain, there being no such institution, technically speaking, as the "British Navy," in the same way that one may properly refer to the *U.S. Army* but not to the "American Army."

Where the names of armies do not always betray their nationality, they are identified, thus: (French) Army of Italy; (French) Army of Rome; (French) Army of Batavia; (Russian) Army of Poland; and so on.

#### *Personal Names*

Except in the cases of those known better by their aristocratic name, every effort has been made to supply the forename as well as the surname of every individual mentioned in the text. Yet forenames are sometimes disputed by historians, and even an individual's entire name can appear in various texts in a bewildering array of combinations, not least in the cases of Claude Perrin Victor and Toussaint Louverture.

There is also the conundrum of the manner by which the leader of France should be identified: whether *Bonaparte* as in his early years, *Bonaparte* somewhat later, or *Napoleon* (or, strictly properly, *Napoléon*) throughout. *Bonaparte* is used in the present work for the period until his assumption of the Imperial title in 1804, and *Napoleon* thereafter. Readers should therefore not be surprised to find that the same person may appear as *Bonaparte* and *Napoleon* in the same entry, depending on the period under discussion. For obvious purposes of space and redundancy, readers will not find "Bonaparte, Napoleon" in the "See also" section of the entries. Nor have Napoleon and Josephine been identified as *Napoléon* and *Joséphine* which, though technically correct, are very rarely rendered as such in an English-speaking context.

It was a common feature of this period for nationals of one country to serve in the army of another. Thus, numerous Germans held senior positions in the Russian Army; hence, one may encounter names that seem out of place, such as Peter Khristianovich (originally Ludwig Adolf) Graf zu Wittgenstein, the son of a Westphalian nobleman who settled in Russia. Similarly, some officers, as the descendants of immigrants, appear to have unlikely names. Thus, there was Joaquín Blake, a Spanish general of Irish descent, and Jacques Etienne Macdonald, a French marshal of Scottish extraction. Various Italians and Walloons served in the Austrian Army, on the basis of whose names alone, given no other information, one could be forgiven for assuming that they fought for the French.

In cases where an individual is best known by his or her name in its anglicized form, it has been rendered so. Thus, the Austrian emperor is given as *Francis* rather than *Franz*, the king of Prussia as *Frederick William* rather than as *Friedrich Wilhelm*, and the king of Spain as *Charles* rather than *Carlos*.

Russian names, being transliterated by different historians in different permutations, will lead one to find, between sources, *Kamenski*, *Kamensky*, and *Kamenskoi*; and *Kutusov* and *Kutuzov*. *Alsusieff*, *Olsusieff*, and *Olsufiev*, which appear in some sources, have been reduced to one form here, as with *Seniavin* versus *Senyavin*. In all such cases, care has been taken to provide the closest transliteration possible.

Individuals with hyphenated names are identified first by their full names, but subsequently by the generally accepted shortened version, if one exists. Thus, *Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld* appears as *Saxe-Coburg*, *Kolowrat-Krakowsky* as *Kolowrat*, and so on. Where two or more forms are possible, such as *Villaret-Joyeuse* and *Villaret de Joyeuse*, the more commonly accepted of the two has been given.

#### *Military Ranks*

Military ranks naturally varied between armies, many of which had no equivalents elsewhere, thus presenting the military historian with a veritable minefield of problems concerning proper translation. This work provides the specific ranks for the Austrians and British, but has not done so for the French, Russians, or Prussians, on the basis that, in the case of the latter three, it may usually be assumed that a general commanding a brigade held the rank of brigadier or *général de brigade*, and if in command of a division, then a major general or *général de division*, and a lieutenant general if commanding an entire army.

Naturally, numerous officers mentioned in the text received promotion through the course of their respective careers. Readers should be aware, therefore, that whereas a general officer may be identified as a brigadier general in

one entry, he may appear as a major general or lieutenant general in another, as appropriate. Similarly, a French general officer whose name appears in the context of the 1790s may be identified later as a marshal. In short, attention has been paid to provide the correct rank of individuals according to the period under discussion. As such, Nelson is variously identified as Captain Horatio Nelson, Commodore Sir Horatio Nelson, and Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson, Viscount Nelson, as the period in his career dictates.

#### *Ships' Names*

Ships' names have been given as they were known by the navies that commissioned them, as it is never acceptable to translate them. Having said this, the reader must be aware of the fact that the Royal Navy, on capturing an enemy vessel and choosing to incorporate it into its own service, sometimes retained the prize's original name, a practice that accounts for the large number of ships in the Royal Navy of the time that bore French names. This practice also accounts for the fact that the rival fleets at Trafalgar possessed several ships bearing the same, or very similar, names. Readers should also be aware that a ship's armament, that is, the number of guns it carried, is indicated on the first reference, for example, *Bellerophon* (74 guns), but thereafter *guns* is not repeated, as being superfluous.

Where foreign terms arise, a translation is sometimes provided, though the original is usually preferred. Such is the case with the names of the various French armies of the Revolutionary period. One may encounter the *Armée du Nord* in one entry, or the *Army of the North* in another; the *Sambre-et-Meuse* in one, and the *Sambre and Meuse* in another. The decision to render such names in French or English has largely been left to the discretion of the contributors themselves, since there is no risk of confusion for the reader. In the cases of the principal Allied armies of 1813, that is, of *Silesia*, of *Bohemia*, and of *the North*, English is used, consistent with the practice adopted by all English-language texts covering this campaign.

#### *Dates*

It is reasonable to assume that dates ought to pose no problems for the student of history. Not so: Until 1917 the Russians used the Julian Calendar, by which dates were rendered eleven days behind the Gregorian Calendar, which prevailed throughout the rest of Europe. All "old style" Russian dates have been converted to "new style" so as to avoid confusion.

There is occasional dispute concerning the exact dates on which a battle occurred if the fighting took place over the course of more than a single day. Hence, the Battle of the Nile is usually given as 1 August 1798, when in

fact, to be strictly accurate, it extended into the early hours of 2 August, and hence is described here as having taken place over two days. Likewise, the battles of Eylau, Talavera, Wavre, and others, are sometimes described as one-day affairs, when in fact they were fought over the course of two days, if only a fraction of the first, or of the second, day.

The date of Napoleon's abdication is traditionally given as 6 April, and is so here, but it is important to point out that in fact the Allies rejected the conditions under which the Emperor first tendered it, which led to subsequent negotiations and the conclusion of a definitive agreement the following week. This stands as but one example of how two or more dates may be offered by two or more competent sources to identify the timing of a particular event.

Even the dates of treaties are sometimes in dispute: Does one use the date of signing, the date on which the treaty is to take effect, or the date of its ratification? Some treaties, like Chaumont, were signed on one day but not published until later, such that some historians offer one date, and others another. The Convention of El Arish, concluded in January 1800, is variously given as 21, 24, or 28 January. Worse still, it was disavowed by the British government and therefore never even took effect. The matter is easily solved, however: The dates provided for treaties are those on which the agreement was signed, even if ratification could not take place for weeks or, in some months, even months. This conforms to the principles followed in diplomatic historiography.

A few other points on dating matters follow. To avoid confusion some events, known historically by the same generic name, such the Russo-Turkish War, are distinguished by their dates, for example, 1787–1792, or 1806–1812. To avoid cluttering the text, life dates are not used, except in the headwords, though the period of a monarch's reign is usually provided. Also please note that the CMS preference for *B.C.E.* (before the Christian era) is used, in place of *B.C.*

#### *Place Names and Battle Names*

Geographically speaking, apart from Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, the European continent has altered dramatically in the past two centuries, not only as a result of the changes wrought by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but as a result of the wars of German and Italian unification, the independence of the Ottoman Empire's European possessions, the Versailles Settlement of 1919 (especially the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of the so-called Successor States), by the massive upheavals of the Second World War—particularly the westward shift of the borders of the Soviet Union and

Poland—and, more recently, by the reunification of Germany and the breakup of Yugoslavia.

With so many shifting borders, the names of places have often changed, either entirely as a consequence of their alteration into the language of the new proprietor, or in some other fashion over the course of time. In most cases, the reader will find in parentheses the modern name of places identified in the text. Thus, the contemporary name, *Ratisbon*, is identified parenthetically as *Regensburg*. No attempt to modernize place names has been attempted. Were this practice followed, *Austerlitz* would be known as *Slavkov u Brna*, causing utter confusion to students and scholars alike. Where spelling varies according to the nationality of the writer, recourse has been made to the form more commonly used by native-born English speakers. Thus *Mainz* is preferred to *Mayence*, *Basle* to *Basel*, *Lyons* to *Lyon*, and so on. *Berne* is used here instead of *Bern*; however, we've taken the American form of *Bosporus* instead of *Bosphorus*. In the case of Spanish towns, the anglicized version is sometimes preferred for the sake of easy identification by English-speaking readers: thus, *Corunna* is used in lieu of *La Coruña*, and *Saragossa* over *Zaragoza*; in many instances I have provided the Spanish-language orthography in parentheses. Some places with names still familiar to use today have changed their spellings, even if only slightly, for example, *Valetta* to *Valletta*.

While it has long been the custom to name a battle after a local geographical or political feature, whether a river, lake, village, or town, the rival sides did not always agree on usage, a fact that should come as no surprise to anyone: Nations that fight over great political questions can hardly be expected to agree on the names they ascribe to the battles fought between them. Thus, the battles of the Glorious First of June, Borodino, and even Waterloo, to name but a few, are familiar to English speakers, but are not used as such by the French, even if they familiar to them. There is also some disagreement over the spelling of some battles' names, including Auerstädt (Auerstedt), and Arcola (Arcole). The most commonly used form in the English-speaking world has been adopted in this work in an effort to reduce confusion as much as possible. Even still, there are sometimes alternative names. What to contemporaries in Britain was known as the (naval) Battle of Aboukir, is better known today as the Battle of the Nile, the former name being reserved in this text for a lesser known (land) battle fought the following year.

Some place names in particular have caused endless problems for students and historians, especially those connected with the Low Countries. Such terms as the *Austrian Netherlands*, *Belgium*, and the *Netherlands*, must be used carefully, and every effort has been made to prevent confusion in the text. This must be cleared up here and now:

The Austrian Netherlands was a possession of the Habsburg Empire, roughly constituting what is now Belgium and Luxembourg. It is frequently and erroneously confused with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, generally known as Holland, lying immediately to the north of it. References in this text to the Austrian Netherlands are to the territory described here. The Netherlands came into being in 1814, and was an amalgamation of the former Austrian Netherlands and the Kingdom of Holland established under Napoleonic auspices in 1806. The term *Netherlands* is not used in this work except to describe the nation created in 1814, so that readers are aware of its distinction with the *Austrian Netherlands*. With respect to Belgium, though technically the country by this name was not formally established until 1830, the term was commonly used before that time to mean the territory that comprised the Austrian Netherlands until French occupation in the 1790s. It was also sometimes referred to broadly as *Flanders*, which itself has been divided politically in various ways over the centuries.

Readers should also be aware that the terms *Germany*, *Italy*, and *Poland* are used in broad geographical terms to mean those areas where, respectively, the German, Italian, and Polish language and culture were predominant. The fact that none of these countries existed under such names until very much later (Italy and Germany in 1870 and 1871, respectively, and Poland in 1919, having been extinguished by the final partition of 1795) has never deterred historians from using them judiciously to describe large areas of Europe where no other description proves adequate to the task.

Some place names continue in use today, but in fact refer to altogether different places. Thus, *Syria* during this period was in fact in what is today Israel, a circumstance rendered even more confused by the fact that it is sometimes referred to as *Palestine* in some histories of Bonaparte's campaign there in 1799. Further, what was known to contemporaries as *the Tyrol*, a recognized Alpine region, is today simply known as *Tyrol* or *Tirol*, parts of which belong to Austria and Italy, respectively.

In some cases, there is no agreement on the spelling of places, as evidenced by the numerous variations in historical texts by which one may encounter the name of the town where the Allies concluded their armistice with France in the summer of 1813: *Pläiswitz*, *Plaswitz*, *Pleischwitz* (the latter being the form we've used), and so on. Disagreement also sometimes arises over the presence or absence of an accent, as with *Dunaberg* or *Dünaberg*; *Guttstadt* or *Guttstädt*; *Durrenstein*, *Dürnstein*, or *Durnstein*; and *Hollabrunn* or *Hollabrünn*.

Transliterated names also raise questions about proper spelling, such as in the case of *Krasnoe* versus *Krasnyi*. In

the case of place names requiring transliteration, particularly from the Russian, readers will find spellings which come closest to capturing the correct pronunciation of the place concerned.

#### *Names of Weaponry*

By modern standards the armies of this period fought with a very narrow range of weapons, with identification and description a relatively simple matter. However, readers should be aware that the term *gun* never refers to small arms, but always to artillery ordnance. Thus, an army which is said to possess 85 *guns* means that it has 85 *cannon*, a term whose plural form is also *cannon*, not *cannons*.

Naval terminology, which forms a large language of its own, can easily cause confusion, not least because of variations in spelling; thus: *mizzenmast*, *mizzen mast* or *mizen mast*; and *ship of the line* or *ship-of-the-line*, to offer but two examples. One must grapple with such arcane questions as whether or not to use a hyphen in the noun form of *first rate* when describing a class of vessel, or only in its adjective form. Suffice it to say that the editor hopes that this work has resolved such issues in a manner satisfactory to most readers.

#### *“Battles,” “Engagements,” and “Actions”*

Any hostile encounter between rival forces that involved a force of division strength or greater, that is, several thousand men on either side, has been designated a *battle*. Minor encounters have been described as an *engagement* or *action*. In North America, where armies were considerably smaller, what constituted a battle would not be designated so in Europe, where fighting was conducted on a greater scale than ever before. There can be no scientific formula applied here as to what genuinely qualifies as a battle. Common sense must therefore be the guiding rule. A clash between forces of battalion strength, for instance, cannot be regarded as a battle.

#### *Statistics*

All military historians must struggle with the unsettling fact that accurate statistics are all but impossible to obtain. The nature of military and naval records, deliberately falsified claims of losses and strengths, missing tallies of the wounded and missing, and the problems of tabulation associated with the arrival of reinforcements concurrent with losses through desertion—and many other factors to boot—render any hope of acquiring precise figures frustratingly elusive. Having said this, the figures for strengths and losses contained herein are considered the most accurate possible under the circumstances described above; suffice it to say that readers will sometimes find discrepancies with other sources, which they are actively invited to

consult via the “References and Further Reading” section appended to each entry.

#### *Regimental Designations and Distinctions*

Readers interested in the minutiae connected with the study of the individual regiments and other formations that comprised the armies of the European powers, great and small, can consult the books on such subjects referred to in the “References and Further Reading” sections accompanying the appropriate entries. No attempt at standardizing the manner of introducing regiments has been attempted here, as this would throw the whole subject into confusion. Thus, British regiments are given their proper names or numbers as they were known to contemporaries. The names or numbers of French regiments are either provided in French, or have been translated into English—but only where an exact translation can be offered. The same principle has been applied to all other armies, though obviously Russian names have undergone the process of transliteration, with the most accurate spelling offered.

#### *References and Further Reading*

Finally, readers should note that each entry contains a list of sources either used in the preparation of the entry, or offered as suggested further reading, or both. Many, especially the more recent sources, were added by the editor to assist readers in making use of the latest publications. Where possible, foreign language sources have been included. The latest editions available of classic texts in the literature have been provided, with basic information; full bibliographic details have not been included, in the interests of space, as in the case of the eminent historian Duff Cooper’s biography of Prince Talleyrand, now more than 70 years old, which is given in its 2001 edition.

## Acknowledgments

My thanks go to the two distinguished members of my advisory board: the late Professor David Chandler, who served for many years as head of the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, and whose eminence in the field of Napoleonic scholarship has stood the test of many decades; and Professor Charles Esdaile, of the School of History at the University of Liverpool, who not only offered much useful advice, but contributed many excellent entries of his own to this work.

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generously gave of his advice, and offered substantial assistance in the revision of entries where needed. Peter Hofschröder, well known for his studies of this period, particularly from the Prussian and wider German perspective, helpfully answered my many questions relating to his area of expertise.

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*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*  
Oxford  
July 2006



# Introduction

As a member of the advisory board who helped to put together this work, I am delighted to have been asked to write a few words of introduction to its pages. Yet it is not without sadness that I do so. But for his recent death, my eminent colleague and old friend, David Chandler, would doubtless have filled the role in his usual inimitable style, and I greatly regret that he is not here to see this work's publication. I do trust, however, that he would have approved of its contents. And in standing in for him, I can at least say something about this most larger than life of figures.

I first came across the works of David Chandler when I was still a schoolboy. Accessible, fascinating, and positively brimming over with enthusiasm for their subject, they fired my imagination, and helped fuel the love of history that led me into the career that I have now followed for nearly thirty years. I would like to say here, of course, that it was *The Campaigns of Napoleon* that first got me interested in the Napoleonic period, but life, alas, is not that simple! However, what is true is that when as a young scholar in his twenties I first got to meet David in the flesh, he treated me with much kindness—kindness that he had no need to show, and kindness that undoubtedly helped me on my way as I fought my way through the maze of defenses through which the proverbial ivory tower is wont to be surrounded.

In those years, too, I learned more about David as a scholar and as a human being. In the former capacity he could be quirky and in the latter unpredictable. However, what shone through in public lecture after public lecture was—again—his immense verve and enthusiasm, and, above all, his genius as a showman. Listening to David—watching David even—was a joy, and his ability both to generate an air of real excitement and to communicate it to his audience is something that I envy even now. One had the feeling, indeed, that had he only had a top hat on the table beside him, a wave of his hand would have been enough to have the entire Imperial Guard march forth from its depths. Quite simply, he was a wonderful draw,

and, if this meant that an unfortunate timetable clash at a conference in Lisbon—unfortunate in that it prevented me from hearing his lecture—left me speaking to an audience of eight, of whom it turned out that six could only speak Portuguese, in an auditorium built for 500, I can only say that it is a story that I shall cherish to the end of my days.

Then, besides David the man of courage—his last years were a show of gallant defiance in the face of terrible adversity—there was David the Romantic: the David who sincerely admired Napoleon and candidly forgave him the fact that he was, in his own words, a “bad man.” This side to his work could sometimes grate upon the reader, but his friends knew that it was accompanied by a strong streak of self-parody: Like me, they will remember with affection the wonderful cartoons in which he had himself portrayed as a distinctly portly Bonaparte! Such memories, alas, must necessarily be private affairs, but for all those interested in the Napoleonic epoch David should remain a great figure. If there were limits to his scholarship, there were no limits to his capacity to inspire interest in his subject, and I am sure that I am not the only academic historian who is honest enough to recognize that without such figures we would be lecturing to halls that are far emptier. And if just one of my books was to have the same impact as *The Campaigns of Napoleon*, I would be a happy man.

Before going on to talk about this new encyclopedia, there is one other figure whom I should like to mention. I here refer to the American historian, Gunther Rothenberg, who was another casualty of the year 2004. The leading Anglophone specialist on the Habsburg empire of the Napoleonic period, Gunther was a veteran of the Second World War who served with the British army in the Western Desert, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria, and went on to make a long and distinguished academic career at Purdue University in Indiana. Like David, he, too, was very generous to me on the numerous occasions that we met at conferences in the States, and his advice not to overspecialize has stayed with me to this day—indeed, in some respects it has shaped my entire career. Kindly and wise, Gunther was

also a fine scholar, and the series of works that he produced on the Napoleonic Wars, and, in particular, the Austrian army, remain major reference points for all those interested in the period. Among all those who knew him he is much missed.

What then of the current work? With its three volumes and nearly one million words, it is clearly a massive enterprise, and one that may justly be said to surpass anything else that is in the field. And that it reaches areas of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era that previous encyclopedias have not touched there can be no doubt. There will always be gaps, of course, but at least the experience of finding that the entries relate only to things that one already knows about, and that the things one really needs are not there, should be a little less common than before.

For example, we discover that the Wars were not just waged in the heartlands of the continent of Europe, but also in such outermost peripheries as Scandinavia, the Balkans, and the Middle East. Contained within its pages, too, is much material on not just matters military and naval, but also the social, political, cultural, and economic aspects of the period, while we meet not just bemedaled generals and field marshals, but also many of the statesmen who struggled to articulate the demands of a war effort that far surpassed anything that had previously been experienced in human history.

Nor is this surprising: Many of the contributors in the team put together by Gregory Fremont-Barnes are at the forefront of the academic research that has in recent years so greatly increased our appreciation of the importance and complexity of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. At the same time Gregory can justly take great pride in the work's very full notes on further reading. As these draw on the most recent sources possible, what is offered is not just a historical encyclopedia but a major bibliography that will greatly assist students of the period. The encyclopedia also contains 65 maps, a section of source documents, two glossaries, and a chronology.

The work that I am introducing, then, is very useful, but, if so, it is also extremely timely. As it is going to press, Europe is in bicentennial mode insofar as the Napoleonic era is concerned. By this time two hundred years ago, the Grande Armée had already decisively defeated the Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz, on 2 December 1805, while only five weeks before Viscount Nelson had crushed the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar. Britain may have confirmed herself as mistress of the seas, but Napoleon was poised to defeat the next continental Great Power: Prussia, the bicentenary of which is fast approaching.

In Britain, at least, television and radio programs that relate to the Napoleonic period seem ever more frequent,

while there is hardly a museum that is not holding an exhibition on the subject, not to mention hardly a bookshop whose shelves are not currently groaning with biographies of Nelson. The literature of the Napoleonic era continues to fascinate a large readership, as well, not least because of the wild popularity of the late Patrick O'Brian in the United States since the publication of his novels there fifteen years ago, and the superbly produced 2003 Hollywood movie, based on the O'Brian series, *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*.

More than one writer, indeed, have made their fortunes through tales of military and naval derring-do in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and even in the academic world there are rumors of publishing contracts running into six figures. And as in Britain so in France, where a lavish television series on Napoleon in 2002 was accompanied by the rediscovery of the Emperor's old soldiers: In a development of great help to researchers, the latter's memoirs are being reprinted by the dozen. All this, of course, is likely to generate considerable sound and fury—recent debates concerning whether or not the Battle of Waterloo was a “German” victory are a case in point.

There is in addition the issue of the European Union. Thanks to the coming of the Euro and the controversy that surrounds the Union's proposed constitution, Napoleon is also very much in the forefront of political debate. Enthusiastic Bonapartists claim that the Emperor was the forefather of European union, while ardent Euro-skeptics proclaim that the Battle of Waterloo is being lost every day just a few miles up the road at the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels. Both claims, of course, are to be taken with a pinch of salt: Napoleon's talk of liberating the nations of Europe and uniting them in a great federation governed by a single code of law is a creation of the legend of St. Helena designed to cover the fact that the French imperium was little more than a vehicle for economic, military, and political exploitation held together by a mixture of manipulation and brute force, while, the views of British Euro-skeptics notwithstanding, the European Union has no more in common with the Napoleonic empire than it does with the united Europe presided over in the mid-twentieth century by another “little corporal,” whose short-lived Reich cost Europe tens of millions of lives.

It is to be hoped, then, that this work will help to confound those who seek to plunder the past to buttress their views of the future. Yet there are many other reasons why it is worth producing a historical encyclopedia on the subject of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Not the least of these is the fact that right up until 1914, the years from 1792 till 1815 were at the very center of Europe's historical consciousness. It was they that were suggested by

the words “the Great War,” and it was they that provided the growing cities of Europe with a considerable part of the furniture of urban life. Square after square, then, was dominated by statues of one successful general or another, just as tavern after tavern and street after street was named after heroes of the conflict. Streets and squares, too, became the vehicle by which important battles could be remembered, while London’s Waterloo Rail Station had its counterpart in Paris’s Gare d’Austerlitz.

A staple of the historical novels devoured by the newly literate masses, in country after country the wars had also emerged as a central plank of the national myth, defining national enemies and establishing models of national behavior that carried considerable weight in times of crisis. It is arguable, for example, that the Britain that had liberated Spain in 1814 could not be the Britain that failed to fight for Belgium in 1914. Having come to the aid of one country suffering at the hands of another that sought continental hegemony, Britain could not sit idly by in 1914 and allow a new disturber of the European balance of power to swallow up its weaker neighbor. Whether the aggressor happened to be France, in the first case, or Germany in the second, mattered little to Britain; the principle behind British military intervention on the Continent remained the same.

Note, too, the fact that the outbreak of the First World War coincided with a period in which Europe had been celebrating the centenary of the Napoleonic Wars and in which a number of participants in the political process had had good reason to seize upon its history for their own ends. Just as is the case today, the same phenomena could sometimes be used for causes that were diametrically opposed to one another. In the Spain of 1908, then, while the Conservative government of Antonio Maura sought hard to make use of images of the Spanish uprising against Napoleon as one more means of achieving its goal of integrating the Spanish masses with the Restoration Monarchy, so in Catalonia, scholars associated with the growing nationalist movement worked hard to create a Catalan myth in which the region’s inhabitants had not only fought heroically against the French, but also fought more heroically than their counterparts in the rest of Spain.

It was, in short, an age of popular nationalism, and, moreover, one that happened at a time when the Napoleonic Wars were a most potent symbol. Still, worse, many of these myths, and the hostility and prejudice to which they have given rise, are still around to this day, which is yet another reason why the period should continue to merit the attention of historians.

To go back to the issue of historical perspective, an understanding of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic epoch, or at least the manner in which it was remembered and

manipulated by subsequent generations, is crucial to an understanding of much of what was to occur in the twentieth century. But insofar as the First World War is concerned, the wars of 1792–1815 are in one sense even more important. Much more than succeeding conflicts—the American Civil War of 1861–1865 is the obvious example—they epitomized the shape of wars to come in the popular imagination. In a number of states a variety of regiments still paraded in uniforms that recalled those that had been worn in 1815, while in one or two instances they even went to war in them. Equally, many of the tunes still played by military bands had been heard at Waterloo, Leipzig, or Austerlitz. And, finally, pictorial depictions of, say, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 were very much inclined to mirror the art of the Napoleonic era.

But from this there followed something else. Precisely because the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars still provided the idiom in which war was understood in the popular mind, they to a certain extent anesthetized it against its horrors. At first sight, this may seem paradoxical: As we shall shortly discover, the years from 1792 to 1815 were as traumatic as any that had hitherto been experienced in European history. But in most of the states that went to war in 1914, the memory of the campaigns of the Revolution and Napoleon was centered on the concept of the great battle—the decisive clash that could, like Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Leipzig, or Waterloo, seal the fate of a campaign at a stroke and thus ensure that war was relatively painless.

At the Battle of Sadowa in 1866, during Prussia’s second brief war with Austria, the trick had been pulled off again, and those who thought that this would not be the case in 1914 were few and far between. Indeed, it is even arguable that the obsession with the decisive battle was by no means guiltless in the process that finally took Europe into a new “great war”: What was Imperial Germany’s Schlieffen Plan if not a particularly grandiloquent version of the Napoleonic *manoeuvre sur les derrières*—a grand, decisive encircling movement designed to clinch victory without the necessity of drawn-out fighting? Yet, by a curious process of osmosis, the passage of a century from the wars of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era had transformed them from looming specter to source of reassurance.

Nevertheless, it was very much as looming specter that they deserved to be remembered. Prior to the First World War, only the Thirty Years’ War of 1618–1648 had come close to rivaling them in the human experience in terms of death and destruction, while the latter had been much more restricted in terms of the area that it affected in geographical terms. How many soldiers and civilians died as a direct result of the fighting, of hunger and privation, or in consequence of the terrible epidemics of disease (above all,

typhus) that the different armies carried in their train is impossible to say, but five million is probably the very smallest figure that is acceptable, and the real total may well be much higher. And behind the bare figures lies an image of hell: With knowledge of modern medicine and sanitation as limited as the facilities that existed to assist the sick and wounded, the human suffering that all this represented is scarcely within the bounds of comprehension. Given the image of military pomp that surrounds the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—an image given further credence by the fact that, at least on the parade ground, the uniforms of the French and their opponents were probably more dazzling than anything worn by any soldiers before or since—it is worth reflecting on these realities.

All the more is this necessary given the survival of the Napoleonic legend. Thus, in testimony to his brilliance as a propagandist, the Emperor continues to seize the imagination of many observers who are convinced they see in him the little man made good, the perpetual underdog, the man of the French Revolution struggling to liberate the

peoples of Europe, the man of the future dragging Europe willy-nilly into the modern age, and, perhaps above all, the quintessential Romantic hero. Whether Napoleon was genuinely any of those things is a matter of debate, but what cannot be denied is that each and every one of them came at a terrible cost.

It will, of course, here be argued by loyal Bonapartists that none of this was Napoleon's fault—that all of the evils associated with the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, indeed, came from the stubborn refusal of the monarchs of Europe to allow France and her revolution any place in their world. Well, perhaps, but to make such a claim involves raising so many questions that one is again forced back on the need to study the period in detail, and, by extension, to recognize that the current work is an extremely useful addition to the literature of an epoch that is not just distant history, but a defining point of reference for the age in which we live.

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## About the Editor

Gregory Fremont-Barnes holds a doctorate in modern history from the University of Oxford, where he studied under the distinguished military historians Sir Michael Howard, Regius Professor of Modern History, and Robert O'Neill, Chichele Professor of the History of War. After leaving Oxford he lived briefly in London before moving to Japan, where he spent eight years as a university lecturer in European and American history. He is the author of numerous books, including *The French Revolutionary Wars*; *The Peninsular War, 1807–1814*; *The Fall of the French Empire, 1813–1815*; *The Boer War, 1899–1902*; *Trafalgar 1805: Nelson's Crowning Victory*; *Nelson's Sailors*; and *The Wars of the Barbary Pirates: To the Shores of Tripoli, the Rise of the U.S. Navy and Marines*. He is also coeditor of the five-volume *Encyclopedia of the American Revolutionary War*. Dr. Fremont-Barnes's next book will be *The Indian Mutiny, 1857–1858*. He lives near Oxford with his wife and two sons.

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# Key to Military Map Symbols

## Formations

	NAPOLEON	Army (commander)
		Corps
		Division
		Brigade
		Regiment
		Battalion
		Infantry
		Cavalry
		Body of troops
		Infantry square

## Movements

	Advances
	Attacks
	Retreats

## Abbreviations

Gde	Guard	Cav	Cavalry
Res	Reserve	Div	Division

## Military Symbols

	Artillery
	Camp
	Cavalry picket
	Field fortification
	Permanent linear fortification
	Fort
	General headquarters
	General unit area
	Naval vessel
	Small boat flotilla
	Site of engagement

## Geographical Symbols

	Bridge
	Hills/Heights
	Mountains
	River
	Road
	Swamp
	Town
	Woods



# Chronology

## 1792

### March

- 2 Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, dies.

### April

- 19 Duke of Brunswick's army crosses the French border  
20 France declares war on Austria  
29 French offensive into Flanders halted by the Austrians at Valenciennes

### May

- 15 France declares war on Sardinia  
18 Russian troops invade Poland

### June

- 18 Renewed French offensive into the Austrian Netherlands result in capture of Courtrai  
26 First Coalition formed between Austria and Prussia  
29 French troops retreat from Courtrai

### July

- 24 Prussia declares war on France

### August

- 1 Austro-Prussian forces cross the Rhine

### September

- 20 Battle of Valmy; First French offensive in Italy begins  
22 France proclaimed a republic  
25 Allies invest Lille  
28 French troops occupy Nice, in Piedmont

### October

- 6 Allied forces withdraw from Lille  
20 French forces occupy Mainz and Frankfurt  
22 Prussians evacuate France

### November

- 6 Battle of Jemappes, in the Austrian Netherlands  
15 French occupy Brussels  
20 French declare the Scheldt open

### December

- 1–16 French driven from the east bank of the Rhine  
2 French complete occupation of the Austrian Netherlands

## 1793

### January

- 20 Louis XVI, King of France, is executed  
23 Second partition of Poland by Russia and Prussia

### February

- 1 France declares war on Britain and the United Provinces (Holland)

### March

- 6 Battle of Maastricht  
7 France declares war on Spain  
10 Outbreak of revolt in the Vendée  
18 Battle of Neerwinden

### April

- 5 Dumouriez defects to the Allies  
6 Committee of Public Safety established in Paris  
14 Allies lay siege to Mainz, on the Rhine  
15 Operations in the West Indies open with British attack on Tobago

### May

- 8 Battle of St. Amand

### June

- 5 British capture Port-au-Prince, St. Domingue, West Indies  
28 Allies take Valenciennes

*July*

- 17 Battle of Perpignan on the Pyrenean front
- 21 Allies capture Mainz

*August*

- 28 Toulon surrenders to an Anglo-Spanish expeditionary force; start of siege of Quesnoy in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29 Siege of Dunkirk, Austrian Netherlands, begins

*September*

- 8 Battle of Hondshoote, Austrian Netherlands; siege of Dunkirk lifted
- 11 Allied forces accept surrender of Quesnoy
- 22 Battle of Truillas, on the Pyrenean front

*October*

- 8 Royalist rebellion in Lyon ends
- 15–16 Battle of Wattignies, in the Austrian Netherlands

*December*

- 19 Allies evacuate Toulon, taking Royalist civilians with them
- 23 Vendéan revolt ends
- 26 Battle of the Geisberg, on the Rhine front

**1794***April*

- 1 British capture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 20 British capture Guadeloupe, in the West Indies
- 26 Battle of Landrecies, in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29–30 Battle of Le Boulou, on the Pyrenean front

*May*

- 11 Battle of Courtrai, in the Austrians Netherlands
- 18 Battle of Tourcoing, Austrians Netherlands
- 23 Battle of Tournai, Austrian Netherlands

*June*

- 1 Battle of the Glorious First of June, off Ushant
- 6 French assume new offensive in Italy
- 26 Battle of Fleurus, Austrian Netherlands

*July*

- 27 Coup of Thermidor in Paris; Robespierre executed the following day

*August*

- 1 Battle of San Marcial, on the Pyrenean front
- 10 British forces capture Corsica
- 25 French invade Holland
- 29 French retake Valenciennes

*October*

- 5 Battle of Maciejowice, during the Polish revolt
- 6 French reconquest of Guadeloupe complete
- 9 French troops occupy Cologne, on the Rhine

*November*

- 4–5 Battle of Praga, during the Polish revolt
- 18 French capture Nijmegen, in Holland
- 26 French capture Figueras on the Pyrenean front

*December*

- 10 French retake Guadeloupe

**1795***January*

- 3 Third and final partition of Poland
- 20 French troops occupy Amsterdam
- 30 French cavalry captures the Dutch fleet at Texel

*February*

- 3 French troops capture Rosas on the Pyrenean front

*March*

- 13–14 Battle of the Gulf of Genoa
- 25 British expeditionary force to Flanders is evacuated by sea at Bremen

*April*

- 5 Treaty of Basle concluded between France and Prussia
- 25 French begin offensive along the river Fluvia on the Pyrenean front

*June*

- 17 Battle of Belle Isle
- 19 French recapture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 23 Battle of the Ile de Groix
- 27 British land French royalist troops at Quiberon Bay on the coast of France

*July*

- 17 Battle of Hyères
- 21 French republican forces defeat the royalists at Quiberon
- 22 French and Spanish conclude peace at Basle

*August*

- 1 British invade Ceylon

*September*

- 6 French open offensive along the Rhine

- 14 British expeditionary forces conquers the Dutch Cape Colony in southern Africa
- October*
- 1 France annexes Belgium
- 5 Bonaparte uses artillery in the streets of Paris to quell the coup of Vendémiaire
- 27 New French government, the Directory, takes power in Paris
- November*
- 23 Battle of Loano
- 1796**
- February*
- 14 British expeditionary force captures Dutch colony of Ceylon
- March*
- 2 Bonaparte assumes command of French troops in Italy
- 9 Bonaparte and Josephine marry
- April*
- 11 Napoleon opens offensive on the Italian front
- 12 Battle of Montenotte
- 14–15 Second Battle of Dego
- 16–17 Battle of Ceva
- 21 Battle of Mondovi
- 28 Piedmont and France conclude peace at Cherasco
- May*
- 8 Action at Codogno
- 10 Battle of Lodi
- 13 French forces occupy Milan
- 26 British troops retake St. Lucia in the West Indies
- 30 Battle of Borghetto; first siege of Mantua begins
- June*
- 3 British capture St. Vincent in the West Indies
- 4 First Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front
- 28 Fortress at Milan capitulates to the French
- July*
- 5 Battle of Rastatt, Rhine front
- 9 Battle of Ettlingen, Rhine front
- 14 Battle of Haslach, Rhine front
- 31 French abandon siege of Mantua
- August*
- 3 Battle of Lonato, Italian front
- 5 Battle of Castiglione, Italian front
- 7 Battle of Forcheim, Rhine front
- 11 Battle of Neresheim, Rhine front
- 17 Dutch surrender their fleet to British forces at Cape Colony
- 19 French and Spanish conclude Treaty of San Ildefonso
- 24 Battle of Friedberg, Rhine front; Battle of Amberg, Rhine front; French resume siege of Mantua
- September*
- 3 Battle of Würzburg, Rhine front
- 4 Battle of Rovereto, Italian front
- 8 Battle of Bassano, Italian front
- October*
- 2 Battle of Biberach, Rhine front
- 8 Spain declares war on Britain
- 10 Peace concluded between France and Naples
- 19 Battle of Emmendingen, Rhine front
- 23 Battle of Schliengen, Rhine front
- November*
- 2 French reoccupy Corsica after British evacuation
- 12 Battle of Caldiero, Italian front
- 15–17 Battle of Arcola, Italian front
- 17 Tsarina Catherine II of Russia dies
- December*
- 22 French naval force appears off Bantry Bay on the Irish coast
- 1797**
- January*
- 14–15 Battle of Rivoli, Italian front
- February*
- 2 Mantua surrenders to the French, Italian front
- 14 Battle of St. Vincent off the coast of Spain
- 17 British take Trinidad in the West Indies
- 19 Peace concluded between France and the Papal States
- 22 French expeditionary force lands on the Welsh coast
- 24 French troops in Wales capitulate
- April*
- 16 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at Spithead
- 17 Preliminary peace concluded between France and Austria at Leoben
- 18 Second Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front

- 20 Battle of Diersheim, Rhine front
- May*
- 12 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at the Nore
- 15 End of naval mutiny at Spithead
- June*
- 15 End of naval mutiny at the Nore
- July*
- 9 French establish the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy
- October*
- 11 Battle of Camperdown between the British and Dutch naval squadrons
- 17 France and Austria conclude Treaty of Campo Formio
- 1798**
- May*
- 19 French expeditionary force departs from Toulon bound for Egypt
- 24 Outbreak of rebellion in Ireland
- June*
- 12 French occupy Malta en route to Egypt
- July*
- 1 French expedition arrives in Egypt
- 13 Battle of Shubra Khit
- 21 Battle of the Pyramids
- 22 French enter Cairo
- August*
- 1–2 Battle of the Nile
- 22 French expeditionary force disembarks at Kilala Bay on the Irish coast
- September*
- 8 French troops in Ireland surrender to British
- 9 Turkey declares war on France
- October*
- 12 Battle of Donegal, off the Irish coast
- November*
- 19 British troops capture Minorca
- 23 Neapolitan forces invade central Italy
- 29 Neapolitan troops occupy Rome
- December*
- 13 Neapolitan troops evacuate Rome
- 1799**
- January*
- 23 French establish the Parthenopean Republic in the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples)
- February*
- 10 French troops begin campaign in Syria
- March*
- 12 France declares war on Austria
- 17 French besiege Acre on the Syrian coast
- 21 Battle of Ostrach, Rhine front
- 25 Battle of Stockach, Rhine front
- 30 Battle of Verona, Italian front
- April*
- 5 Battle of Magnano, Italian front
- 15 Russian army under Suvorov arrives at the Italian front
- 26 Battle of Cassano, Italian front
- 29 Allied occupation of Milan
- May*
- 20 French lift siege of Acre in Syria
- June*
- 4–7 First Battle of Zürich, on the Swiss front
- 18–19 Battle of the Trebbia, Italian front
- 21 Battle of San Giuliano, Italian front
- July*
- 15 Ottoman troops land in Aboukir Bay, Egypt
- 25 French attack Turkish positions at Aboukir
- August*
- 2 French capture Aboukir from the Turks
- 15 Battle of Novi, Italian front
- 24 Bonaparte leaves Egypt for France
- 26 French offensive near Mannheim, Rhine front
- 27 British expeditionary force disembarks from North Holland; Suvorov's army begins march from Italy to Switzerland; Tsar Paul I forms League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 30 British squadron seizes Dutch fleet at the Helder
- September*
- 18 French surrender Mannheim, Rhine front
- 19 Battle of Bergen, in Holland

25–26 Second Battle of Zürich, Swiss front

*October*

- 9 Bonaparte lands in France
- 10 By a convention with the French, Anglo-Russian forces to be withdrawn from North Holland

*November*

- 9–10 Coup of Brumaire in Paris; Consulate comes to power

*December*

- 25 Bonaparte appointed First Consul

**1800**

*January*

- 24 Convention of El Arish concluded between British and French in Egypt

*March*

- 20 Battle of Heliopolis, in Egypt

*April*

- 20 Allies lay siege to Genoa in northern Italy

*May*

- 15 French forces enter the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Alps

*June*

- 2 French forces occupy Milan
- 4 French surrender Genoa
- 9 Battle of Montebello
- 14 Battle of Marengo; Kléber assassinated in Cairo
- 15 Austrians conclude armistice by which they agree to evacuate northern Italy
- 19 Battle of Höchstädt on the Rhine front

*July*

- 28 Truce agreed between French and Austrians on the Rhine front

*September*

- 5 French garrison on Malta capitulates

*December*

- 3 Battle of Hohenlinden, Rhine front
- 16 Denmark and Sweden join Russia in League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 18 Prussia joins League of Armed Neutrality
- 25 French and Austrians sign armistice

**1801**

*January*

- 1 Act of Union joins Ireland to Britain

*February*

- 4 William Pitt, British prime minister, resigns, to be replaced by Henry Addington
- 8 Peace concluded between France and Austria by Treaty of Lunéville

*March*

- 8 British expeditionary force lands in Egypt
- 20–21 Battle of Alexandria
- 23 Tsar Paul I of Russia assassinated
- 28 Peace concluded between France and Naples by Treaty of Florence

*April*

- 2 Battle of Copenhagen

*July*

- 6, 12 First and Second Battles of Algeciras, off Spanish coast
- 15 Bonaparte concludes Concordat with Pope Pius VII

*August*

- 31 French army in Egypt capitulates

*October*

- 1 Preliminary treaty of peace concluded by Britain and France at Amiens

**1802**

*February*

- 5 French expeditionary force lands in St. Domingue, in the West Indies

*March*

- 25 Definitive version of Treaty of Amiens concluded

*August*

- 2 Bonaparte proclaimed Consul for life

*October*

- 15 French troops invade Switzerland

**1803**

*May*

- 2 United States agrees to purchase Louisiana Territory from France

- 18 Britain declares war on Napoleon signaling start of the Napoleonic Wars
- 1804**
- January*
- 1 St. Domingue declares independence from France, renaming itself Haiti
- March*
- 21 Civil (Napoleonic) Code published; execution of duc d'Enghien by French authorities
- May*
- 18 Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of France  
19 Napoleon establishes the Marshalate
- December*
- 2 Coronation of Napoleon I, Emperor of France  
12 Spain declares war on Britain
- 1805**
- April*
- 11 Treaty of alliance concluded between Britain and Russia
- May*
- 26 Napoleon crowned King of Italy
- July*
- 22 Battle of Finisterre, off French coast
- August*
- 9 Austria accedes to Anglo-Russian treaty of alliance, forming the Third Coalition  
26 Grande Armée leaves camps along the Channel coast and marches for the Danube  
31 August Britain and Sweden conclude subsidy agreement for the supply of Swedish troops to the Third Coalition
- September*
- 8 Austrian troops enter Bavaria
- October*
- 3 Sweden concludes treaty of alliance with Britain, formally joining the Third Coalition  
20 Austrian army under Mack surrenders at Ulm, in Bavaria  
21 Battle of Trafalgar  
29–31 Second Battle of Caldiero, in northern Italy
- November*
- 4 Battle of Cape Ortegal, off Spanish coast  
5 Battle of Amstetten, in Bavaria  
11 Battle of Dürnstein, in Bavaria  
12 French occupy Vienna  
15 Battle of Hollabrunn, in Bavaria
- December*
- 2 Battle of Austerlitz  
3 Emperor Francis of Austria sues for peace  
26 Treaty of Pressburg concluded between France and Austria
- 1806**
- January*
- 23 Death of William Pitt
- February*
- 6 Battle of Santo Domingo, in West Indian waters
- March*
- 30 Joseph Bonaparte crowned King of Naples
- June*
- 5 Louis Bonaparte proclaimed King of Holland
- July*
- 6 Battle of Maida, southern Italy  
9 British expeditionary force occupies Buenos Aires  
25 Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine
- August*
- 6 Termination of the Holy Roman Empire
- October*
- 8 French forces enter Saxony en route for Prussia  
10 Action at Saalfeld  
14 Twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt  
17 Battle of Halle  
20 French lay siege to Magdeburg  
27 Napoleon enters Berlin  
28 Prussian garrison of Prenzlau capitulates
- November*
- 1 Napoleon issues Berlin Decrees  
6 Blücher surrenders his forces near Lübeck  
11 Fortress of Magdeburg surrenders  
28 French troops enter Warsaw
- December*
- 26 Battles of Pultusk and Golymin, East Prussia

**1807***February*

- 3 Battle of Jankovo, East Prussia
- 7–8 Battle of Eylau, East Prussia
- 19 British fleet enters the Dardanelles

*March*

- 18 French lay siege to Danzig, in East Prussia

*May*

- 27 Danzig surrenders

*June*

- 10–11 Battle of Heilsberg, East Prussia
- 14 Battle of Friedland, East Prussia
- 25 Napoleon and Tsar Alexander meet on the River Niemen

*July*

- 7 France and Russian conclude peace at Tilsit
- 9 France and Prussia conclude peace at Tilsit
- 19 French issue ultimatum to Portugal demanding conformance with Continental System

*September*

- 2–5 British naval force bombards Copenhagen

*October*

- 27 France and Spain conclude Treaty of Fontainebleau

*November*

- 23 Napoleon issues first Milan Decree
- 30 French troops enter Lisbon

*December*

- 17 Napoleon issues second Milan Decree

**1808***February*

- 16 Beginning of French invasion of Spain

*March*

- 17 King Charles IV of Spain abdicates
- 24 French troops enter Madrid

*April*

- 17 Conference at Bayonne opens

*May*

- 2 Popular uprising in Madrid

*June*

- 6 Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain
- 15 First siege of Saragossa begins

*July*

- 14 Battle of Medina del Rio Seco
- 20 French surrender at Bailén

*August*

- 1 Murat becomes King of Naples; British troops land in Portugal
- 16 Action at Roliça
- 17 French abandon siege of Saragossa
- 21 Battle of Vimiero
- 22 Convention of Cintra concluded

*September*

- 27 Congress of Erfurt between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander

*November*

- 5 Battle of Valmaseda
- 10 Battles of Espinosa de los Monteros and Gamonal
- 23 Battle of Tudela
- 29–30 Action at Somosierra

*December*

- 20 Second siege of Saragossa begins
- 21 Battle of Sahagún
- 29 Action at Benevente

**1809***January*

- 16 Battle of Corunna

*February*

- 20 Saragossa surrenders to the French

*March*

- 28 Battle of Medellín

*April*

- 11–16 British naval attack on the Basque and Aix Roads
- 16 Battle of Sacile, Italian front
- 20 Battle of Abensberg
- 21 French troops capture Landshut
- 22 Battle of Eggmühl; Wellesley assumes command of British forces in Portugal
- 23 Storming of Ratisbon

*May*

- 3 Battle of Ebersberg
- 12 Battle of Oporto
- 13 French occupy Vienna
- 21–22 Battle of Aspern-Essling

*June*

- 14 Battle of Raab

*July*

- 5–6 Battle of Wagram
- 10–11 Battle of Znaim
- 12 Austrians conclude armistice with the French
- 27–29 Battle of Talavera

*October*

- 14 Treaty of Schönbrunn concluded between France and Austria

*November*

- 19 Battle of Ocaña

*December*

- 15 Napoleon and Josephine divorce

**1810**

*February*

- 5 French begin investment of Cádiz
- 20 Execution of Tyrolean rebel leader Andreas Hofer

*April*

- 2 Napoleon and Marie Louise of Austria marry in Paris

*July*

- 1 Louis Bonaparte abdicates as King of Holland
- 9 France annexes Holland

*September*

- 27 Battle of Busaco

*October*

- 10 French troops arrive before the Lines of Torres Vedras

*November*

- 16 French retreat from the Lines of Torres Vedras

**1811**

*January*

- 26 French besiege Badajoz

*March*

- 5 Battle of Barrosa
- 9 Badajoz surrenders to the French
- 11 Birth of a son to Napoleon and Marie Louise

*May*

- 7 British lay siege to Badajoz
- 16 Battle of Albuera

*June*

- 20 French relieve Badajoz

*September*

- 25 Battle of El Bodón

**1812**

*January*

- 20 Wellington captures Ciudad Rodrigo

*March*

- 16 Wellington begins third siege of Badajoz

*May*

- 28 Treaty of Bucharest ends Russo-Turkish War

*June*

- 19 United States declares war on Britain
- 22 Grande Armée invades Russia
- 28 French occupy Vilna

*July*

- 8 French occupy Minsk
- 22 Battle of Salamanca
- 25–26 Battle of Ostronovo
- 28 French occupy Vitebsk

*August*

- 8 Battle of Inkovo
- 12 Wellington enters Madrid
- 14 First Battle of Krasnyi
- 16–18 Battle of Polotsk
- 24 French abandon siege of Cádiz
- 26 Kutuzov appointed Russian commander-in-chief

*September*

- 7 Battle of Borodino
- 14 French army occupies Moscow
- 19 Wellington lays siege to Burgos

*October*

- 18 Battle of Vinkovo

- 19 French army abandons Moscow and begins to retreat west
- 21 Wellington retreats from Burgos
- 24 Battle of Maloyaroslavets
- 30 Wellington abandons Madrid
- November*
- 17 Second Battle of Krasnyi
- 25–29 French forces cross the Berezina River
- December*
- 5 Napoleon leaves the Grande Armée for Paris
- 8 French troops reach Vilna
- 14 Last French troops reach the Niemen River
- 28 Convention of Tauroggen between Prussian and Russian forces
- 1813**
- February*
- 7 Russian troops enter Warsaw
- March*
- 12 French troops abandon Hamburg
- 13 Prussia declares war on France
- 27 Allied troops occupy Dresden
- April*
- 3 Battle of Möckern
- May*
- 2 Battle of Lützen
- 8 French troops occupy Dresden
- 20–21 Battle of Bautzen
- 27 French abandon Madrid
- June*
- 2 British lay siege to Tarragona
- 4 Armistice agreed between French and Allies in Germany
- 12 British abandon siege of Tarragona; French evacuate Burgos
- 21 Battle of Vitoria
- 28 Siege of San Sebastian begins
- 30 Siege of Pamplona begins
- July*
- 7 Sweden joins the Sixth Coalition
- 19 Austria agrees to join the Allies
- 28–30 Battle of Sorau
- August*
- 12 Austria declares war on France
- 23 Battle of Grossbeeren
- 26 Battle of Pirna
- 26–27 Battle of Dresden
- 30 Battle of Kulm
- 31 British capture San Sebastian; Battle of Vera; Battle of San Marcial
- September*
- 6 Battle of Dennewitz
- October*
- 7 Wellington crosses the Bidassoa River
- 9 Battle of Düben
- 14 Action at Liebertwolkwitz
- 16–19 Battle of Leipzig
- 18 Saxony defects to the Allies
- 30 Battle of Hanau
- 31 French surrender Pamplona
- November*
- 10 Battle of the Nivelle
- 11 French surrender Dresden
- December*
- 9–12 Battle of the Nive
- 13 Battle of St. Pierre
- 1814**
- January*
- 11 Naples joins the Allies
- 14 Denmark concludes peace with the Allies at Kiel
- 27 Battle of St. Dizier
- 29 Battle of Brienne
- February*
- 1 Battle of La Rothière
- 3 Negotiations for peace begin at Châtillon-sur-Seine
- 10 Battle of Champaubert
- 11 Battle of Montmirail
- 12 Battle of Château-Thierry
- 14 Battle of Vauchamps
- 17 Battle of Valjouan
- 18 Battle of Montereau
- 26 British lay siege to Bayonne
- 27 Battle of Orthez
- 27–28 Battle of Meaux
- March*
- 7 Battle of Craonne
- 9 Allies conclude Treaty of Chaumont
- 9–10 Battle of Laon

- 13 Battle of Rheims
- 20 Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube
- 25 Battle of La-Fère-Champenoise
- 31 Action at Montmartre; Paris surrenders

*April*

- 6 Napoleon abdicates unconditionally
- 10 Battle of Toulouse
- 14 Action at Bayonne
- 17 Marshal Soult surrenders to Wellington, ending the Peninsular War
- 28 Napoleon leaves for Elba
- 30 (First) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies

*May*

- 27 French forces surrender Hamburg

*July*

- 5 Battle of Chippewa
- 25 Battle of Lundy's Lane

*November*

- 1 Congress of Vienna convenes

*December*

- 24 Treaty of Ghent concludes war between Britain and the United States

**1815**

*January*

- 8 Battle of New Orleans

*February*

- 26 Napoleon leaves Elba for France

*March*

- 1 Napoleon lands in France
- 15 Naples, still under Murat's rule, declares war on Austria
- 19 Bourbons leave Paris
- 20 Napoleon reaches Paris and returns to power
- 25 Allies form Seventh Coalition

*May*

- 2–3 Battle of Tolentino

*June*

- 9 Congress of Vienna closes
- 16 Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras
- 18 Battle of Waterloo; Battle of Wavre
- 22 Napoleon abdicates

*September*

- 26 Holy Alliance concluded between Russia, Prussia, Austria and other powers

*November*

- 20 (Second) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies; Quadruple Alliance agreed between Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia

# Glossary of Military Terms

The terminology associated with warfare on land and at sea during the period 1792–1815 is very large and can fill several books. Siege warfare alone produced a unique language of its own, mainly connected with the parts of fortifications and the craft associated with their defense or reduction. Below are some of the technical terms referred to in this work, as well as others commonly associated with the period.

*à cheval*: mounted

*à pied*: on foot

*abatis*: barricade of felled trees or interwoven branches

adjutant-general: staff colonel sometimes assigned to serve as a chief of staff at division or corps level

*Afrancesados*: Spanish Francophiles, associated with those who supported the French occupation of Spain from 1808

aide-de-camp: junior staff officer attached to a general or marshal

*Amalgame*: amalgamation of regular French infantry regiments and volunteer units to form a composite units

approaches: trenches or siege lines dug toward the enemy positions

*arme blanche*: generic term for cavalry

ataman: senior Cossack officer

Bashkirs: primitively armed and equipped light cavalry from Asiatic Russia

bastion: four-sided fortification

battery: gun emplacement or company of artillery; batteries could number six, eight or twelve guns

breaking ground: beginning a siege

breastplate: steel plate worn by cuirassiers to protect their fronts; badge worn on the shoulder-belt

breastwork: parapet, usually on a field fortification, to protect the defenders

brigade: tactical formation consisting of two or more battalions of infantry or regiments of cavalry

*cadre*: important officers, enlisted men and other staff needed to organize and train a unit

caisson: ammunition wagon

caliber: the internal diameter of the barrel of the weapon, and approximately the diameter of the projectile fired

canister: artillery ammunition consisting of small lead balls encased in a tin

cannon: informal term for artillery piece

carbine: short cavalry musket

carabinier: type of heavily-armed cavalryman, similar to a cuirassier

carbine: type of musket carried by cavalry, shorter and lighter than the standard infantry musket

carriage: wooden frame which supports the barrel of a cannon

cartouche: cartridge box

case shot: type of artillery ammunition, effectively the same as canister

*chasseurs à cheval*: light cavalry

*chasseurs à pied*: light infantry

*chef*: colonel-proprietor of a regiment in the Russian Army

*chef de bataillon*: major; commander of a French battalion

*chef d'escadron*: major; commander of a cavalry squadron

*cheval-de-frise*: planks or beams studded with spikes or blades, used as a barricade

*chevaléger/cheval-léger*: light cavalry, usually French

*chevauxléger*: light cavalry, usually German

chouan: Royalist insurgent from Brittany

citadel: component of a fortification, consisting of four or five sides

class: annual proportion of the population liable

cockade: rosette bearing the national colors worn on a hat or helmet

color/colour: infantry flag, battalion or regimental

commissariat: army department responsible for supply

company: small tactical unit of infantry or cavalry, or

battery of artillery; a subdivision of a battalion

cornet: lowest officer rank in the cavalry; second lieutenant

- corps: self-contained formation, and the largest tactical unit in an army, containing elements of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and staff; a corps consisted of two or more divisions
- Cortes*: the parliament of Spain
- Cossack: generic name for irregular Russian cavalry
- court-martial: military court
- cuirass: metal breastplate or backplate worn by heavy cavalry
- cuirassier: heavy cavalymen wearing a steel cuirass and helmet
- debut: to issue from a ravine or wood into open ground
- defile: narrow way through which troops can only march on a very confined front
- demi-brigade: French unit of the Revolutionary period consisting of one regular and two volunteer or conscript battalions
- department/*département*: geographical sub-division of France used for administrative purposes
- division: military formation comprising two or more brigades, comprising several thousand infantry and cavalry supported by artillery
- dragoon: medium cavalry capable of fighting mounted or on foot, though almost invariably playing the former role
- eagle: standard consisting of an bronze Imperial eagle mounted on a staff and presented to most units of the French Army from 1804
- embrasure: opening of a parapet of a fortress or field fortification through which artillery (or small arms) could be fired
- émigrés*: Royalists who fled France after the outbreak of Revolution in 1789
- enfilade: to fire on the flank of an opponent
- ensign: the lowest rank in the infantry; second lieutenant
- Erzherzog*: Archduke; an Austrian title
- escadron*: squadron of cavalry
- esplanade: open area separating a citadel from surrounding buildings
- état-major*: regimental staff
- evolution: drill movement, including marching and weapons handling
- facings: distinctive colors on a uniform, usually the collar and cuffs, which differentiate units
- fascine: bundle of brushwood used to fortify a position or to fill ditches during an assault
- field marshal: highest rank in the British, Russian, and Prussian armies
- foot: infantry
- flèche* (modern spelling, *flèche*): V-shaped fortification whose rear is left open, from the French for “arrow”
- flintlock: most common form of musket of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
- forlorn hope: advance storming party, usually that sent ahead of the main assault into the breach of a city or fortress wall
- Freiherr: title used throughout German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Baron*
- Freikorps*: independently-raised units, usually from Prussia or Austria; bands of volunteers
- Fürst: title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Prince*
- fusil: musket
- gabion: wicker basket filled with earth used in fortification
- général de brigade*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a brigade; brigadier general
- général de division*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a division; major general
- glacis: slope leading up to a fortification
- Graf: Title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Count*
- Grapeshot: type of artillery ammunition, only effective at short range, consisting of a cloth bag filled with musket balls which spread on leaving the barrel
- grand battery: tactical amalgamation of several artillery batteries in order to produce a massive concentration of fire
- Grande Armée: From 1805, the main body of the French army and any allied forces serving under Napoleon’s personal command
- grenadier: elite infantry, no longer armed with hand grenades, often used to spearhead an attack; they could operate as entire units or form a single company of a battalion
- Grenzer*: troops serving on the Austrian frontiers with the Ottoman Empire
- guard: term accorded to elite troops, usually regarded as the best in the army; in both French and German, spelled “Garde”
- guerrilla: irregular fighter
- guidon: cavalry standard
- gun: an artillery piece (cannon); not to be confused with small arms, which were known by type, that is, musket, fusil, rifle, pistol, etc.
- handspike: metal lever used to manhandle a cannon into a desired position
- haversack: bag carried by an infantryman containing food and personal effects, usually worn slung on the hip, as opposed to a knapsack
- hornwork: part of a fortification comprising the front of a bastion and two side extensions

- horse artillery: light caliber guns drawn by horse teams whose crew either rode on the limbers or on horseback, thus giving them greater speed over the foot artillery
- howitzer: short-barrelled cannon used to lob shells using a high trajectory
- Hundred Days, The: term used to describe the period of Napoleon's short reign between March and June 1815
- hussar: type of elaborately costumed light cavalry; originally Hungarian
- Imperial Guard: elite formation of the French and Russian armies, in the case of the former divided into the Young, Middle, and Old Guard. This formed Napoleon's tactical reserve and was seldom committed to battle until the campaign of 1813
- invest: in siege warfare, to surround a town or city in preparation for the establishment of formal siege works
- Insurrection: militia from Hungary and Croatia
- Jäger/jäger*: literally, huntsman, in German; rifleman or other type of light infantryman, usually from a German-speaking area
- Junker*: East Prussian aristocracy
- Kalmuk: type of light cavalry from Asiatic Russia
- knapsack: pack worn by infantry on the back
- Korps*: Austrian army corps
- Krümper*: Prussian reservist serving between 1808 and 1812
- lancer: light cavalryman armed with a lance
- Landwehr*: militia or newly-recruited infantry unit, from German-speaking states
- légère*: light, indicating types of infantry or cavalry
- legion/*légion*: a military formation usually consisting of a combination of infantry, cavalry and artillery, often of foreign troops forming part of another army
- levée en masse*: universal male conscription introduced by the French during a period of national emergency in 1793
- light dragoon: type of light cavalry
- ligne*: line; standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- light infantry: equipped like line infantry, but employed in a more mobile capacity on the battlefield, especially by operating in open, or skirmish, order
- limber: two-wheeled carriage with ammunition box which connects a team of horses to a cannon to facilitate movement
- limber up: to attach a cannon to a limber in order to move the former
- line: in French, *ligne*; for example, standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- "line infantry" or "infantry of the line" (*infanterie de la ligne*)
- line of communication: route behind an army, either by road or river or both, by which supplies, reinforcements, and couriered messages traveled
- line of march: general route taken by an army on the march
- line operations: as with line of march, but normally applied to enemy territory
- line of retreat: general route of withdrawal taken by a (usually defeated) army
- loophole: opening made in a wall to enable the defenders to fire through with small arms
- lunette: triangular fortification atop a glacis or beside a ravelin
- magazine: place of storage for ammunition
- Mameluke: from the Turkish *mamluk* (slave), a type of Egyptian horseman, variously and elaborately armed, though also referring to those serving in the French Imperial Guard
- marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea
- marshal: highest rank in the French Army from May 1804
- militia: forces raised for home defense
- National Guard: troops raised in France (*Garde Nationale*) for home defense
- Oberst*: colonel
- opolchenye*: untrained Russian militia
- Ordenança*: Portuguese militia
- outpost: infantry or cavalry occupying an advanced position to facilitate observation of the enemy or early warning of its approach
- palisade: sharpened wooden stakes used mainly for defense against cavalry
- parallel: large trench dug during siege operations which runs parallel to the enemy fortification; manned by troops and supplies in anticipation of the assault
- parapet: stone wall or bank of earth offering protection to troops occupying a fortified position
- partisans: guerrillas; irregular troops
- piece: a cannon, regardless of caliber
- picket/*picquet*: sentry or a small outpost
- pioneer: regimental carpenter or other skilled craftsman
- pontoon: boats specifically designed to be laid adjacent to one another to form a bridge
- pontonier: engineer trained to build pontoons or temporary bridges
- quarters: soldiers' accommodation, whether barracks or civilian lodgings
- rampart: wall of earth or stone comprising the main part of a fortress
- ravelin: detached, triangular-shaped fortification positioned in front of a fortress wall

- redoubt: field fortification, usually dug just prior to battle, armed with infantry and often artillery
- representative on mission/*représentant en mission*: deputy of the Convention or other Revolutionary government official, armed with sweeping powers, sent on specific missions to various regions or armies; political commissars
- rifle: infantry firearm with a grooved or “rifled” bore, thus providing spin—and therefore greater accuracy—than its smooth-bore counterpart, the ordinary musket
- round shot: the most common form of artillery ammunition, consisting of a solid cast-iron sphere, now commonly referred to as a “cannonball”; the weight of the ball varied according to the caliber of the gun from which it was fired
- saber/sabre: cavalry sword with a curved blade, generally used by light cavalry and general officers
- sap: narrow siege trench
- sapper/*sapeur*: combat engineer; often used to construct or demolish field fortifications, and to dig saps during siege operations
- sans-culottes*: extremist revolutionaries in France, generally associated with Paris
- Schützen: German riflemen
- shako: cylindrical military headdress, usually of leather, with a peak and usually a chin-strap
- shell: explosive projectile
- shot: abbreviation for round shot, the most common form of artillery ammunition
- shrapnel: type of artillery ammunition, unique to the British Army, consisting of a hollow sphere packed with musket balls and powder, which when detonated in the air by a fuse showered its target with its contents
- skirmisher: soldier operating in open or extended order to snipe at the enemy individually or as part of a screen to mask friendly troops
- spiking: the means by which a cannon can be made inoperable by the hammering of a spike down the touchhole
- squadron: subdivision of a cavalry regiment, usually consisting of two companies or troops
- square: infantry formation assumed as a defense against cavalry
- standard: cavalry flag, usually rectangular in shape
- sutler: camp-follower who sells food and drink to soldiers, either on the march or in camp
- tirailleur*: skirmisher or light infantryman, usually French and serving together as a unit rather than in the light company of a line regiment
- train: transport service of an army, responsible for conveying supplies, artillery, bridging equipment, and all the other paraphernalia of war
- Tricolor: French national flag, adopted during the Revolution, consisting of blue, white and red bands
- troop: unit of cavalry smaller than a squadron, usually the equivalent of an infantry company
- uhlan*: Polish for *lancer*, usually applied to those serving in German-speaking states or in the Russian Army
- vedette*: cavalry sentry or scout
- vivandière*: female sutleress who accompanies an army on campaign and provides food and sundry services, such as cooking and clothes washing, for a fee
- voltigeur*: from the French for “vaulter,” a light infantryman usually serving in the light company of a line regiment, usually deployed in extended order to form a skirmisher screen ahead of infantry or cavalry
- winter quarters: the quarters occupied by an army during that season, when fighting usually entered a period of hiatus until spring

# Glossary of Naval Terms

- aloft: up in the masts or rigging  
*amiral*: admiral in the French Navy  
astern: behind the vessel  
boarding: coming aboard an enemy vessel by force  
bow: the forward (front-most) part of a vessel  
brig: a lightly-armed (ca. 14 guns), maneuverable, square-rigged, two-masted vessel, smaller than a sloop  
broadside: the simultaneous firing of all the guns positioned on one side of the ship  
canister shot: a type of ammunition consisting of a cylindrical tin case packed with many iron balls which when fired from a cannon at short range spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
carronade: a short-barrelled, heavy calibre gun used only at close range for devastating results against the enemy's hull and crew; only the Royal Navy carried such weapons, which were not counted in the rating of vessel  
chain shot: a type of ammunition comprising two iron spheres or half-spheres, connected by a short length of chain, mainly used to damage rigging and sails  
*contre-amiral*: rear admiral in the French Navy  
double: to attack an enemy vessel from both sides simultaneously  
fireship: vessel packed with combustibles, steered into the enemy, and set on fire  
flagship: the ship of the officer commanding a squadron or fleet, usually a vice- or rear-admiral, and flying his flag  
fleet: a force of more than ten warships  
flotilla: a force of small vessels, sometimes troop ships and gun boats  
frigate: a single-decked warship mounting between 24 and 44 guns  
grapeshot: a type of ammunition consisting of a canvas bag filled with small iron balls which when fired from a cannon spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
grog: drink made from a mixture of rum and water  
gun: a cannon; these fired round shot weighing between 12 and 36 lbs; small arms, technically speaking, were not "guns," but referred to by their specific type, for example, musket, pistol, etc.  
line ahead: formation by which all vessels follow one another in a line, bow to stern; the standard formation for attack  
line of battle: the positioning of warships in a line with their broadsides facing an enemy against whom they intend to engage in battle  
line of battle ship: ship of the line; vessels carrying at least 64 guns and thus large enough to sail in the line of battle, as opposed to frigates and other, smaller vessels  
magazine: place of storage for ammunition  
marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea  
port: the lefthand side of a ship when looking toward the bow; opposite of "*starboard*"  
prize: a captured enemy vessel  
rake: to fire at an enemy ship's bow or stern when it is at right angle to one's own vessel, so enabling the shot to travel down the length of the enemy ship  
ship: in distinction from a boat, a square-rigged vessel with three masts  
ship of the line: warship carrying a minimum of 64 guns that by virtue of its size and armament could fight in a line of battle; the standard type was the 74  
sloop: a single-decked warship slightly smaller than a sixth-rate (frigate) but larger than a brig  
starboard: the right-hand side of a vessel as one looks forward; opposite of "*port*"  
stern: the rear-most part of the hull, usually ornamented and especially vulnerable to enemy fire  
strike (one's colors): to haul down the national flag to indicate a desire to surrender  
tack: to change course by turning the bow through the wind  
*vice-amiral*: vice admiral in the French Navy  
wear: to change a ship's course by turning her stern to windward; opposite of tacking





# Contextual Essays

The Outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars,  
*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

Military Operations of the French Revolutionary  
Wars (1792–1802), *Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

The Outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars,  
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The Economic Background of the French  
Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars,  
*Laura Cruz*

## **The Outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars**

It might seem logical to presume that the European monarchs, witnessing the fall of the Bastille in July 1789, the deposing of the French king, and the establishment of constitutional government, should immediately have gone to war against the Revolutionaries, if only to prevent similar uprisings in their own countries. But it was not to be, largely because of events elsewhere in Europe, particularly in the East. The Prussian king, Frederick William III,

supremely smug from his conquest of Holland in 1787 and already a beneficiary of the First Partition of Poland, had his eye on further gains, particularly Danzig and Thorn, while the Austrians and Russians were engaged in conflicts of their own against Sweden and Turkey. The fact that all the continental Great Powers were engaged for two years in intrigues and conflicts in eastern Europe meant that France and its nascent revolution remained undisturbed—indeed almost entirely ignored—by its powerful and otherwise suspicious neighbors.

It is also important to remember that, far from being disturbed by the implications of the French Revolution, many of Britain's leaders and politicians actually welcomed the upheavals in France. As the Revolution developed, many British observers suggested that France appeared to be embracing the principles of Britain's own "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. What better way to maintain good relations than to deal with another constitutional democracy, particularly one distracted from colonial gain and commercial competition by internal political upheaval? In short, a self-obsessed France could hardly threaten British trade or interests abroad.

In fact, none of the continental powers was prepared to lead a counterrevolution. Indeed, the Holy Roman Emperor (who was also emperor of Austria) Joseph II was determined to remain neutral, whatever the fate of the French king and the queen, his sister. The Prussians were equally blasé. Catherine of Russia, despite her hostility to the ideas of the Revolution, effectively did nothing, while Charles IV of Spain, cousin of Louis XVI, made vague threats that in reality amounted to nothing more than mere bluster. In any event, he was soon caught up in a nasty disagreement with Britain over far-off Vancouver Island—the Nootka Sound incident—which brought the two countries to the brink of war in 1790. Thus the French Revolutionaries had absolutely no reason to fear intervention by the absolute monarchs. Put in simple terms, in the first two years of the Revolution, every potential enemy of significant power had other matters to contend with: in

1787, Turkey was at war with Russia and Austria, and Prussia invaded Holland; in 1788, Sweden and Russia were at war; in 1790, Prussia and Poland came close to war with Austria, and Britain and Spain narrowly escaped conflict; in 1791, Britain and Prussia nearly fought Russia.

How, then, did this atmosphere of complacency and even satisfaction change to one of open hostility? The simple answer is that, by the middle of 1791, all of these conflicts or disputes had been settled, or were on the point of being settled. The most serious of them, in which Russia and Austria were allied against Turkey, ended in August. Now all these countries could consider the problem of France. But the origins of the French Revolutionary Wars also owed much to the vociferous and consistent pleas of royalist émigrés, who tirelessly agitated for armed foreign intervention against the forces of radicalism. The hawkish policies of radical politicians in Paris and the gradually mounting antagonisms of the German monarchies also played a significant role in bringing about war.

Up until the spring of 1792, few obstacles existed to prevent the flight from France of the aristocracy, nobles, clergy, and army officers. Large numbers left, swelling the population of disaffected expatriates longing for a return to the old order. They were right to leave, for their lives and livelihoods were under grave threat, and the political changes forced upon them were naturally quite intolerable to them, given the life of unchecked privilege that they had previously enjoyed for so long. The leading émigré was the king's younger brother, the comte d'Artois, who left France soon after the fall of the Bastille and became the focal point for dispossessed aristocrats. From their base at Turin, Artois and his adherents established a committee, which throughout 1789–1790 produced plans to extricate the king from Paris, establish counterrevolutionary insurrections inside France, and secure foreign aid in a royalist crusade to crush the Revolution and reestablish legitimate Bourbon rule.

Yet such plans failed completely, for they were unable to attain the aid necessary from powerful foreign governments, without which any hopes of a return to absolute rule were illusory. Although Austria seemed the natural ally of the émigrés—after all, Marie Antoinette was sister to Joseph II—the fact remained that from the outbreak of the Revolution until 1792 the Habsburg monarchy never showed much enthusiasm for the cause of the émigrés. Indeed, Joseph had demanded their departure from his domains in the Austrian Netherlands, and when his brother Leopold succeeded to the imperial throne at the beginning of 1790, he showed little interest in the cause of restoring Bourbon rule on its previous footing.

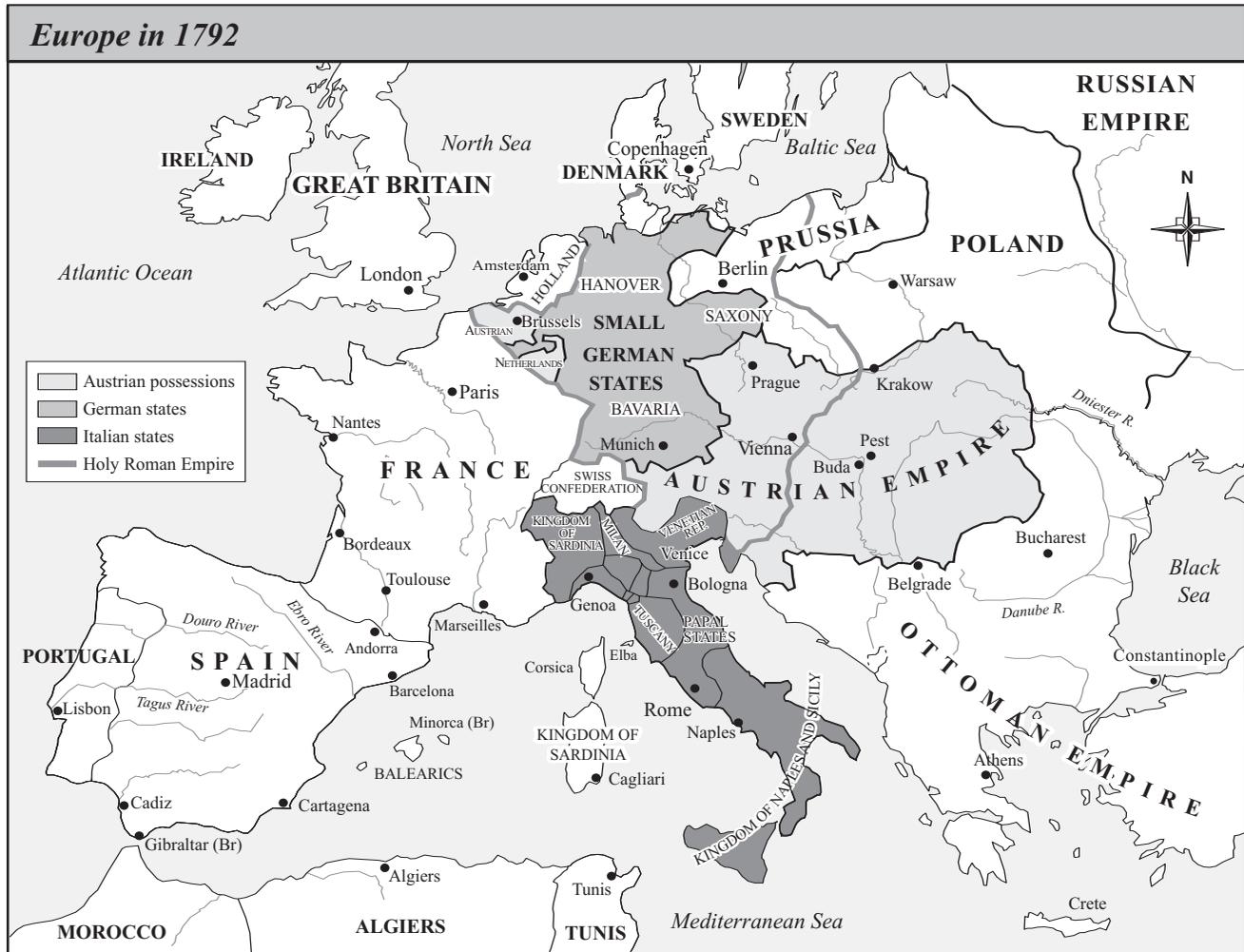
In any event, the pressing internal problems that Leopold confronted necessarily took precedence over for-

ign affairs: rebellion in the Austrian Netherlands and near revolt in Hungary, together with more moderate, but nevertheless widespread, dissent across Habsburg domains. These domestic problems were compounded by failures in the war against the Ottoman Empire. Thus, in the course of his two years in power (1790–1792), Leopold chose to placate internal opposition and implement reforms rather than confront Revolutionary France.

Yet if Leopold's conduct exasperated émigrés for a time, French domestic events gradually altered his views and, with them, his policies. Louis's flight from Paris to Varennes in June 1791 was important in prompting Austrian intervention. Louis had consistently rejected proposals to leave France and return at the front of an army determined on reestablishing Bourbon rule. Duty to the nation and to himself as sovereign—however restricted his political role had become—encouraged him to remain in Paris. But by the spring of 1791 the king had come round to the idea, for by then it had become all too clear that the Revolution was no mere passing phase and that the concessions now forced on him were only going to increase in the future. Now persuaded that the only sensible measure was to flee the country to secure foreign aid, Louis made his historic escape from the capital, only to be arrested at Varennes and returned to Paris a prisoner. The suspension of his royal powers soon followed, and all government matters were now the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly.

The king's attempt to leave France had far-reaching consequences, triggering fears inside the country that foreign armies would soon be on the march to save the captive sovereign. Vigorous military measures were undertaken, and the widespread belief that foreign intervention was only a matter of time began to affect the political scene throughout the country. The king's arrest had still more significance abroad, for throughout Europe, both at court and among the populace, there emerged a groundswell of sympathetic support for the French royal family and a sense of apprehension for their safety. Such sentiment was encouraged by the constant calls for aid from Marie Antoinette. Action soon resulted: in July 1791, Leopold approached the other crowned heads with a proposal for a joint declaration demanding the release of the French royal family, the "Padua Circular." This did not amount to a threat of war—which Leopold did not seek—but was rather a demonstration of royalist unity meant to overawe the Republican government.

In fact, there was no unified opposition to the French Revolutionary movement at the courts of Europe, though each of them provided substantial financial assistance to the émigré cause. Tsarina Catherine adamantly opposed the Revolution, but her foreign policy remained focused



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 23.

on acquiring territory at the expense of Poland and Turkey, both weak and easy prey. Sweden, under Gustavus III, wholeheartedly embraced military action against the Revolutionaries, but his country's geographical isolation and meager resources precluded any unilateral intervention on his part. In any event, Gustavus was assassinated in March 1792. The Prussian king repeatedly declared his desire for a military solution to French internal upheaval and the threats that Revolutionary ideas posed abroad. Nonetheless, like Catherine, Frederick William had an eye on Polish land and was not prepared to fight unaided. Thus, in the summer of 1791, in spite of growing antagonism within the courts of several capitals, the likelihood of joint military intervention in France remained slight.

That situation soon took a decisive turn, however, for since Leopold had assumed the imperial throne, Austro-Prussian relations—traditionally tense and occasionally outwardly hostile—had warmed considerably. This improvement made possible a joint declaration by the respec-

tive sovereigns, issued at Pillnitz on 27 August 1791, which expressed their anxieties over Louis's predicament and their hope that the leading royal houses of Europe would make a joint effort to assist him. Though outwardly threatening, it was not a general call to arms, and in any event, it did not commit Austria and Prussia to anything without the cooperation of other powers. While it aimed to reestablish the legitimate power of the king, no such cooperation was forthcoming, and Pillnitz remained for a time nothing more than bluster and intimidation.

However ineffective the declaration appeared for the moment, it nevertheless added to the general sense of impending danger within France. As the year progressed, moreover, the prospect of war became an ever-more-attractive option for those politicians in Paris who viewed it as an opportunity to attain their own specific aims. This was particularly the case among the war party under the leadership of Jacques-Pierre Brissot, whose popularity continued to rise as the new year began. His followers, the

Brissotins, or Girondins, held an aggressive stance in the Legislative Assembly. The thirty-seven-year-old Brissot, an unsuccessful writer with a grudge against the ruling establishment, had been one of the first to call for the abolition of the monarchy. Brissot was not alone. By the winter of 1791–1792, the Jacobins could more than match the Girondins for radicalism. Speeches before the Assembly were clear: the Republic must have war; a war with total victory or total defeat. The nation was to live free or die in the defense of liberty, while those at home who threatened France from within would be crushed.

At the same time, those at the opposite end of the political spectrum—the monarchy and its traditional ally, the aristocracy—increasingly viewed war as an answer to their rapidly declining political fortunes. Into this cauldron of hostility were thrown the still active efforts of the émigrés to restore the status quo, and however little their efforts might have as yet achieved, their very existence assumed an importance out of all proportion to the actual danger to the Revolution that they presented. The recent growth of an émigré presence in the Rhineland, an area used as the springboard for the émigrés’ subversive schemes, naturally raised concerns for the Republican government, ever vigilant for evidence of counterrevolutionary enemies within and without.

Artois and his adherents amounted to a sort of royalist government in exile, based at Coblenz; although their influence in foreign courts was minimal, seen together with the Declaration of Pillnitz, the émigrés were erroneously assumed to be a real and powerful threat to the Revolution. In addition to receiving large amounts of financial aid, Artois could boast of a respectably sized émigré army in the Rhineland. The threat posed by such forces was negligible in military terms, but the very presence of this émigré army caused widespread alarm in France, where war fever was spreading.

Austria was not only pressured by the émigrés but also miscalculated the situation: by adopting an increasingly threatening attitude designed to intimidate but not provoke the Republican government in Paris, Leopold paradoxically achieved the reverse of his intentions. Hoping to lend weight to the power of the moderates in Paris, he in fact increased the power of the radicals. Thus was created a vicious circle: increasing French fears of émigré activity on their borders and the apparently menacing posture of Austria and Prussia contributed to the general atmosphere of paranoia and the prospect of not only counterrevolution, but also armed foreign intervention.

Events took on a new momentum on 1 March 1792, with the succession of Francis. Consistently unwilling to embrace the more bellicose views of the Prussian king, the princes of the Empire, and the émigrés, Leopold had preferred merely to pressure France rather than openly

threaten it with force. True, he had shown greater support for the restoration to power of Louis XVI—briefly suspended by the National Assembly after Varennes before moderates reinstated him in September 1791—than most other crowned heads, yet Leopold’s death ushered in an entirely new Habsburg attitude toward foreign affairs. Leopold had acted with caution and restraint; Francis tended more toward belligerence. The hawkish elements of the court grew in influence, while the new cabinet, particularly with the replacement of the more pacific chancellor, Graf Kaunitz, opened the way for an altogether more hostile policy toward Revolutionary France. The road to war was now free of its former obstacles.

As politicians in Paris were rightly perceiving the changing mood in Vienna, they were growing more vocal and bellicose themselves. The new foreign minister, Charles Dumouriez, came to office from relative obscurity amid the growing war fever. Long hostile to Austria, Dumouriez demanded immediate military action. War now seemed inevitable. Indeed, it was not long in coming: on 20 April, France formally declared war on Austria, disavowing any interest in prosecuting a war of conquest, but professing only a desire to maintain its own liberty and independence. The war, declared the Revolutionary government, was not a conflict of nation against nation, but the actions of a free people defending its rights against the aggression of a king. Little did anyone know that this war—which all sides believed would be short—would eventually engulf all Europe in more than two decades of conflict.

Neither side bore sole responsibility for the war. The conflict cannot be said to have originated exclusively in either Paris or Vienna. Nor was it only kings and politicians who shaped foreign policy; prevailing views among the general populace in both capitals played their role. In the end both sides sought war, but their objectives proved very different. Austria, joined shortly by Prussia on 21 May, wished to restore the old order in France, whereas for the Revolutionaries this was to be an ideological struggle between a free people and the tyranny of monarchical rule. This had been the philosophy so stridently advocated by Brissot since the autumn of 1791. Toward this end, the Revolutionaries were confident in their hopes of seeing a general rising of the minority nationalities of the Habsburg Empire: they were to be sorely disappointed.

Those powers ranged against France clung steadfastly to a policy more than merely ideological: there were distinct territorial gains to be made, a wholly realistic aim when one considers the Allies’ complete confidence in the superiority of their professional, highly trained, highly disciplined armies over the rabble that appeared to them to constitute the forces of the Republic. It is therefore not surprising that the Allies did not yet appreciate the immense threat to the

political stability of Europe's monarchies posed by the armies marching in the name of "the People," for those armies were as yet untested. They could hardly then know—and indeed it would be to the astonishment of all—that the Revolutionary armies would, despite some serious setbacks, achieve remarkable triumphs in the field between 1792 and 1795, rapidly annexing neighboring territories in great swathes never even imagined—much less achieved—by Louis XIV or Louis XV. Nor could the Allies have dared to imagine the full horror that lay ahead for them: seemingly unstoppable Revolutionary forces carrying with them the banner of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité* across western and central Europe, challenging the very legitimacy of monarchical rule. Only then was the war perceived as the grave threat to European political and social stability that it actually was.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Charles IV, King; Emigrés; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William II, King; French Revolution; Louis XVI, King; Pillnitz, Declaration of; Poland, Partitions of; Russo-Swedish War

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## Military Operations of the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802)

### War of the First Coalition (1792–1797)

#### *The First Phase: Operations in 1792–1795*

We have seen how the events of 1791–1792 shaped French foreign policy and eventually drove France to declare war on Austria. Conflict between France and the principal German powers had become inevitable when, in the Declaration of Pillnitz, issued on 2 August 1791, King Frederick William II of Prussia and Leopold II, the Holy Roman Emperor (and thus emperor of Austria, as well), had called upon other monarchies to restore the power of the Bourbon dynasty in France. An alliance between Austria and Prussia was eventually formed on 7 February 1792; France declared war on Austria on 20 April, and the Austro-Prussian partnership became formally established as the First Coalition on 26 June. Britain later joined the Allies on 1 February 1793, followed by Spain in March. It seemed that, faced with such an impressive array of powers, France would be defeated and the Revolution crushed. But it was not to be, and the conflict that was to become known as the French Revolutionary Wars in fact lasted for a decade.

Despite the general exodus of royalist army officers during the chaos that had followed the fall of the Bastille, enough had remained in the French service, particularly in the artillery, to enable the Republican armies—bolstered by the middle-class National Guard and a massive influx of volunteers and conscripts in 1792—to hold their own, relying for first survival, and then military success, on quantity if not quality.

The Allies, with 40,000 Prussians and 30,000 Austrians and other nationalities under the Prussian commander, the Duke of Brunswick, invaded France on 19 August, taking a series of fortresses during their slow but seemingly inexorable advance on Paris. As far as Allied generals were concerned, the rabble that now constituted the French armies would be swept aside by the disciplined and well-trained regulars of the *ancien régime* powers. But the course of history—not simply the campaign—was to be changed when a French army under General Kellermann, and part of another led by Dumouriez, confronted Brunswick at Valmy on 20 September. The battle hardly has the right to call itself such, as it constituted little more than an exchange of artillery fire; but the French gunners, mostly from the old royalist army, inflicted sufficient damage on the Prussian infantry to persuade Brunswick to withdraw back into Germany, thus saving the nascent republic. Thus emboldened, the Revolutionaries in Paris abolished the monarchy on the following day. The Republic was saved, and Europe, not to mention the world, would never be the same.

At the same time, French forces under General Adam Custine also crossed the Rhine from Alsace, while after Valmy, Dumouriez moved into the Austrian Netherlands (modern-day Belgium), obliging the Austrian defenders to withdraw before the unexpectedly rapid French advance. Dumouriez, however, caught up with them and inflicted a stinging defeat at Jemappes on 6 November, after which Republican forces occupied Brussels. Brunswick, for his part, counterattacked from Germany, driving Custine back and retaking Frankfurt.

But if French fortunes appeared in the ascendant in the first year of the war, they fell rapidly in the second. King Louis XVI was beheaded on the guillotine on 21 January 1793, an act which, after a build-up of Anglo-French tension in the preceding three months, precipitated war between Britain and France, the former not only upset by the precedent of regicide, but horrified by public declarations from Paris promising military aid to any people prepared to rise up and overthrow their monarchical masters. The invasion of the Austrian Netherlands and the opening of the Scheldt estuary struck at the heart of British security and trade. The closure of the Scheldt by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 had shifted trade from the Belgian ports of Ghent and Antwerp to Amsterdam. By reopening



**France:** Valmy (1792); Valenciennes, Perpignan, Truillas, Hondshoote, and Wattignies (1793); Le Boulou and Tourcoing (1794).

**Belgium:** Jemappes (1792); Neerwinden (1793); Courtrai, Tournai, and Fleurus (1794).

**Holland:** Bergen, twice, and Castricum (1799).

**Germany:** Amberg, Friedberg, Würzburg, Schliengen (1796); Stockach (1799); Hochstädt and Hohenlinden (1800).

**Switzerland:** Zürich, three times (1799).

**Italy:** Loano (1795); Montenotte, Dego, Mondovi, Lodi, Lonato, Castiglione, Bassano, Caldiero, and Arcola (1796); Rivoli (1797); Magnano, Cassano, The Trebbia, and Novi (1799).

**Spain:** Campródon, San Marcial, and Figueras (1794).

**The Middle East:** Shubra Khit and The Pyramids (1798); Mount Tabor and Aboukir (1799); Heliopolis (1800); Alexandria, twice (1801).

**Principal sieges:** Lille, Longwy, and Verdun (1792); Valenciennes, Condé, Mainz, Quesnoy, Dunkirk, and Toulon (1793); Collioure (1794); Rosas, Luxembourg (1795); Mantua (1796–1797); Valetta (1798–1800); Acre and Milan (1799); Genoa (1800).

*Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 6.*

a river of such commercial and strategic significance, the French thereby obtained for themselves access to the North Sea for their naval and merchant vessels. This Britain could not countenance, for such a violation of international law not only rendered inevitable the subjugation of Belgium, but presaged the occupation of Holland, as well. The Revolution, it seemed to William Pitt, the British prime minister, was not to be confined within the borders of France, but exported wherever its adherents saw fit to raise the banner of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*.

British concerns were not unfounded; the French soon thereafter declared war on Spain and the United Provinces (Holland), and formally annexed the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). The Allies opened a new offensive, with Brunswick besieging Custine in Mainz, in the Rhineland, and a Habsburg army under Friedrich Graf von Saxe-Coburg seeking to liberate the Austrian Netherlands. The French were thoroughly drubbed at Neerwinden on 18 March, and Brussels was retaken by the Austrians. Dumouriez defected to the Allies, and Custine failed to stem the tide near Valenciennes on 21–23 May, for which the unfortunate general was, like others perceived to have failed in their duty to the Republic, executed by Maximilien Robespierre's government, now infamous for the powers invested in the twelve-member Committee of Public Safety, whose reign of terror led to the execution of tens of thousands of French royalists and others branded enemies of the Revolution. As France was wracked by internal conflict and political upheaval, her forces were meanwhile reeling from the Allied onslaught. A number of fortified towns rapidly fell, including Condé on 10 July, Valenciennes on 29 July, and Mainz in August. France herself was undergoing a counterrevolution, with royalist revolts in the Vendée to the west and at Toulon in the south, where pro-royalist forces and an Anglo-Spanish fleet controlled the city and the naval installations of the French Mediterranean fleet.

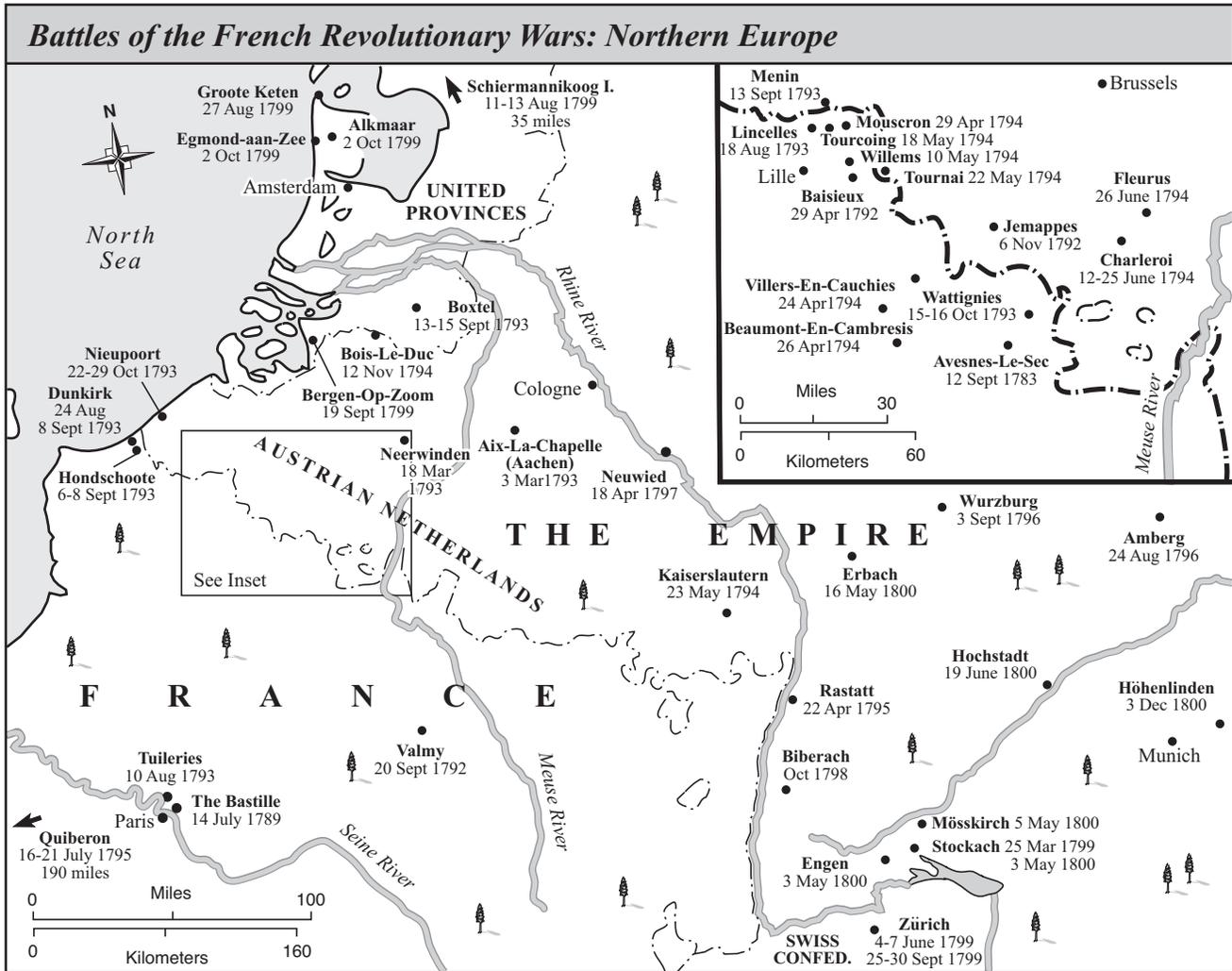
On 23 August 1793, confronted by advancing enemies from without and struggling to cope with political upheaval and internal enemies from within, the Committee of Public Safety issued the *levée en masse*, a form of universal conscription that called upon every adult male to flock to the colors and the nation's defense. Throngs of eager young men appeared in town squares the length and breadth of the nation to receive rudimentary training and march to the front. The *levée*, the masterwork of Minister of War Lazare Carnot, soon brought dividends to the Republic, as massive new armies were created. To be sure, they were virtually untrained and poorly disciplined, but they were large, and the men were often filled with revolutionary zeal.

Events turned for the better for the French when General Houchard met the Duke of York's Anglo-Hanoverian army at Hondshoote, in Flanders, driving the Allies back by sheer force of numbers. Jourdan, replacing the guillotined

Houchard, proceeded to relieve Maubeuge by defeating Saxe-Coburg at Wattignies on 15–16 October, thus turning the tide of war against the First Coalition. Two months later the French drove out the Anglo-Spanish force occupying Toulon, a feat partly attributable to an obscure captain of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte, who directed his guns from the heights above the harbor down onto Admiral Hood's vessels, so making a continued Allied presence impossible. Thousands of royalists were evacuated by the Royal Navy, but when Republican forces eventually broke into the city, a wholesale massacre of pro-royalist soldiers and civilians ensued. In the West, troops loyal to the Convention in Paris managed to suppress the revolt in the Vendée (with excessive harshness), and along the Rhine Hoche defeated the Prussians and Austrians in separate actions in December. Mainz was retaken the following month, and the French position on the Rhine was out of peril.

As 1794 opened, the French continued to make strides, particularly in the Austrian Netherlands, where Saxe-Coburg lost the contest at Tourcoing on 18 May. Jourdan invested Charleroi on 12 June and soundly defeated Saxe-Coburg at Fleurus on 26 June. The French retook Brussels on 10 July and Antwerp on 27 July, thereby permanently ejecting the Austrians from Belgium. On the Rhine front, Moreau drove back the Allies and invested Mainz, while the French kept the Spanish at bay on the Pyrenean front and ejected the Allies from Savoy southeast of France. Against the British in the Mediterranean, French naval forces fared less well, partly as a result of losses sustained at Toulon, where part of the fleet had been burned by the British, who also captured Corsica on 10 August. In the West Indies, too, the British assumed the offensive, seizing several French colonies. In European waters, at the Battle of the Glorious First of June, Earl Howe defeated a French fleet under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, taking several of his ships, but failing to attain the larger strategic goal of intercepting the large grain convoy originating in the United States and bound for the starving French population.

By 1795 the Republic was no longer under threat of invasion. Much to the chagrin of the British, General Pichegru advanced from the Austrian Netherlands into the United Provinces (Holland), capturing the Dutch fleet trapped in the ice at Texel, and establishing the satellite Batavian Republic—the first of several client states to spring up in the course of the Revolutionary Wars. By the summer, the Prussians, distracted by the Partitions of Poland, conducted by themselves, the Russians, and the Austrians in 1793 and 1795, had lost their enthusiasm for campaigning with no tangible results, and signed a separate peace with France at Basle, thus withdrawing from the First Coalition. Spain soon followed suit, as did several minor German states, leaving only Britain and Austria as



Adapted from Calvert and Young 1979, 198.

the principal opponents of France. Operations in this year were consequently conducted on a rather smaller scale than in the previous two, including a British-backed royalist émigré landing at Quiberon Bay in June intended to spark a revolt in Brittany. Hoche routed the invaders, and then, proceeding into the troubled Vendée, he employed his usual brutal methods to put down another counterrevolution. On the Italian front, General Masséna defeated the Austrians in a minor action at Loano on 23–25 November, but most of the fighting took place on the Rhine front, where Jourdan failed in his attempt to invade Germany in the autumn, and Pichegru was defeated at Mainz on 29 October. Still, the Austrians, requiring a respite and reinforcements, called for an armistice, just as the situation was growing increasingly awkward for the French.

#### *The Second Phase: Operations in 1796–1797*

With Prussia and Spain out of the war, from 1796 France only faced Austria and Britain, the only serious threat from

the latter being at sea. Operations on land were confined to two fronts: Germany and Italy. In the former, Jourdan and Moreau worked together to oppose the newly appointed Austrian commander, Archduke Charles, brother of the emperor. Jourdan's offensive across the Rhine, which opened on 10 June, enabled Moreau to cross the river at Strasbourg. Charles concentrated his attentions on the latter general, achieving only a stalemate at Malsch on 9 July before returning across the Danube. He then turned on Jourdan, whom he soundly defeated at Amberg on 24 August. Charles defeated him again at Würzburg on 3 September, forcing the French back along the Rhine and leading to an armistice. Moreau had meanwhile defeated an Austrian force at Friedberg on 23 August, but after hearing of Jourdan's repulse, he crossed the Rhine on 26 October.

In Italy, the ragged and demoralized French army received a new commander in chief in the person of General Napoleon Bonaparte, whose example at Toulon had not gone unrecognized. Arriving at the front in March, the

young general found the troops short of all manner of supplies, including food and uniforms. Facing an Austrian army under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu and a Piedmontese army under Freiherr Colli, Bonaparte rapidly took the initiative and proceeded to drive a wedge between his two adversaries, securing their separation at Montenotte on 12 April. He increased the pressure at Dego on 14–15 April, defeating Beaulieu there before turning his attention to Colli, whom he crushed at Mondovi on 21 April. Colli signed an armistice two days later; Piedmont was knocked out of the war with the separate peace it concluded on 28 April. Bonaparte, placing himself at the head of his troops, followed up this success with an assault on Beaulieu's rearguard at Lodi on 10 May. Beaulieu withdrew into the Tyrol, so abandoning all of northern Italy to the French, apart from the fortress city of Mantua, which remained in Austrian possession.

On 4 June Bonaparte invested the place. The Austrians made strenuous attempts to come to the city's relief. Forces under *Feldmarschall* Graf Würmser advanced from the Tyrol in two parts: the first, under his personal command, made for Mantua itself, while the second, under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Peter Vitus Freiherr von Quosdanovich, proceeded with the intention of cutting the French line of communications. As before, Bonaparte was confronted by two hostile forces moving simultaneously to defeat him—an ideal situation for a general who understood the strategy of defeating the enemy's formations in succession. With this plan in view, Bonaparte interposed himself between the two Austrian formations, fighting a holding action to keep Würmser in place while he confronted Quosdanovich at Lonato on 3 August. With Quosdanovich dealt with, Bonaparte then turned to face Würmser, whom he decisively defeated at Castiglione on 5 August, forcing him to take refuge in the Tyrol.

Würmser managed to regroup, but, while making a second attempt to relieve Mantua, he foolishly repeated his previous error of dividing his forces, ordering *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich to hold the Tyrol, while Würmser himself moved on Mantua via the Brenta valley. Bonaparte resumed his strategy of defeating his enemies in turn; at Caliano he defeated Davidovich on 5 September, and on receiving news of Würmser's movements, raced to meet him, which he did at Bassano on 8 September. Würmser managed to throw part of his force into Mantua, but the remainder fled the field in confusion. The 28,000-man garrison sought to break out on 15 September, but Masséna's besieging force repulsed their sortie.

The Austrians sent yet another relief force, now under *Feldzeugmeister* Freiherr Alvinczy. The smaller of the columns under Davidovich was held up by a subsidiary French formation, while the bulk of the French troops under Bonaparte confronted Alvinczy's main force at

Caldiero on 12 November. The Austrians were initially held up, but were driven to flight a few days later at Arcola on 15–17 November.

At sea there were no more major encounters in 1796, though the Treaty of San Ildefonso concluded between France and Spain had important implications for the Royal Navy, which did not have the strength to confront both major navies in the Mediterranean, which the British were ignominiously forced to abandon. With the fleet proceeding west to anchor at Gibraltar, the army had no choice but to abandon its control of Corsica, occupied since 1794.

At the beginning of 1797, the Austrians made a fourth attempt at relieving Mantua, with Alvinczy attacking Bonaparte at Rivoli on 14 January. The action might have favored the Austrian commander, had not French reinforcements under Masséna reached the field and ensured that Bonaparte would emerge successful. With yet another victory behind him, Bonaparte marched on Mantua, where he sought to assist Sérurier, whose siege lines were threatened both from beyond the perimeter by a force under Provera, as well as from Würmser's sorties. Sérurier managed to contain the garrison and force it back into the town, while Bonaparte encircled Provera and obliged his capitulation. Finally, on 2 February, after having suffered from disease and lost 18,000 men, the garrison of Mantua surrendered. Bonaparte, now in control of all of northern Italy, could invade Austria itself.

As before, Bonaparte positioned his army between the divided Austrians, with those in the Tyrol kept under observation by Jourdan, while Bonaparte observed the movements of Alvinczy's successor, Archduke Charles. Crossing the Alps with three columns, and later joined by Joubert, Bonaparte came within a hundred miles of Vienna before Emperor Francis requested an armistice, which was signed at Leoben on 18 April. In an extraordinary move for a general, Bonaparte laid out the treaty terms without consulting the government in Paris. The preliminary peace of Leoben was later confirmed on 17 October in the Treaty of Campo Formio, whose terms proved exceptionally advantageous to France: the Austrian Netherlands were incorporated into the French Republic, and Austria agreed to recognize the Cisalpine Republic, a northern Italian satellite state of France. As a sop to Habsburg pride, Bonaparte offered Austria the former Venetian Republic. Thus ended the War of the First Coalition, with France in control of the Rhineland, Belgium, and northern Italy. After five years of fighting, French territory extended to the "natural" frontiers long desired by the Bourbon kings: the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

Austrian fortunes had been no better on the German front, where the French had recrossed the Rhine and Moselle, from the latter of which they pushed the Austrians back. Even as the two sides were concluding an

armistice at Leoben, Habsburg forces were in the midst of withdrawing from this front.

The only theater in 1797 in which the Allies enjoyed any real success was at sea. Admiral Sir John Jervis, with fifteen ships of the line, intercepted Admiral de Cordova's twenty-seven vessels off Cape St. Vincent while the Spaniard was attempting to link up with a French fleet in Brest, preparatory to an invasion of England. On 14 February the two fleets fought a remarkable action in which Commodore Nelson broke the Spanish line in unorthodox fashion, so enabling the battle to develop into the sort of individual ship-to-ship action that so favored the superior British crews. The Royal Navy, however, had much to contend with in home waters, where the fleets at Spithead and the Nore, later in the year, mutinied in protest at the poor conditions of service. Still, the French were not in a position to take advantage of this crisis, and British authorities managed either to suppress or to assuage the mutineers. The British then scored a second significant victory in 1797 when Admiral Adam Duncan, in a hard-fought action off Camperdown in October, defeated the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Winter, and captured nine of his fifteen ships of the line.

### **War of the Second Coalition (1798–1802)**

#### *The French Campaign in Egypt*

Operations in 1798 focused on the unlikely place of Egypt, though there was some fighting in Europe as well. The French occupied Rome in February and Switzerland in April, creating in their place satellite states known as the Roman and Helvetic Republics, respectively. The French attempted to land an expedition in Ireland in support of the rebellion there, but General Jean Humbert's small force arrived too late, for the British had already decisively defeated the rebels at Vinegar Hill on 12 June. After Humbert belatedly disembarked his troops at Killala Bay on 22 August, he was surrounded and forced to surrender by Lord Cornwallis on 8 September.

With Austria knocked out of the war and Britain unable to supply a large army to oppose France on the European mainland, France sought a means of striking at Britain, if only indirectly. With the Royal Navy too powerful to challenge openly, and with the invasion of Britain out of the question in the wake of St. Vincent and Camperdown, France could only hope to weaken Britain by striking at her trade. A French occupation of Egypt, a province under nominal Ottoman control, would not only strengthen the French presence in the Mediterranean but might even enable Bonaparte to strike overland to threaten British possessions in India. An expedition under Bonaparte duly sailed from Toulon on 19 May aboard a fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Brueys. On 12 June, French troops landed on Malta and seized the island, before the expedition continued on to Alexandria,

where 30,000 troops disembarked and marched through the sand to Cairo. On 21 July a large Mameluke force tried to halt Bonaparte's advance at the Battle of the Pyramids, but the crudely armed horsemen, employing the tactics of a bygone era, charged vainly into the disciplined fire of the French infantry arrayed in square. Bonaparte entered the capital on the following day. The decisive action of the campaign was, however, fought at sea, when on 1 August Nelson discovered Brueys's fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay, just east of Alexandria, and annihilated it, apart from two ships. The Battle of the Nile restored the Royal Navy's presence in the Mediterranean and left Bonaparte totally isolated, with no hope either of reinforcement or of evacuation.

The Turks, meanwhile, had naturally joined the war on Britain's side, and assembled troops for a counteroffensive staged from Rhodes and Syria. In order to preempt such attacks, Bonaparte seized the initiative and marched north into Syria with 8,000 men, taking El Arish (14–15 February 1799) and Jaffa (3–7 March) en route. He laid siege to the coastal city of Acre, which was held by the Turks with assistance from British naval captain Sir Sidney Smith, who inspired the garrison to offer a stout defense. All the while, the French army was withering away through fatigue, battle casualties, and plague. The Turks, seeking to relieve the siege, met the French in battle at Mount Tabor on 17 April, but were driven off with heavy losses. Nevertheless, weakened by disease and lacking an adequate siege train, the French abandoned the siege and withdrew back to Egypt. Three months later, an Ottoman army landed at Alexandria and constructed field fortifications near the beaches, but on 25 July Bonaparte stormed them, drove many of the defenders into the sea, and forced the fortress at Aboukir to surrender on 2 August. With the French army now secure, albeit stranded, in Egypt, Bonaparte returned to France, arriving on 9 October.

His successor in Egypt, General Kléber, appreciating that his situation was now untenable, on 24 January 1800 concluded with Turkish officials the Convention of El Arish, by which the French were to be evacuated back home in British ships. When, however, the British government disavowed the arrangement, which it had not authorized, Kléber resumed operations, defeating the Ottomans at Heliopolis on 20 March and retaking Cairo. When an Egyptian assassinated Kléber in June, Menou succeeded to command. The French position in Egypt was, despite their recent success against the Turks, doomed. A British expeditionary force under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed at Aboukir in the face of ferocious French resistance on 8 March 1801 and two weeks later defeated the French at Alexandria before pushing on to Cairo, which they captured in July. After Menou surrendered his army on 31 August, British transports repatriated his troops.

*Operations in Europe, 1799–1801*

As noted earlier, from 1798 the Ottoman Empire had joined Britain in opposing France. The Russians, concerned by French incursions into the Mediterranean, concluded a treaty with Britain in December, and the Second Coalition expanded again with the addition of Austria on 22 June 1799. Naples, the Papal States, and Portugal also added their weight to the Allied effort. The Neapolitans captured Rome on 29 November 1798, but two weeks later the French retook the city. Nevertheless, with erstwhile victor Bonaparte away in Egypt, and with the Allies advancing in superior numbers on several fronts, the Republic found itself hard-pressed.

Fighting was concentrated on three fronts: in North Holland, where the Duke of York's combined British and Russian expeditionary force made a landing; in Italy, where a combined Austrian and Russian army under the veteran Russian commander Alexander Suvorov scored several notable victories; and in Germany, where Archduke Charles also achieved significant gains against the French.

In Italy, the French under General Championnet invaded the Kingdom of Naples and set up the Parthenopean Republic, a satellite state into which French political principles were introduced under the watchful eyes of an army of occupation. To the north, however, at Magnano on 5 April 1799, General Schérer failed to defeat Kray's Austrians before the Russians could arrive to reinforce their allies. Suvorov linked up with the Austrians shortly thereafter, routing the French, now under Moreau, at Cassano on 27 April. He then followed up his victory by retaking Milan and Turin in quick succession. Suvorov secured victory again, on an even greater scale, at the Trebbia River on 17–19 June, when he savaged Macdonald, who had arrived from southern Italy to assist Moreau. Suvorov then pursued the two generals toward the coast. At Novi, on 15 August, Moreau's successor, Joubert, was killed and his army chased off in headlong retreat. Suvorov intended to pursue and capitalize on his great success, but was ordered instead to shift operations to Switzerland. In Italy, the remaining Austrians and Russians under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Freiherr von Melas defeated Championnet's forces at Genoa on 4 November. Thus, in the course of one campaign, Suvorov had reversed practically all of Bonaparte's achievements in the Italians campaigns of 1796–1797.

In Germany, Jourdan confronted Archduke Charles, who fought the French general to a standstill at Ostrach on 21 March. Four days later they renewed their contest at Stockach, where after initial success the French were finally pushed back and obliged to retire to the Rhine. In Switzerland, Masséna fortified his position at Zürich, but he was unable to withstand the Austrian assaults on 4–7 June and retired to the west, only to try again and suffer defeat before Zürich on 14 August. Before Suvorov could arrive from

Italy, Masséna struck at the Russian forces under General Rimsky-Korsakov, drubbing him comprehensively at Zürich on 25 September. Suvorov's troops displayed remarkable endurance in their fighting progress through the Alps, but with the French now in the ascendant in Switzerland, and the mentally unbalanced Tsar Paul recalling Suvorov, the tide was turning against the Allies in that theater.

In Holland, too, the French managed to hold their own. Arriving by sea in August, the Duke of York's Anglo-Hanoverians were joined by a small Russian force and advanced against Brune's French and Batavian force, which blunted the Allied offensive at Bergen on 19 September. In a second action at Bergen on 2 October, York was victorious, but with defeat only days later at Castricum and tension rising between British and Russian forces, York loaded his troops onto Royal Navy transports and crossed the Channel to safety.

The year's campaigning ended with mixed results. Although the Allies had retaken virtually all of northern Italy from the French, their various forces had failed to cooperate on the Dutch and Swiss fronts, with predictable results. The tsar, angered by these failures and already shifting his foreign policy toward rapprochement with France, withdrew Russia from the coalition in December. The month before, Bonaparte, now back in France, overthrew the Directory in Paris and established the Consulate, with himself at the forefront of government. With full political power welded to his military brilliance, Bonaparte now sought to knock Austria out of the war as he had done two years before.

The campaign of 1800 did not open fortuitously for the French, for Masséna found himself besieged by the Austrians in Genoa, while Melas pushed other French contingents westward along the Riviera. Bonaparte now opened the campaign with an offensive of his own: an invasion of Italy via Switzerland, marching his army amid the most atrocious winter conditions across the Alps into the Lombard plain. Melas doubled back on learning of Bonaparte's appearance, while Masséna's forces in Genoa finally succumbed to starvation and capitulated to *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Peter Ott Freiherr von Bartokez on 4 June. Nevertheless, on 11 June, Ott's forces were soundly defeated by Lannes at Montebello, a reverse that obliged the Austrians to fall back on Alessandria. Nearby, at Marengo, on 14 June, Bonaparte, his divisions marching dangerously separated and operating on the assumption that Melas was at Turin, stumbled upon the main Austrian force double the size of his own army. Melas had all but won the day by the afternoon, but General Desaix arrived with two French divisions, counterattacked, and routed the Austrians, though at the cost of his own life. Bonaparte's army—and reputation—was saved, and the Habsburg military presence in Italy virtually evaporated. When Melas capitulated on 15 June, operations on this front came to an

end, with Bonaparte's military reputation enhanced to new heights.

In Germany, Moreau scored a series of successes against the Austrians under Kray at Stockach (3 May), Möskirch (5 May), and Hochstädt (19 June). Hostilities were suspended by an armistice between July and November, but when the fighting resumed, Archduke John, Kray's successor, lost in catastrophic fashion to Moreau at Hohenlinden on 3 December. Moreau wasted no time in exploiting his success by advancing directly on Vienna, supported by two formations: a French army under Brune proceeding from Italy via the Alps, and Macdonald moving into the Tyrol from Switzerland. Habsburg authorities in Vienna accepted that further resistance was useless and, after calling for a truce on Christmas Day, signed a treaty of peace on 9 February 1801 at Lunéville, an agreement that largely mirrored that reached at Campo Formio, with some additional concessions from Austria. The Second Coalition now hardly deserved the name, for without the participation of Russia and Austria, Britain remained the only major belligerent facing a triumphant France.

Britain, for her part, was not idle, though her role continued largely to be confined to naval operations, apart from the expedition to Egypt and operations on Malta, which fell in 1800 to the British after a two-year siege, assisted by a Maltese rebellion against French rule. Elsewhere, although the Royal Navy had already defeated French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets in recent years, it now faced a new threat: the League of Armed Neutrality—a pact of neutral Baltic nations that included Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia—inspired by Paul I of Russia and intended to combat the British maritime policy of searching and seizing neutral vessels that Britain suspected of carrying contraband materials bound for French or French-controlled ports. The Admiralty dispatched a fleet under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker who sent his second in command, Nelson, to confront the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. After a ferocious day's fighting, Nelson defeated the Danes, caused extensive damage to their fleet, and prepared to move east against Russia's Baltic Fleet at Revel. The assassination of the mad Tsar Paul put his Anglophile brother Alexander on the imperial throne, so obviating the need for a naval confrontation with Britain and bringing an end to the League of Armed Neutrality.

With France dominant on land, Britain supreme at sea, and both sides wearied by a decade of uninterrupted conflict, peace was concluded at Amiens on 27 March 1802, bringing an uneasy end to the French Revolutionary Wars. This was to be merely a brief respite—only fourteen months—and the only period of peace to be established between 1792 and 1815. The Napoleonic Wars began with the renewal of Anglo-French hostilities in May 1803, and within two years Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden had assembled yet a third coalition with which to confront a

nation considerably more powerful than it had been during its Republican phase.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Belgium, Campaign in; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Middle East Campaign; Neapolitan Campaign; North Holland, Campaign in; Pyrenean Campaigns; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland, Campaign in; West Indies, Operations in the

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## The Outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars

In the course of Britain's war against Revolutionary France between 1793 and 1802, the dominant theme of British

foreign policy was the prevention of French territorial expansion and the reestablishment of the balance of power on the Continent. Principally a naval power, Britain found itself unable to challenge French aggression unassisted. As in the wars against Louis XIV and the various struggles of the mid-eighteenth century, Britain sought to achieve its war aims through the construction of coalitions with the Great Powers of Europe and the seizure of French overseas colonies. Until the wars against Revolutionary France, such policies had consistently proved successful. The new enemy, no longer constrained by limited military and political objectives, was sustained by a revolutionary spirit absent in the wars of the Bourbon kings. Thus, the traditional reliance on coalition warfare and maritime supremacy was rendered far less effective.

The fate of the First and Second Coalitions (1792–1797 and 1798–1802, respectively) was a bitter testament to the fact; failure of Allied military coordination, mutual jealousies over the territorial spoils of war, ill-conceived strategy, and the distractions caused by the Partitions of Poland led to the defection of some powers and the defeat of others. At sea Britain established undisputed command of the waves and conquered virtually the entire French colonial empire, yet was unable to compensate for the continental advantages reaped by the Revolutionary armies in the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy. France, wearied by the wars spawned by revolution and fuelled by its own success, nevertheless desired peace. So long as Britain remained supreme at sea, Napoleon was unable to reestablish the French New World empire. By virtue of distance, the recent acquisition of Louisiana from Spain could not be exploited, nor could France hope to recover Haiti from the native rebels who had liberated it in 1801. With its overseas trade severely curtailed by British blockade and fleet action, France found it could no longer reap the benefits which war on the Continent had provided since 1792. The death of Tsar Paul of Russia, neutral though Francophile, as well as British successes in Egypt in 1801, signaled the end of any prospect of Franco-Russian cooperation against Turkey or Britain.

In Britain calls for peace were equally pressing. By 1801 the country found itself without continental allies as a result of a series of separate arrangements between France and Austria, Russia, and Prussia in the course of the Wars of the First and Second Coalitions. The European states had, in fact, begun to turn against Britain's maritime policies of blockade and the search and seizure of neutral vessels. No longer would they tolerate the country's practice of exhorting the Continent to arms, accruing to itself the advantages of colonial acquisitions and overseas markets without the losses attendant upon direct operations against France. In short, while the continental powers stood to lose vast stretches of territory to France, Britain remained relatively

secure from attack. Finally, few enemy colonies still resisted capture, while many of the most important ports of the Continent remained closed to British trade in any event and others still open, such as those of Portugal, were on the verge of seizure by hostile Spain. Thus, with Britain mistress of the seas and France supreme on land, both sides regarded further recourse to arms as futile. Protracted negotiations ended the stalemate; in Britain, Henry Addington, the prime minister, finally authorized the signature of the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802, thus bringing an uneasy termination to nine years of uninterrupted war.

Just as the origins of the Second World War may be traced back to the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, the origins of the Napoleonic Wars may be found in the circumstances surrounding the Treaty of Amiens, a peace settlement that numbers, like Versailles, among the most controversial ever reached by a British government. The key elements stipulated that all French and Dutch overseas colonies, including the Cape Colony at the southern end of Africa, were to be restored by Britain. France was to receive Elba, while Minorca and Malta were to be returned to Spain and the Knights of St. John, respectively. France, for its part, agreed to evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States, as well as Egypt, which was to be restored to Turkey.

Britain's extensive cessions caused alarm and despondency among the Pittites, who had only recently left office; with evidence seeming daily to confirm the aggressive tendencies of Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul since 1799, those sacrifices were being keenly felt. The surrender of strategic points around the globe prompted stinging criticism from Lord Grenville and William Windham, the former secretaries of state for foreign affairs and of war and the colonies, respectively. To such men, the return of all French colonial possessions, along with the return of the Cape Colony and Malta—whose superb port of Valetta served as the Royal Navy's vital strategic base in the central Mediterranean—constituted an act of weakness and humiliation. Nevertheless, the prevailing view in Britain held that the war-weary nation required the respite offered by peace. From the government's perspective, disadvantageous as the terms might be, Britain was in no position to demand extensive indemnities from France. In the end, however, Amiens offered Britain virtually no security, only a short-lived and costly truce.

The absence of Britain as a signatory to the Treaty of Lunéville, concluded between France and Austria in 1801, had far-reaching consequences, most notably the great potential offered to France for territorial acquisitions on the Continent without the legal interference of Britain. Napoleon was not required to evacuate Dutch territory or recognize the Batavian Republic's independence; therefore the Cape of Good Hope, a Dutch possession, lay subject to

his influence. Nor did arrangements at Amiens require French recognition of the sovereignty of the Helvetic (Swiss), Cisalpine (northern Italian), or Ligurian (Genoese) Republics, whose independence Lunéville exclusively guaranteed. Consequently, with Austria cowed and exhausted by its defeat in numerous disastrous campaigns stretching back to 1792, the terms of Lunéville could be respected or violated at the First Consul's will, and it is not surprising that contemporary opinion regarded France as the major beneficiary of Amiens. The king himself referred to the peace as "experimental," forced on Britain by the abandonment of its allies. Certainly it was not long before France reaped the advantages offered at Lunéville and Amiens.

The causes of the rupture of peace are both varied and complex, and no detailed effort need be taken here to chronicle the numerous violations perpetrated by the signatories or to apportion to them relative blame. Britain's mounting discontent with the situation after the signature of the treaty and, ultimately, the country's desire for war, rested on three factors: the economic isolation caused by the closure of continental ports to its exports, the encroachments of France on its weak neighbors, and the assembly of military and naval forces along the Channel coast, which Britain interpreted as preparations for invasion.

References to commercial relations were not included in the terms of Amiens. The war had provided Britain with a virtual monopoly over French overseas markets and stimulated commerce with its own colonies. The restitution of enemy colonies ended French dependence on British goods, thus severely damaging those exporters and manufacturers whose livelihood depended largely on the French market. French control of virtually the entire European coastline from the Scheldt to the Adriatic and the imposition of heavy customs duties on British goods all but expelled those goods from continental markets. The renewal of peace also permitted the legitimate pursuit of overseas markets by France without British interference. The extent to which these circumstances may have aroused warlike sentiments on the part of London commercial interests is difficult to assess; but that they served as an inducement to war there seems little doubt. Since the peace France had, moreover, embarked upon a large ship-building program, ostensibly for colonial expeditions against the rebellious colony of St. Domingue, that would in a few years make its navy large enough to challenge Britain's mastery of the seas.

French continental aggrandizement was the chief cause of the renewal of war. France's territorial acquisitions during the interlude of peace were extensive. In Italy, Bonaparte proclaimed himself president of the Cisalpine Republic in early 1802 and formally annexed Piedmont, and later Parma, in September of that year. Spain ceded Elba to France, and French troops occupied Switzerland in October on the pretext of serving a mediating role in internal dis-

putes over the form of government under which the Swiss wished to be ruled. The terms of Lunéville guaranteed the Swiss the right to self-determination. In Britain reaction was fierce, even to the point that some Whigs, normally sympathetic to France, expressed outrage at the interference with Switzerland's right to self-determination. For the present, at least, British diplomatic language on the affair was dignified, firm, and restrained, demonstrating that Anglo-French relations had not collapsed irreparably. The foreign secretary, Lord Hawkesbury, reminded the French ambassador in London that Bonaparte's declared intention, published in the official government paper, the *Moniteur*, to mediate in the civil disputes in Switzerland violated the pledge to uphold Swiss independence that he had made at Lunéville. France, in short, was to keep its nose out of Swiss affairs. The Swiss gave way to French pressure, and when troops arrived, the Swiss made no appeal to arms.

French encroachments were not limited to central Europe. On 9 October the Dutch government was informed by the French representative at The Hague that a revolutionary movement was active in Holland and threatening its constitution. In consequence, the First Consul felt it his duty to come to the country's assistance. By the end of the month Bonaparte resolved, in violation of Lunéville, to retain his 10,000 troops of occupation and continued his demand that the republic provide for the maintenance of those forces. The Dutch voiced their objections through their ambassador in Paris, but it was to no avail. No resistance was offered; disregarding the Dutch rejection of a constitution inspired by himself, Bonaparte ordered its forcible imposition.

Thus, in the brief period between March 1802 and May 1803, France came to dominate Holland, Switzerland, and north and central Italy without provoking the intervention of the Great Powers. These acquisitions did not constitute infractions of the Treaty of Amiens in either spirit or letter, and therefore Britain's objections could find no foundation in international law. Nevertheless, by the autumn of 1802, barely six months after the signature of the treaty, Britain was already on the brink of going to war.

Anglo-French relations now deteriorated rapidly. As a result of French depredations on the Continent, Addington soon resolved not to act on his pledge to withdraw British troops from Malta, thus preserving some point of strategic value from which to check, if necessary, French encroachments into the Mediterranean. Malta's strategic value had long been recognized by the European powers. It had been occupied by Bonaparte in 1798 on his expedition to Egypt in that year and retaken after a two-year siege by British troops on land and a squadron of the Royal Navy at sea. Although British diplomats made great efforts at the peace conference for the island's annexation, Bonaparte steadfastly refused to accept this provision and instead

proposed its neutrality under the guarantee of a third party, Naples. Britain considered the establishment of a Neapolitan garrison, to deter future French designs on Malta, a ridiculous proposition; pending the accession of the other Great Powers to an article guaranteeing the island's independence, later known as Article X, it ultimately acquiesced to the condition.

Nevertheless, Britain was remiss in failing to evacuate the island and admit the 2,000 men of the Neapolitan garrison within the three-month period allowed after the signature of the treaty. Britain promised France it would withdraw. Britain had, moreover, failed to evacuate entirely its garrison from Egypt; a portion of its troops had remained in Alexandria since Egypt's restoration to Turkey. It was not until the First Consul issued a demand for its complete withdrawal that Britain satisfied the conditions of the treaty on this point.

By the new year, a crisis in Anglo-French relations was growing. Austria had already acceded to the article guaranteeing the sovereignty and independence of Malta, and Russia, despite the conditional nature of its acceptance, was thought amenable to accession. In London, however, the prime minister contemplated retaining the island. Addington's continued delay in removing British troops soon amounted to an overt violation of the treaty; France was not prepared to let this pass unnoticed, and on 27 February Talleyrand reminded Lord Whitworth of Britain's solemn obligations. Only the accession of Russia to Article X and the election of a new Grand Master of the Order of Malta were wanting, the foreign minister stated. Thus, the time for delay afforded by a pretext for continued occupation would soon come to an end.

Although Britain had originally agreed to Malta's evacuation in good faith, in the light of French depredations on the Continent since the signature of Amiens, Addington balked at relinquishing the island to an uncertain fate under a Neapolitan garrison, notwithstanding pledges from Russia, Prussia, Austria, and other powers to guarantee the island's independence. Moreover, various reports from British envoys, including Sir John Warren at St. Petersburg and the Earl of Elgin, former ambassador to Turkey, aroused suspicions at Downing Street that France was contemplating a renewal of its previous designs on Turkey. If these reports alone did not convince the cabinet to retain the garrison indefinitely, a report published in the *Moniteur* in January 1803 reconfirmed Addington's conviction that Malta's evacuation would be catastrophic to British interests in the Mediterranean in general, to Egypt specifically, and by extension, to India. Similarly, it reinforced prevailing views within British political and public circles that Bonaparte's ambitions were boundless.

The report was the product of the mission of Colonel Horace Sébastiani, a French infantry (later cavalry) officer,

who was temporarily charged as an envoy to Turkey. Sébastiani was ordered to make extensive travels in Egypt, the Levant, and the Balkans on a mission in order, ostensibly, to acquire commercial information on these regions. Irrespective of its true purpose, the mission yielded valuable intelligence on the state of defense of various Ottoman provinces for purposes of future French conquest. The publication of Sébastiani's report, in which, among other conclusions, he observed that 6,000 troops could easily subdue Egypt, excited indignation in Britain and resolved Addington to refuse the evacuation of Malta as agreed to at Amiens.

Lord Whitworth was instructed in early February to inform the French government that Malta would be retained in compensation for the extensive territorial gains acquired by France since the signature of Amiens. These gains had completely overturned the balance and stability that both powers had pledged to uphold. As the state of possession had been so radically altered, Britain reserved the right, the government argued, to seek compensation on the basis of diplomatic precedence in international law and the assumed sanction of this principle by France. In view of French gains in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, Whitworth was instructed in early February that his country believed it consistent with the terms of Amiens to claim for itself compensation in order to balance the threat to its security that these continental acquisitions represented; in short, Britain demanded a counterweight to French gains. The Sébastiani report, moreover, suggested continued French designs on Egypt—a wholly unacceptable prospect in British eyes. Whitworth recapitulated these arguments to the foreign minister in mid-February. Talleyrand assured him that France entertained no designs on Egypt or India and referred to Sébastiani's mission as a strictly commercial venture. The First Consul, he continued, had no desire to disturb the peace reached at Amiens, and he claimed that French finances would not, in any event, enable him to wage war. Finally, he expressed surprise that the British government should hold any suspicion of French intentions.

Within days, Napoleon had summoned Whitworth to the Tuileries to explain his position in person. The First Consul enumerated the various provocations for which he held Britain accountable and referred particularly to its failure to evacuate Malta and Egypt in accordance with Amiens. France, he declared, could not tolerate British possession of Malta. He complained about the virulent personal attacks made against him in the British press and accused Britain of harboring French émigrés who, he claimed, had conspired to overthrow his government. If he had intended to invade Egypt, the First Consul informed Whitworth, it would already have been accomplished. Napoleon claimed that he would not conquer Egypt, much as he would like it as a colony, because he could obtain it without recourse to war as a result of the inevitable collapse

and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, or by some private arrangement with the sultan.

On the strength of such words, it was clear in Britain by the first months of 1803 that the conduct of France could no longer be tolerated, and many politicians, both within the government and on the opposition benches in Parliament, were either calling for war or held the view that it was only a matter of time before events forced Addington's hands and made hostilities unavoidable. Accepting the situation, on 6 March, with war looming on the horizon and naval preparations actively underway in French and Dutch ports, Addington directed the cabinet to sit and consider the defense of the nation. By the end of the month, measures were in hand to strengthen British defenses in the West Indies, and new naval commanders were assigned to stations operating in home waters.

For its part, France rightly accused Britain of delinquency in evacuating Malta, which, as noted earlier, was subject to retrocession to the Knights of St. John. Though Britain was prepared to evacuate the island as soon as a new Grand Master of the Order was elected and the Great Powers agreed to guarantee the island's independence, neither of these conditions was ever fulfilled, principally owing to the renewal of war. In any event, there was reason to believe that the Knights of St. John and the Neapolitan envoy at Malta were colluding with French officials. The island therefore continued firmly under British occupation.

After numerous abortive attempts by Whitworth to settle the Malta question, the ambassador left Paris. His departure heralded nothing unexpected in Britain, for by May repeated French provocations had, for many, long justified a declaration of war. In support of his belligerent policy, Addington laid before Parliament a large collection of Foreign Office dispatches that concerned the course of negotiations with France since Amiens, as well as supplementary materials equally damning of the First Consul. Many in Parliament and in the nation at large believed circumstances vindicated Britain's cause, and on 18 May the House of Commons voted its approval for a declaration of war on France.

The decision was grimly taken, for although some observers expressed hopelessly optimistic views on the nation's prospects of success, the fact remained that Britain embarked on war without a single ally. Moreover, if the "Amiens interlude" had clearly enabled Napoleon to aggrandize his power at the expense of his weaker neighbors, with hostilities resumed with Britain he was all the better placed to capitalize on circumstances. The large French force assembled in Holland promptly invaded the Electorate of Hanover, the hereditary protectorate of King George III, enabling the French to exclude British commerce from much of the northwest German coast and provoking Britain to retaliate with a naval blockade. In the

Mediterranean, French troops occupied the remainder of the Italian peninsula. Only a portion of the Kingdom of Naples remained unoccupied; it stood under constant menace. Britain's greatest concern, however, was the concentration at Boulogne of enemy forces, whose presence foreshadowed the direct invasion of the island kingdom itself.

The rupture of the peace fourteen months after its signature ushered in a new era of conflict, which soon assumed global proportions and was to span another twelve years. The two great rivals pitted their energy and resources against one another in a struggle to decide between French continental hegemony and the restoration of the balance of power. No longer regarding the Treaty of Amiens as an adequate guarantee against the encroachments of France, Britain again assumed her traditional role as the architect of coalitions.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Cisalpine Republic; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; George III, King; Haiti; Hanover; Louisiana Purchase; Lunéville, Treaty of; Malta, Operations on; Middle East Campaign; Naples; Paul I, Tsar; Pitt, William; Poland, Partitions of; Switzerland; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Military Operations of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815)

### Renewal of the Anglo-French Conflict

The renewed conflict, which began in May 1803, initially involved only Britain and France. As the dominant naval power, Britain naturally reverted to its time-honored strategy of reimposing its blockade of the major French ports such as Rochefort, Brest, and Toulon, and preying on French commercial shipping. The French, at the same time, resumed the construction of shallow-draught transports in preparation for a cross-Channel invasion of England. Over the subsequent months the main construction area around Boulogne grew substantially, as did the concentration of

troops established in camps there. Napoleon understood that so as to facilitate an invasion it was vital to distract a large proportion of the Royal Navy's ships, in order to ensure that the Channel was clear for his highly vulnerable invasion craft. Napoleon, who was ignorant of naval strategy and failed to appreciate that the principles that applied to warfare on land did not necessarily apply to those at sea, devised many plans of varying complexity.

None of these was in fact carried out until April 1805, when Admiral Villeneuve emerged from Toulon, linked up with a Spanish fleet at Cádiz, and sailed for the West Indies, with Vice Admiral Nelson in pursuit. In June Villeneuve then returned to European waters, unintentionally falling in with a British squadron off Cape Finisterre on 22 July 1805; the engagement was indecisive in itself, but it obliged Villeneuve to make for Cádiz instead of the Channel. In any event, the Brest fleet had been unable to evade the blockade and was still in port. Villeneuve, with thirty-three ships of the line, then received orders to sail for the Mediterranean, to aid in diversionary operations in Italy. Nelson, however, with twenty-seven ships of the line, intercepted him off Cape Trafalgar on 21 October, achieving a decisive victory over the Combined Fleet (as the united French and Spanish fleet was known) and ending all possibility of a French invasion for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars. Immensely important though the Battle of Trafalgar was, it did not affect the vital operations then being simultaneously conducted on land, for Napoleon had, by the time of the battle, already changed his plans, temporarily abandoning his scheme for a landing on the English coast in order to free up the Grande Armée, as his main force became known, for operations against the Austrians and Russians.

### War of the Third Coalition (1805)

William Pitt, the British prime minister, was instrumental in organizing the Third Coalition, which came to fruition on 11 April 1805 with the conclusion of an Anglo-Russian alliance, to which Austria acceded on 9 August. Sweden, a comparatively minor power, joined the coalition shortly thereafter. Napoleon broke up his invasion camp at Boulogne at the end of August and marched for the Danube in order to confront Austro-Russian forces. At the same time, an Austrian army under Freiherr Mack who had no knowledge that the French were moving east, invaded Bavaria, a French ally, on 2 September.

Archduke Charles meanwhile advanced into Italy to confront the French forces there under Marshal Masséna, while further east a Russian army under General Mikhail Kutuzov slowly advanced through Poland to assist the Austrians in Moravia. The Austrians were shocked to discover that Napoleon had made such remarkably rapid progress, crossing the Rhine on 26 September and reaching the Danube on 6 October. In the course of this march, the French had moved

in a broad arc around Mack's army near Ulm, cutting his lines of communication and isolating him from reinforcement. After a feeble attempt to break through the cordon at Elchingen on 14 October, Mack surrendered his entire force of 27,000 men on 17 October, making the encirclement at Ulm one of history's greatest strategic maneuvers.

With Mack's force neutralized, Napoleon advanced on and occupied Vienna, forcing the Russians back at Dürnstein on 11 November and Hollabrunn on 15–16 November. In Italy, Masséna was victorious at Caldiero, forcing Charles to retire back across the Alps, though detached formations from the principal French forces prevented him from linking up with the main Austro-Russian army, for which Napoleon set a trap. By moving north of the Austrian capital to expose his lines of communications, Napoleon tempted Kutuzov to sever these lines. The ploy worked. As the Allies attempted to envelop the French flank at Austerlitz on 2 December, Napoleon launched his forces through the Allied center, dividing it and crushing the enemy left, making Austerlitz one of Napoleon's greatest victories. Two days later Emperor Francis surrendered, and Kutuzov, with Tsar Alexander attached to Russian headquarters, promptly withdrew his forces east. Peace between France and Austria was reached on 26 December at Pressburg, where Francis agreed to cede territory to France and her allies in both Germany and Italy.

### War of the Fourth Coalition (1806–1807)

Although Austria withdrew from the coalition after Austerlitz, Britain and Russia remained at war with France. The Fourth Coalition came into being in the autumn of 1806 after a breakdown in Franco-Prussian relations, largely the result of Napoleon's failure to cede Hanover (formerly a hereditary possession of George III) to Prussia, as promised, and of the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine—a new political entity replacing the Holy Roman Empire (abolished in 1806) consisting of various German states all allied to, or dependent on, France. Prussia had remained neutral during the 1805 campaign—in hindsight a grave strategic error on its part—but with the growing influence of France in German affairs it threw in its lot and, together with its ally, the Electorate of Saxony, declared war.

The Grande Armée, situated in northeast Bavaria, prepared to invade Prussia; the Prussians were commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a veteran of the wars of Frederick the Great. With remarkable speed the French began their advance on 8 October, achieving complete surprise. Marshal Lannes, in a minor action at Saalfeld on 10 October, defeated a small Prussian force and killed Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, while the main French army turned the Prussian left flank while making for Berlin. Napoleon fought part of the main Prussian army under Fürst Hohenlohe (Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen) at

Jena on 14 October. Hohenlohe's command was, however, merely a small force meant to protect Brunswick's rear; Napoleon's numerical superiority predictably told, and Hohenlohe was routed. At Auerstädt, a short distance to the north, on the same day, Davout, who had been sent to cut Prussian communications, encountered the main Prussian force under Brunswick. There the odds were rather different, with Davout outnumbered by a force more than twice the size of his own. He managed to hold on, however, and when Bernadotte arrived, the tide turned decisively in the French favor, with the Prussians routed there as well, and the Duke of Brunswick mortally wounded.

The destruction of Prussia's main army effectively spelled the end of resistance, and the remainder of the campaign consisted of the French pursuit of small contingents, virtually all of which eventually put down their arms, and the capture of fortresses. Berlin itself fell on 24 October, and the last major force to hold out, near Lübeck, surrendered a month later. A small Prussian contingent managed to make contact with the Russians in Poland, into which Napoleon immediately proceeded, taking Warsaw in an effort to prevent the Russians from assisting their vanquished allies.

Adhering to the principle that the key to victory lay in confronting and decisively defeating the main enemy force, Napoleon sought out the Russian army under General Bennigsen, the first encounter taking place on 26 December at Pultusk, where the Russians were bruised but nothing more. The rival armies went into winter quarters in January 1807 amid bitterly cold temperatures, but the campaign resumed the following month, when Bennigsen began to move and Napoleon went in pursuit. Though outnumbered and caught in a blizzard, Napoleon reached the Russians at Eylau, where on 8 February the two sides inflicted severe losses on one other with no decisive result. Bennigsen withdrew, but with appalling losses and atrocious weather, Napoleon declined to follow. Both sides returned to winter quarters to recover from the carnage, with the renewal of hostilities planned for the spring.

Bennigsen and Napoleon each planned to assume the offensive, but when Bennigsen advanced first, he was stopped at Heilsberg on 10 June. Four days later the decisive encounter of the campaign took place at Friedland, where Bennigsen foolishly placed his army with the river Alle at his back. The Russians resisted enemy attacks with magnificent stoicism, eventually collapsing. With no route of escape, the campaign was over. Tsar Alexander, his army in tatters, and accompanied at headquarters by Frederick William III of Prussia, requested a conference to discuss peace. The three sovereigns concluded the Treaty of Tilsit between 7 and 9 July, putting the seal on Napoleonic control of western Europe. Frederick William was humiliated, having given up

those portions of his Polish possessions originally taken during the Partitions of Poland more than a decade before to the newly established duchy of Warsaw, a French satellite state. To the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussia ceded all its territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, most of this forming the new Kingdom of Westphalia under Napoleon's brother, Jérôme. A French army of occupation was to remain on Prussian soil until a huge war indemnity was paid. Russia was required to enter into an alliance with France against Britain and to recognize the duchy of Warsaw. With Russia and Prussia knocked out of the war, only Britain remained to face France, now at the height of its power.

### War of the Fifth Coalition (1809)

The Fifth Coalition hardly justified the name, for when Austria once again chose to oppose France, it did so without allies to assist it on land. Britain, of course, carried on operations at sea and offered substantial subsidies and loans as it had since 1793, but it could do little more on land than send an expedition in July to Walcheren Island, off the Dutch coast, where disease soon rendered the whole affair a disaster and obliged the British to withdraw in October. Nevertheless, the Austrians had some reason to be hopeful, for in fielding a sizable army in the spring of 1809, they took advantage of the absence from central Europe of large numbers of French troops who had been diverted to serve in operations in Spain. Yet, with misplaced optimism, they underestimated Napoleon's ability to muster his forces and concentrate them quickly, for by the time the Habsburg armies were ready to fight, the French had shifted reinforcements from the Iberian Peninsula to meet this revived threat.

The main Austrian army under Archduke Charles invaded the principal member of the Confederation of the Rhine, Bavaria, which also had to contend with an Austrian-inspired revolt in the Tyrol, a region formerly under Habsburg control. At the same time, Archduke John crossed the Alps to invade northern Italy, repulsing Eugène de Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy and a staunch ally of France, at Sacile on 16 April. When Napoleon arrived from Spain, he moved immediately to the offensive, crossing the Danube and defeating an Austrian force at Abensberg on 19–20 April before turning on Charles, then under observation by Davout. Charles struck first, confronting Davout at Eggmühl but failing, despite overwhelming numerical superiority, to defeat him, as a result of Napoleon's arrival. French exhaustion from three days' engagements (at Abensberg, Landshut, and Eggmühl) denied them the opportunity to pursue Charles, though they managed to storm and seize Ratisbon on 23 April. Three weeks later French troops occupied Vienna without a shot being fired.

Charles meanwhile concentrated his army on the north bank of the Danube. Napoleon ordered pontoon bridges

constructed to span the river to Lobau Island, and then to the other side, where troops positioned themselves in the villages of Aspern and Essling. On 21–22 May the two sides fought bitterly for possession of these villages, but the French refused to be dislodged. However, with the single French bridge unable to allow substantial numbers of reinforcements to be fed to the north side of the river, Napoleon withdrew his forces to the opposite bank, marking out Aspern-Essling as the Emperor's first defeat. Napoleon intended to recross the Danube and confront Charles for a second time, but he knew he must first develop another plan to do so. Meanwhile, on the Italian front, Archduke John was obliged to withdraw back over the Julian Alps, followed by Eugène, who was successful at Raab on 16 June and subsequently moved to link up with the main French army on the Danube.

Hoping to defeat Charles before he could be reinforced by Archduke John, Napoleon recrossed the Danube on the night of 4–5 July. The Austrians offered no resistance to the crossing, but on 5 and 6 July heavy fighting took place at Wagram, where Charles attempted to isolate Napoleon from his bridgehead. This maneuver, however, failed; the Austrian center was pierced, and Charles was obliged to retreat, albeit with very heavy losses suffered by both sides. Austria could no longer carry on the war. Vienna was under enemy occupation, the main army had been beaten, though not destroyed, and Russia had not joined the campaign as Austria had hoped. Francis duly sued for peace on 10 July and three months later signed the Treaty of Schönbrunn, by which he relinquished large portions of his empire to France and its allies and promised to adhere to Napoleon's Continental System, by which the Emperor sought to impose an embargo on the importation of British goods to the Continent and the exportation of continental goods to Britain in an effort to strangle its economy.

### **The Peninsular War (1807–1814)**

Quite separate from the other campaigns waged in Europe, the Peninsular War, fought on the Iberian Peninsula, constituted the principal theater in which Britain could at last contribute substantial land forces to the war against Napoleon. Portuguese and above all Spanish resistance, involving both regular and guerrilla forces, over time contributed much to the diversion of French troops from other theaters of conflict, and to the continual drain on French manpower. After the Treaty of Tilsit and the introduction of the Continental System, only Portugal continued to defy the ban by accepting British imports. In an effort to close this final avenue of trade, Napoleon sent troops through Spain to Portugal, taking advantage of the opportunity to impose his will on the Spanish as well.

In November 1807 General Junot began his march through Spain, entering Lisbon in December. The Por-

tuguese royal family was evacuated by the Royal Navy and transported to Brazil, while the Provisional Government left behind sought assistance from Britain. Napoleon then revealed his full intentions, when in March 1808 Marshal Murat entered Spain at the head of a large army, occupied Spanish fortresses and disarmed their garrisons under false pretences, and deposed both King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, who were replaced by Napoleon's brother Joseph, backed by pro-Bonapartist elements in Madrid. The French occupation was never fated to go smoothly: on 2 May the populace of Madrid rose up in revolt, and the spirit of resistance soon spread throughout the country, where guerrilla bands began to spring up and prey on French detachments, couriers, and isolated outposts. The regular Spanish armies fought a number of pitched battles against the French in 1808–1809, but they were generally defeated, sometimes disastrously. Spanish resistance also manifested itself in a number of epic sieges in which civilians played a prominent part, most notably that of Saragossa, northeast of Madrid, where in the summer of 1808 the inhabitants managed to stave off repeated French attempts to storm the city. The one significant Spanish success in the field came at Bailén, in Andalusia, where on 19 July 1808, General Dupont surrendered an army of 23,000 men, causing shock waves across Europe and destroying the myth of French invincibility.

The war in the Peninsula took on an entirely different character from August 1808, when a British expeditionary force led by Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) arrived in Portugal and defeated Junot at Vimeiro on 21 August, thus securing a foothold for the British army. By the Convention of Cintra, senior British commanders granted the French generous terms, which allowed them to be transported home with their weapons in British ships. Wellesley alone was cleared by the court of inquiry that convened in London and cashiered the generals responsible for what in Britain were considered the disgraceful terms agreed to at Cintra.

With Portugal cleared of French troops and British reinforcements arriving under Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, an opportunity now offered itself for an offensive into Spain. Moore, with promises of Spanish support, therefore advanced in the autumn of 1808. When the Spanish support failed to materialize, however, Moore faced numerically superior forces under Napoleon himself, who had arrived in Spain determined to drive the British out of the Iberian Peninsula once and for all. He occupied Madrid on 4 December and pursued the British commander, obliging Moore to make a long, punishing retreat through winter conditions to Corunna (and another, smaller column to retreat to Vigo) on the northwest Spanish coast. The diversion of French attention toward

the retreating British columns gave the Spanish armies a much-needed respite. Believing Moore at risk of imminent defeat at the hands of Marshal Soult, and with war looming with Austria, Napoleon left for France. Moore was harassed for much of the journey, but on reaching Corunna he turned to face Soult before evacuating his troops onto Royal Navy transports. Moore died in the ensuing battle, but his ragged army was saved, and by that time Lisbon had been sufficiently fortified to prevent the French from retaking it. Saragossa, however, finally surrendered, after a second enormously costly siege in February 1809.

Wellesley returned to Portugal in command of the army there, to be supplemented by Portuguese forces reorganized on the British model by Marshal Beresford. Soult invaded Portugal in the spring of 1809, but Wellesley ejected him after fighting at Oporto, on the Douro River, on 12 May. Exploiting his success, Wellesley crossed the border into Spain to cooperate with the Spanish commander, General García de la Cuesta, who in the event failed to assist Wellesley at Talavera on 28 July, when he came under attack by Marshal Victor and Joseph Bonaparte. The Anglo-Portuguese narrowly held off the French, as a reward for which Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Marquis Wellington, finishing the Peninsular War as the Duke of Wellington. Meanwhile the Spanish armies showed themselves to be incapable of confronting the French, who defeated them comprehensively at Ocaña on 19 November. Unable to take the war into Spain, for the moment Wellington concentrated on defending Portugal, where Lisbon was established as an easily accessible base at which supplies and troops could be landed from Britain, and which held complete command of the maritime route from home. Wellington ensured that the defenses could sustain an attack on any scale by ordering the construction of a line of impregnable fortifications, known later as the Lines of Torres Vedras, across the peninsula on which Lisbon was situated.

Masséna opened the campaign of 1810 with yet another French invasion of Portugal, in July, but he was defeated at Busaco on 27 September by Wellington, who then withdrew behind the protection afforded by the completed Lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna followed him, but upon discovering the Lines made one attempt at penetrating them before realizing that they were unassailable. He therefore camped his troops before the Lines for the remainder of the year and into 1811, with very little food to be foraged or requisitioned in the area, as a result of Wellington's scorched earth policy. The French also sought to capture Cádiz, in the far south of the country, where the Spanish had established an alternative capital to occupied Madrid. At Cádiz a small British force under Sir Thomas

Graham repulsed the French at Barrosa on 5 March, securing the port city's safety. Masséna fought Wellington at Fuentes de Oñoro on 5 May, while to the south Beresford's Anglo-Spanish army beat Soult, himself seeking to aid French troops besieged at Badajoz. Losses were very heavy on both sides, and though Soult was unable to relieve the garrison, the fortress remained in French hands and thus prevented Wellington from taking the war into Spain. The French were successful elsewhere; in the south, Marshal Louis Suchet captured Tarragona on 28 July and Valencia on 9 January 1812.

The campaign of 1812 opened with Wellington assuming the offensive, seizing the border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo on 19 January and Badajoz on 6 April, the latter taken only after the British storming parties suffered tremendous losses in a series of desperate assaults. Notwithstanding the heavy price paid for possession of these towns, Wellington could at last carry the war into Spain, where he scored a decisive victory over Marshal Marmont at Salamanca on 22 July. Wellington occupied Madrid for a short time in August, but with the failure of his assault on Burgos as a result of inadequate siege equipment, he was obliged to retreat as far as Portugal. Nevertheless, large numbers of French troops had been withdrawn for the Russian campaign, and years of guerrilla warfare had taken a heavy toll on both French strength and morale.

In 1813 Wellington was enabled to return to the offensive, routing Joseph's army at Vitoria on 21 June, thus ending Bonapartist rule and forcing the French from most of the country to a narrow band of territory in the extreme north. Wellington continued to drive the French before him, taking San Sebastian and Pamplona and fighting his way through several passes in the Pyrenees to invade France herself. He defeated Soult, first at Orthez on 27 February 1814, and again in the final major action of the war, on 10 April at Toulouse, where news had not yet arrived that Napoleon had already abdicated in Paris a few days earlier. The Peninsular War had not only brought to the fore one of Britain's greatest commanders, it had drained French resources over the course of many years, thus making an important contribution to Napoleon's ultimate downfall.

### **The Russian Campaign (1812)**

With the Continental System eventually cutting hard into the Russian economy and Alexander growing increasingly concerned about the presence of the duchy of Warsaw on his borders, war between Russia and France became inevitable. Napoleon, gathering a massive army of unprecedented size and composed of every nationality from his empire, pushed across the Niemen River with over half a

million men on 22 June 1812. The two main Russian armies, one under General Barclay de Tolly and the other under Prince Bagration, found themselves unable to resist a force of this size, and withdrew east, uniting at Smolensk on 3 August. Unable to outflank his opponents, Napoleon chose to engage them first on 17 August at Smolensk, where he took the city by storm, and again at Valutino two days later, where he scored a minor success, the Russians simply withdrawing deeper into the interior and obliging the French to extend their increasingly vulnerable lines of communication even farther.

The Russian commander in chief, Barclay de Tolly, was replaced by Kutuzov, who on 7 September made an extremely hard-fought stand at Borodino, where rather than attempting any elaborate maneuvers to envelop the stationary Russians, Napoleon launched a simple frontal assault against prepared positions held by troops committed to defend “Holy Russia” with the utmost determination. The battle degenerated into a horrendous bloodletting with no decisive result. Kutuzov withdrew further east, the

exhausted French unable to pursue in the short term. The Russians made no further attempt to defend Moscow, which the French entered on 14 September. Nevertheless, much of the city was almost immediately destroyed by fire—probably deliberately set by the Russians—though enough remained of Moscow to provide shelter for Napoleon’s dwindling army for the month that the Emperor chose to remain there, all the while hoping that the tsar would sue for peace. Alexander sent no such overtures, and by the time Napoleon began his retreat on 19 October, winter had nearly arrived.

The story of the retreat from Moscow is well known: snow soon began to fall, and the army, harassed by Cossacks and suffering from hunger, cold, and lack of horse transport, disintegrated into a mass of fugitives, most of whom could offer little or no resistance to the increasingly vengeful Russians. The entire path of the army was strewn with bodies, abandoned equipment, and the spoils of war. On 24 October the Russians caught up with the corps, mostly Italians, under Eugène de Beauharnais at



Napoleon receiving a report during the retreat from Moscow. His invasion of Russia proved the greatest strategic blunder of his career. His failure to appreciate the vast distances to be covered and the extreme temperatures to be endured led to the destruction of the largest army hitherto known. (Print by W. Wereschtschagin from *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* by Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 1913)

Maloyaroslavets, inflicting a serious blow, and when the army finally reached Smolensk, it was hardly worthy of the name. Stragglers and camp followers were regularly butchered by the Cossacks, and discipline and morale gradually collapsed. Kutuzov cut off part of the Grande Armée at Krasnyi on 16–17 November, though Napoleon managed to rescue it, and the whole struggled on to the Berezina River. There, engineers, working under the most difficult circumstances, managed to throw two makeshift bridges across the river, enabling thousands to cross, while what units that could be cobbled together fought on the east bank to hold back the attacks of the regular Russian army. Eventually the bridges gave way under the weight of the fugitives, leaving thousands to be captured or killed on the Russian side of the river. Fewer than 100,000 survivors eventually reached the Niemen at the end of December, when the Russians halted their pursuit of an army that had dissolved into mere rabble. The Grande Armée had effectively ceased to exist, but Napoleon had already gone ahead to Paris to assemble a new army.

### **The Campaign in Germany (1813)**

However immense the losses suffered by Napoleon in Russia, his extraordinary administrative skills enabled him to rebuild his army by the spring of 1813, though neither the men nor the horses could be replaced in their former quality or quantity. The Sixth Coalition, which had been formed by Britain, Russia, Spain, and Portugal in June 1812, now expanded as other states became emboldened to oppose Napoleonic hegemony in Europe. The Prussian corps, which had reluctantly accompanied the Grande Armée into Russia, declared its neutrality by the Convention of Tauroggen on 30 December 1812, and on 27 February 1813 Frederick William formally brought his country into the coalition by the terms of the Convention of Kalisch, signed with Russia. The Austrians remained neutral during the spring campaign, with Fürst Schwarzenberg's corps, which had covered the southern flank of the French advance into Russia, withdrawing into Bohemia.

By the time the campaign began in the spring, Napoleon had created new fighting formations from the ashes of the old, calling up men who had been exempted from military service in the past, those who had been previously discharged but could be classed as generally fit, and those who, owing to their youth, would not normally have been eligible for front-line duty for at least another year. With such poorly trained and inexperienced, yet still enthusiastic, troops Napoleon occupied the Saxon capital, Dresden on 7–8 May, and defeated General Wittgenstein, first at Lützen on 2 May and again at Bautzen on 20–21 May. Both sides agreed to an armistice, which stretched

from June through July and into mid-August, during which time the French recruited and trained their green army, while the Allies assembled larger and larger forces, now to include Austrians, Swedes, and troops from a number of former members of the Confederation of the Rhine.

When the campaign resumed, the Allies placed three multinational armies in the field: one under Schwarzenberg, one under Blücher, and a third under Napoleon's former marshal, Bernadotte. The Allies formulated a new strategy, known as the Trachenberg Plan, by which they would seek to avoid direct confrontation with the main French army under Napoleon, instead concentrating their efforts against the Emperor's subordinates, whom they would seek to defeat in turn. The plan succeeded: Bernadotte drubbed Oudinot at Grossbeeren on 23 August, and Blücher won against Macdonald at the Katzbach River three days later. Napoleon, for his part, scored a significant victory against Schwarzenberg at Dresden on 26–27 August, but the Emperor failed to pursue the Austrian commander. Shortly thereafter, General Vandamme's corps became isolated during its pursuit of Schwarzenberg and was annihilated at Kulm on 29–30 August.

The end of French control of Germany was nearing. First, Bernadotte defeated Ney at Dennewitz on 6 September; then Bavaria, the principal member of the Confederation of the Rhine, defected to the Allies. The decisive battle of the campaign was fought at Leipzig from 16–19 October, when all three main Allied armies converged on the city to attack Napoleon's positions in and around it. In the largest battle in history up to that time, both sides suffered extremely heavy losses, and though part of the Grande Armée crossed the river Elster and escaped before the bridge was blown, the Allies nevertheless achieved a victory of immense proportions that forced the French out of Germany and back across the Rhine. A Bavarian force under General Wrede tried to stop Napoleon's retreat at Hanau on 30–31 October, but the French managed to push through to reach home soil a week later. Napoleon, his allies having either deserted his cause or found themselves under Allied occupation, now prepared to oppose the invasion of France by numerically superior armies converging on several fronts.

### **The Campaign in France (1814)**

Convinced that he could still recover his vast territorial losses, Napoleon chose to fight on against all the odds, rejecting offers from the Allies that would have left France with its "natural" frontiers: the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. French forces were under pressure on several fronts. Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish forces stood poised along the Pyrenees; the Austrians were already operating in northern Italy; and several armies were

making seemingly inexorable progress from the east: Schwarzenberg approaching from Switzerland, Blücher through eastern France, and Bernadotte from the north through the Netherlands. To oppose these impressive forces, Napoleon possessed little more than a small army consisting of hastily raised units, National Guardsmen, and anyone who had somehow avoided the call-ups of the past. Somehow, at least in the initial stages of the campaign, the Emperor managed to summon up the kind of energy and tactical brilliance for which he had become renowned during the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797.

In swift succession he drubbed Blücher at Brienne on 29 January, at La Rothière on 30 January, at Champaubert on 10 February, at Montmirail on 11 February, at Château-Thierry on 12 February, and at Vauchamps on 14 February. Napoleon then turned to confront Schwarzenberg at Montereau on 18 February, before again fighting Blücher, at Craonne, near Paris, on 7 March. Yet, however many enemies he could repel in turn, Napoleon could not be everywhere at once, and his corps commanders, despite the continued enthusiasm for battle displayed by the troops themselves, could not achieve the same results in the field as the Emperor. The French could not stand up to the numbers facing them at Laon on 9–10 March, and though there were still successes in March such as at Rheims on the thirteenth, there were also setbacks such as at Arcis-sur-Aube on 20–21 March. Schwarzenberg then defeated two of Napoleon's subordinates at La-Fère-Champenoise on 25 March, before linking up with Blücher on the twenty-eighth.

The Allies were now very close to Paris, where Joseph Bonaparte had failed to make adequate provision for the capital's defense. After token resistance at Clichy and Montmartre on 30 March, Marmont refused to fight on, and the Allies entered the capital the following day. At a conference with his marshals, Napoleon found himself surrounded by men finally prepared to defy him; the troops, they declared, would listen to their generals, not the Emperor. With no alternative, Napoleon abdicated unconditionally on 11 April and, by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, took up residence on Elba, off the Italian coast, while the Bourbon line in France was restored under King Louis XVIII.

### **The Waterloo Campaign (1815)**

Napoleon was not content to remain on Elba and manage the affairs of his tiny island kingdom. Landing in France in March 1815 with a small band of followers, he marched on Paris, gathering loyal veterans and adherents from the army as he went, including Ney, whom the king had specifically sent to apprehend the pretender to the throne. Allied leaders were at the time assembled at Vienna, there to re-

draw the map of Europe, which had been so radically revised by more than two decades of war. The Seventh Coalition was soon on the march, with effectively the whole of Europe in arms and marching to defeat Napoleon before he could raise sufficient troops to hold off the overwhelming numbers which the Allies had now set in motion toward the French frontiers. With the speed characteristic of his earlier days in uniform, Napoleon quickly moved north to confront the only Allied forces within reach: an Anglo-Dutch army under Wellington and a Prussian one under Blücher, both in Belgium. Napoleon could only hope to survive against the massive onslaught that would soon reach France by defeating the Allied armies separately; to this end he sought to keep Wellington and Blücher—who together easily outnumbered him—apart.

On 16 June, after a rapid march that caught Wellington, then at Brussels, entirely off guard, Napoleon detached Ney to seize the crossroads at Quatre Bras, then occupied by part of Wellington's army, while with the main body of the *Armée du Nord* he moved to strike Blücher at Ligny. Ney failed in his objective, and though on the same day Napoleon delivered a sharp blow against the Prussians, the crucial result was that the two Allied armies continued to remain within supporting distance of one another. Blücher, having promised to support Wellington if he were attacked by Napoleon's main body, took up a position at Wavre. Two days later Napoleon did precisely that, focusing his attention on Wellington while the two Allied armies lay apart. Having detached Marshal de Grouchy to follow the Prussians and prevent them from linking up with Wellington, the Emperor launched a frontal assault on Wellington's strong position around Mont St. Jean, near Waterloo.

The hard-pressed Anglo-Allied troops held on throughout the day, gradually reinforced by elements of Blücher's army that managed to leave Wavre while Grouchy, busily engaged with a Prussian holding force, refused to march to the sound of the guns at Waterloo. The French made strenuous attempts to dislodge Wellington's troops, who in turn showed exceptional determination to hold their ground, and as the Prussians gradually made their presence felt on the French right flank, the battle began to turn in the Allies' favor. In a final gamble to break Wellington's center and clinch victory, Napoleon sent forward the Imperial Guard, but when his veterans recoiled from the intense, point-blank musket and artillery fire they received on the slope, the rest of the army dissolved into a full-scale rout.

With no possibility of retaining power, Napoleon abdicated in Paris a few days later. By the second Treaty of Paris, the Bourbons were restored to the throne, France was reduced to her pre-1792 borders, forced to support an army of occupation and pay a sizable indemnity. As for

Napoleon, his hopes of obtaining permission to reside in Britain were dashed; on surrendering himself, he was taken as a captive to spend the remainder of his life on the remote South Atlantic island of St. Helena, where he died on 5 May 1821.

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Waterloo Campaign

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## Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821)

The identity of Napoleon Bonaparte is a major concern for today's historians, as they seek to add more than just further detail to the familiar outline of his military and political career. They have begun exploring the construction of his personality, and the images and representations that were generated in the process. A myth was certainly manufactured after his death, but its fabrication commenced during his own lifetime, elaborated not simply by contemporaries but through Napoleon's own deliberate efforts. He had History in his sights from the outset, and was constantly reinventing himself, from Buonaparte a Corsican patriot, to Bonaparte the Revolutionary General and Republican Consul, to, finally, in 1804, Napoleon the Emperor. In the Hundred Days the revolutionary aspect briefly resurfaced, before the embellishment of the legend on St. Helena was undertaken during the last years of his life. This final endeavor carried his appeal still further, and Bonapartism became established as a significant political option in nineteenth-century France. Together with the sheer scale of his ambition and a series of stunning military victories, this protean character, reflected in a vast array of printed and visual imagery, helps to explain his unparalleled longevity in the global memory. Though the achievement ultimately fell short of his vast reach, it lent a romantic aura to an astonishing individual who has prompted more ink to flow than any modern figure.

The future Emperor of the French was barely born a subject of Louis XVI. He arrived in the world on 15 August 1769, at Ajaccio, in the southwest of the beautiful, but wild, Mediterranean island of Corsica, which had been transferred to France by the Genoese just a year earlier. Corsica had a long history of rebellion, and it was in the throes of another insurrection, which Napoleon's father supported. When it became evident that the French were determined to overcome some typically stubborn resistance, Carlo

Buonaparte made his peace with the island's latest masters. Although he died relatively young, leaving his strong-willed wife Laetitia to run the family, he thus secured a place for his family in the new order. Napoleon, the second eldest of five sons, was packed off at a tender age to a military school at Brienne in Burgundy, where he cut a rather sad and solitary figure, homesick and struggling with the northern climate. Rather than showing precocious genius, as many commentators have suggested, he was often mocked for his lesser gentry origins and, above all, his Corsican accent (which he retained throughout his life).

Even after he graduated to the *Ecole Militaire* in Paris, he continued to spend a good deal of his spare time reading and writing. Indeed, his adolescent literary endeavors shed much light on these early years when, like many of his generation, he aspired to become an author as much as a soldier. Influenced by the classics and, among contemporary authors, by Rousseau, he nurtured a number of projects: these included an Egyptian tale, as well as a dissertation on suicide, an indication of his troubled state of mind. By the time the Revolution broke out in 1789, he had been commissioned as a sub-lieutenant, albeit in the less prestigious artillery. In the stultifying garrison atmosphere of Valence, in the Rhône valley, it was a prize essay competition for the Academy of Lyons that preoccupied him, but his *Discourse on Happiness* failed to gain a prize. Yet the author manqué would become as great a communicator as he was a conqueror. He was extremely well-read, and books would always accompany him on campaign, in the form of a mobile library.

Another of Buonaparte's youthful projects was an unfinished history of Corsica. Army service was punctuated by generous periods of leave, and he frequently returned to his native island. His entry into Revolutionary politics was, not unnaturally, a Corsican one, as a patriotic follower of Pasquale Paoli, who had led the struggle against France in the late 1760s and now reemerged to renew the long struggle to liberate his homeland. Corsica was given departmental status like other areas of France, but this was insufficient for its independent-minded partisans. Buonaparte lent his military skills to the newly formed Corsican National Guard and was accordingly absent from the general review of army officers that took place under the reformed regime in France early in 1792. Yet his incarnation as a Corsican patriot was short lived. In 1793, the whole Buonaparte clan was obliged to leave the island after falling out with Paoli; Buonaparte was to see his native island only once more, briefly, on his return from Egypt in 1799. He became a perpetual exile, and his quest for global supremacy might be seen as a means of overcoming this deep sense of isolation.

Returning to the mainland, Buonaparte sought to rejoin the army. He was fortunate that the nascent Republic

was so much in need of help and could overlook his recent failure to rally to the colors. The outbreak of war in the spring of 1792, coupled with the wholesale desertion of the ranks by aristocratic officers who had gone into exile, facilitated his reintegration and also offered the possibility of distinction in both internal and external campaigns. In the summer of 1793, he was active in the Midi, participating in the suppression of the so-called federalist revolts, Republican insurrections against the Jacobins who had seized power in Paris. In a pamphlet he published at his own expense, entitled, *Le souper de Beaucaire* (The Supper of Beaucaire), Napoleon not only revealed a propagandist bent, but also showed the effects of his literary apprenticeship, siding with the Jacobin cause against a disaffected merchant from Marseille. He was an obvious choice to assist in ending the siege of neighboring Toulon, where a moderate rebellion had turned into full-blown counterrevolution, with the entry of the British fleet into the Mediterranean naval base. Rendering the roadstead untenable demanded vigorous use of the artillery that Napoleon led and, by the end of 1793, Toulon, like other rebel cities, had been reduced to submission.

In retrospect, the recapture of Toulon was a milestone in his career, but it went virtually unnoticed at the time. The repression that accompanied these operations, though it did not directly involve him, was much more widely publicized. It inevitably meant that he incurred some guilt by association, and when the Jacobins fell from power in 1794, Napoleon's prospects took a turn for the worse: the youthful brigadier general (he was still just twenty-four years old) found himself out of favor, though not for long. The Thermidorian Reaction was swinging too far in a conservative direction, and even middle-of-the-road Republican politicians felt threatened. In saving the day for those politicians in Vendémiaire (October 1795) with his famous "whiff of grapeshot" against right-wing rebels in Paris, Napoleon not only resurrected his career but teamed up for a second time with Paul Barras, who became a long-serving member of the new executive Directory.

The southern politician, whom Buonaparte had first encountered at Toulon, also introduced him to Josephine de Beauharnais, the society widow whom the newly promoted general married in 1796. This ill-fated liaison was to cause him much pain, as well as prompting the disapproval of his mother. Madame Mère, as she became known when Buonaparte was elevated to the imperial dignity as Emperor Napoleon I, pointedly refused to attend the great coronation at Notre Dame in 1804, and it was left to the artist David to literally paint her into the picture (which showed Josephine being crowned empress by her husband). Significantly, he styled himself as Buonaparte in the marriage register, gallicizing his name, though opponents (notably the

British and royalists) would doggedly persist in employing the original, Corsican orthography, Buonaparte.

Command of the Army of Italy soon followed, though at that point Italy was something of a sideshow compared to the crucial northeastern front, and the Republican general was merely one of a series of talented young soldiers who had recently risen up the ranks, such as Louis Hoche or Barthélemy Joubert. It was Napoleon, however, who seized the opportunity to make a name for himself, and the legend was born as much on the plains of Lombardy as on St. Helena twenty years later. What stands out from the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797 are not simply the military victories at Lodi or Rivoli, but the way in which Bonaparte, quickly dubbed the *héros italique* in the press, exploited his prowess. On the one hand there was the conscious crafting of a reputation, reflected in journalism; not content with the adulation he was receiving from others, he founded his own newspapers, which foreshadowed the famous *Bulletins de la Grande Armée*. There was also visual propaganda, seen in the first portraits, while paintings like Gros's *Bridge at Arcola* were turned into prints, and a profusion of medals were coined. At the same time he began to play a significant political role and acquire administrative expertise. His victories were followed by setting up pro-French regimes in the territories he had conquered, notably the Cisalpine Republic based on Milan, and he made treaties like Campo Formio with the Austrians in 1797, with little authorization from the Directory. He was even involved in the internal politics of France, where the government was increasingly reliant upon the army to preserve its contested authority.

The celebrated expedition to Egypt should be regarded in this light: an amazing piece of private enterprise on the part of Bonaparte, who perhaps instinctively grasped that the invasion of England was a hopeless task. Challenging British imperial interests in the Middle East was a long shot, but the government was content to see him occupied outside the country. Bonaparte nearly came to grief, yet, as so often, he was able to turn the whole affair to his advantage: a military disaster was transformed into a propagandist triumph. Elected to the French Institute in 1797, having earned an intellectual reputation from his enterprises in Italy (though much of his accomplishment involved plundering huge quantities of art for transfer to Paris), he gave the Egyptian expedition a scientific aspect by including the artists, architects, and astronomers who founded the discipline of Egyptology. It took a huge slice of good fortune—he once said that a successful general needed three things: luck, more luck, and yet more luck—for him to emerge unscathed from the Middle Eastern debacle. When he decided in August 1799 to leave his army behind and return to France, he was technically deserting

his troops (the Directory did momentarily consider arresting him when he set foot back in France, but abandoned the idea when he was so well received by the people). Moreover, he was risking maritime interception, since the fleet that carried his army to Egypt had been wiped out at the Battle of the Nile by Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, leaving the British unchallenged in the Mediterranean.

When he landed in Provence in September, the military crisis that the invasion of Egypt had provoked was more or less over, but he was received as a hero and feted all the way to Paris. Once in the capital, he was content to keep a low profile, appearing out of uniform and cultivating all shades of intellectual and political opinion, presenting himself as the “most civilian of all the generals.” He was not the first choice of veteran politician Sieyès as the general who would take charge of security during a plot to overturn the Directory. Indeed, his ineptitude when faced with resistance on the second, crucial day of a “legal” coup d'état at Saint-Cloud (the parliamentary deputies had been moved out of Paris on the pretext of a Jacobin plot) almost sabotaged the whole affair; it took his younger brother Lucien to save the day. Ironically, but typically, the force that was subsequently applied to oust the opposition gave Bonaparte greater influence in the political arrangements that followed. He was able to impose his vision of a post-directorial order, making himself First Consul with supreme power, rather than the figurehead that Sieyès proposed. He was just thirty years old when he took charge of an expanding French Republic of almost 100 departments and some 30 million inhabitants.

Bonaparte's ambition, energy, and sheer ability were displayed to their fullest extent under the Consulate, the most fruitful period of his dominion. It was not devoid of military success, of course, though the victory at Marengo in 1800 was an extremely close-run thing that could have prematurely curtailed his newly won political authority. As he himself recognized, military defeat would be his undoing, though that recognition did not prevent him staking everything on continuing success. As it was, peace on the continent of Europe in 1801 was followed by the Treaty of Amiens with Britain in 1802. This welcome respite from constant warfare helped shift attention to internal achievements, though some of the greatest measures were already underway. It was in completing projects and, above all, resolving, if not always permanently then at least for a lengthy period, some of the thorniest problems thrown up by the Revolution, that Bonaparte revealed his true genius.

As might be expected from a soldier (though accusations of military dictatorship are well wide of the mark), Bonaparte imposed an authoritarian solution in most domains. Nomination replaced election for the most part;

opponents were treated harshly; and for one recent historian, H. G. Brown, the measures taken to restore law and order amounted to an incipient security state. This overstates the case, for to accept this conclusion would be to ignore the restraints that were self imposed: there was no return to the Terror, despite instances of cruelty toward some Jacobins and royalists, for the general did not scruple to spill blood when he deemed it necessary. The Jacobins were punished for an attempt on his life in 1800 (though the detonation of a *machine infernale* just outside the Louvre, where he now resided, was known to be perpetrated by royalists). The subsequent monarchist conspiracy of 1803 ended with the execution of a Bourbon blood relative, the duc d'Enghien, who was abducted from his residence in Baden; this execution destroyed any lingering hope of a compromise with the royalist cause. Yet Bonaparte introduced many elements of reconciliation as well as repression, witnessed in his choice of collaborators from across the political spectrum, or in efforts to repatriate the émigrés, for example. This effective combination of carrot and stick is especially apparent in his settlement with the Catholic Church, which resulted in the restoration of public worship, largely on Bonaparte's terms. This hard-driven bargain both rallied many of the French people and deprived proponents of a monarchical restoration of a vital weapon in their armory, with which Republicans had signally failed to deal.

The Concordat reflected Bonaparte's opportunism, even cynicism, for he stated that he would do similar deals with Muslims and Protestants if his authority required it. A nominal Catholic, his birthday on the Feast of the Assumption (a major feast day in the church calendar) became the Saint-Napoléon, after a hitherto unknown martyr was unearthed by supporters. Raised under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, he lacked a personal religious faith, yet, unlike many of his counterparts, he understood how much it meant to some people. He was also able to synthesize elements of the *ancien régime* with principles of the new order, choosing freely from both. For instance, his management, not to say manipulation, of popular sovereignty was symbolized by the plebiscites that secured general assent for the growth of his power. The great Napoleonic Code, which brought the labors of a decade to fruition, definitively enshrined the new order of legal equality, though at the price of a patriarchal settlement. Where the Revolutionaries had experimented, he consolidated. In the confronting of issues unresolved or unfinished by the Revolution, his lack of a political past could be put to good advantage, while his unorthodox background endowed him with a greater degree of objectivity than most of his contemporaries; his claim to stand above parties seemed to ring true.

On the other hand, a fierce, clannish loyalty to his own family, together with an insatiable urge toward greater personal power, served as a drawback that manifested itself more strongly the longer his rule continued. Under the First Empire, established in 1804, Napoleon (as he was now known) adopted a more conservative outlook and many compromises of the Consular period were adulterated. It might have been said earlier that he discarded the liberty of the Revolution while retaining its principle of equality (his own rise to power, after all, represented the triumph of the principle of "careers open to talent," and, at the *sacre* (coronation) of 2 December, he crowned himself to symbolize this fact), but the imperial decade threatened such social fluidity. Initially at least, even greater glory was achieved on the battlefield, with Austerlitz coinciding with the first anniversary of the coronation and Prussia crushed at Jena-Auerstädt the following year. Thereafter the tide gradually turned toward disaster, in Spain and above all in Russia, but the Empire was also a much less productive period from the political point of view. The reestablishment of heredity and the re-creation of a court encouraged the reemergence of a more aristocratic and less meritocratic society.

With the benefit of hindsight, the imperial evolution might seem a foregone conclusion, yet it was almost as contingent as Bonaparte's rise to power. The granting of a Life Consulate in 1802 had, after all, bestowed on Bonaparte the right to nominate his own successor, and at that point, his marriage to Josephine proving barren, he had no heir. It was the resumption of war in 1803, plus the continued plotting of royalists, that convinced many contemporaries, as well as Bonaparte himself, that a truly hereditary regime offered better safeguards than the present arrangements, as well as a greater chance of perpetuating the current situation beyond the death of the present incumbent. So the Republican Consul became Emperor Napoleon. Comparisons with Washington were already out of date, for there was no possibility of retirement; instead, reference to Caesar or Charlemagne grew more relevant.

In fact, the Empire was less popular with the electorate than the Life Consulate had been, though the resumption of war had much to do with this, since a cooling of enthusiasm was especially marked in maritime areas, which suffered most from renewed (and once more disastrous) naval conflict with Britain. But though France technically remained a republic, with an emperor at the helm who promised to uphold liberty and equality, practices from the old regime gradually insinuated themselves to a greater extent. Some had bridled at the institution of the Legion of Honor in 1802, since it reintroduced distinctions between citizens. A court, however, presupposed a nobility, which was duly resurrected in 1808, and, though it was far less privileged than its old regime predecessor, new nobles were

permitted to entail their estates. The granting of titles and land to former Revolutionaries—Sieyès became a count, while Fouché took the title of duke, for instance—was somewhat unedifying, but the return of increasing numbers of former nobles to the heart of the regime in the military and administration was still more indicative of its evolution. Napoleon clearly loved a lord, cultivated the traditional elite, and encouraged an aristocratic reaction.

Nonetheless, it is often said that Napoleon remained a Jacobin abroad, and it is certainly true that the expanding Empire (which reached 130 departments at its height, including Baltic and Illyrian, as well as German and Italian provinces) did destroy clerical dominion and much customary practice. Yet the pattern of sister republics that Bonaparte had helped to shape before and after 1799 was now replaced with satellite kingdoms, several of them ruled by members of Napoleon's family, notwithstanding their variable political ability. Louis was given charge of Holland and Joseph dispatched to Spain, for example, while Murat (who had married Napoleon's sister Caroline) was given Naples. The process was literally crowned in 1809 when Napoleon divorced the childless Josephine and, the following year, married Marie Louise, daughter of the emperor of Austria. She succeeded in delivering the long-awaited male heir, though he never ruled as Napoleon II, and also encouraged further genuflections toward the established ruling houses with which Napoleon increasingly identified himself. In fact, it was the old dynasties for whom Napoleon now evinced such respect that eventually overturned him in 1814, through the adoption of some of his modernizing agenda, but, most of all, through a concerted effort against the waning resources of an exhausted, overstretched French Empire.

Yet this was not the end of Napoleon, merely the opportunity for another beginning. Less than a year later, in 1815, Napoleon escaped from the Mediterranean island of Elba where he had been confined in comfortable circumstances and began his celebrated Hundred Days. Not only was he back in charge of France between March and July 1815 but, most important, he recast himself in a Revolutionary role. He was once more Emperor, but he resurrected a Jacobin image and proposed a liberal version of his erstwhile regime. This studied ambiguity recalled the good old days of the Consulate, when nobles and priests were subordinate to General Bonaparte, not dominating the recently restored monarchy. The episode was inevitably short-lived, and when he came to grief at Waterloo, Napoleon was shipped off to St. Helena in the south Atlantic, whence there would be no return, until his remains were entombed at the Invalides in Paris in 1840. But the importance of the Hundred Days was posthumous; it was crucial in turning the image of the Emperor

from tyrant to liberator, a remarkable transformation that set the scene for the emergence of Bonapartism in the nineteenth century.

Napoleon himself returned to his original vocation as a writer during the final years of his life, which were spent, like his early years, on a remote island. Until his death from cancer in 1821 (persistent rumors that he was poisoned by the British are ill-founded), the pen once more predominated over the sword. The great dictator became literally that, employing Emmanuel, comte de Las Cases to write down his thoughts in the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, which has been rightly hailed as one of the most influential books of the century that followed. Much of the legend that was spun by Napoleon was contradictory and some of it downright mendacious, yet, in the light of the Hundred Days and his apparent ill-treatment by his British captors, it struck a tremendous chord with many of the French of all classes and conditions. The combination of glory and bathos, mixed with the meteoric rise and fall of the self-made man, who aroused the hostility of the establishment, but offered order and security, was to have broad appeal on both Right and Left. It was especially attractive to liberals and republicans who bitterly opposed the restored monarchy after 1815 and found the legend a potent rallying cry. Such was its appeal that the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe, founded in 1830 when the Bourbons provoked another revolution, sought to annex the Bonapartist inheritance to its own account, if to no lasting effect.

With the demise of this moderate form of monarchy in 1848, the way was paved for Napoleon's determined nephew to offer the real thing, by creating a Second Empire that consciously imitated the First. Louis Napoleon traded on a legend that was fostered by widespread propaganda and personal memories, by artists and ordinary people, and not least by the thousands of army veterans who were officially feted by the new imperial regime after 1852. Like his uncle, the second emperor employed an amalgam of authoritarianism and democracy, but having promised peace, like his predecessor he too was undone by war. The eventual establishment of the Republic after 1870 reduced Bonapartism to a fringe doctrine, with most appeal on the extreme Right. Yet its demise was by no means complete, and one might regard the advent of General de Gaulle and the Fifth French Republic in 1958 as something of a latter-day incarnation of the Bonapartist tradition. What is astounding, as we commemorate the bicentenary of Napoleon's First Empire, is that the individual himself continues to inspire so many and varied reactions. He left a massive legacy as a statesman, in addition to the reputation for outstanding military success, for which he is best known. Above all, at a popular level, the silhouette, the trademark tricorne hat, or the arm in the jacket, remain in-

stantly recognizable. There can be no greater testimony to the sheer longevity of a figure born in obscurity more than two hundred years ago who, as he himself predicted, continues to fascinate the entire world.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Brumaire, Coup of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cisalpine Republic; Civil Code; Concordat; Confederation of the Rhine; Consulate, The; Corsica; Directory, The; Elba; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; France; French Revolution; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jacobins; Josephine, Empress; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Middle East Campaign; Murat, Joachim; Napoleon II; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; St. Helena; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of; Vendémiaire Coup; Waterloo, Battle of

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## French Revolutionary Political Thought and Ideology

The French Revolution sparked the beginning of a new sociopolitical order in Europe. The forces and ideas it unleashed swept away centuries of tradition and privilege.

The French Revolution made famous the political ideals expressed in the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." These ideals, however, are contradictory. It is impossible to realize them all simultaneously. The more that people are free to be or do things that are of interest to them, the more unequal they will become. And conversely the more people are made equal, the less free to be different they will be. These contradictory ideals are representative of the numerous ideas, many of them also contradictory, that were advanced during the French Revolution and its aftermath.

The French Revolution, as historians have observed, was not simply the product of ideas. Rather it was the unfolding of events in which numerous ideas played a role. The source for many of the ideas can be found in the work of foreign philosophers, in the critique of the *ancien régime* made by the French philosophes, in French social circles, and in the complaints of the lower classes.

A very important influence on both the French Revolution and the American Revolution was the social contract political theory of John Locke. Locke wrote two treatises on civil government. *The First Treatise on Civil Government* (1690) refuted the theory of the divine right of kings that had been laid out by Sir Robert Filmer (*Patriarcha*, 1680). Locke's *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690), which argued that legitimate civil government rested on a social contract, was known in France prior to the Revolution.

In the decades prior to the French Revolution, there were numerous critics of the *ancien régime*. The French monarchy had by a long process in the preceding centuries become an absolute monarchy. For practical purposes, most power was centered in the person of the king, which was, in turn, synonymous with the state. Louis XIV had expressed this theory in his famous assertion, *L'état c'est moi* (I am the state). One of the justifications for this status quo was the theory of divine right. The basic claim was that the monarch had been born and ascended the throne according to the will of God and was therefore rightly to be obeyed. Divine right supporters put forth numerous theologically grounded justifications. Some argued that God had given humans his law in the form of the Ten Commandments. Since the commandment to honor one's father and mother could biblically be punished with death, the same penalty should apply to those who disobeyed the Father of France, namely the king.

In the process of consolidating the power of the French monarchy, the rising middle class (the bourgeoisie) had supported the king. Consolidation of power into a single unified government gave the bourgeoisie a broad market and put an end to large numbers of petty principalities ruled by nobles who collected taxes or fees on goods in transit across France. As a consequence, the power of the nobility had been greatly reduced by the rise in power of the monarchy.

It was the concern for the loss of power by the nobility that had driven Baron de Montesquieu to search for liberty (for the nobility) as a way to recover some of their power. His literary criticisms of the "corruptions" of the *ancien régime* were recorded in the *Persian Letters* (1721). Separation of powers was the solution to the problem of liberty set forth in his *Spirit of the Laws* (*De l'esprit des lois*, 1747).

Montesquieu was not seeking liberty for all, but for the nobility. He was arguing for a balance of privilege among the elite bodies in the state. However, supporters of the king advocated ideas such as absolutism, inequality, privilege, slavery, and the unity of church and state in support of the status quo.

The philosophes were a varied assortment of thinkers who criticized many aspects of French government and politics in the decades prior to the Revolution. Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697) paved the way for more forward-looking criticism such as that in Denis Diderot's *L'Encyclopédie* (1751–1765), which contained articles written by many social and political critics.

Even more egalitarian in outlook was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Often considered one of the forerunners of the Romantic movement, since, unlike the more rationalist philosophes, he exalted the emotions of the uncorrupted human heart, he published a number of books and articles advocating equality. However, his ideas on social contract theory in *The Social Contract* (*Du contrat social*, 1762) did not become popular until the time of the Revolution.

Economic ideas were advocated by a group of French economists, the Physiocrats, who argued for the free circulation of wealth unhindered by government control. Their political economic theory, which based the theory of the need for free circulation of wealth on the analogy between society and the human body, with its need for free circulation of blood, was to influence Adam Smith, the author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). However, he rejected their ideas about agriculture as the prime source for the creation of wealth.

At the time of the Revolution, the Estates-General (*états généraux*, also called the States-General), the French legislative body, was organized into three estates. The First Estate was composed of the clergy. The Roman Catholic Church was a powerful institution that supervised laws on marriage and family, as well as administered cases involving this area of the law. It was also the owner of at least a tenth of the country's land. The Second Estate was composed of the king and the nobility. The First and Second Estates were exempted from most taxation. The Third Estate represented all the peasants, urban workers, middle-class merchants, and wealthy merchants. Many wealthy members of the Third Estate were innovative leaders and important contributors to French socioeconomic life. There was great resentment among the members of the Third Estate because they paid most of the taxes and had the lowest social standing. Legally they were almost always at a disadvantage in the courts. Great numbers of peasants and urban workers were also the victims of grinding poverty.

The French Revolution began partly as a consequence of the bankruptcy of the French state. The financial crisis

was the product of several factors, not the least of which was the expense of the Seven Years' War (in America known as the French and Indian War, 1756–1763) and French participation in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). The Parlement de Paris (the high court of France) wanted the king either to borrow more or to raise taxes. Louis XVI reluctantly called the Estates-General into session on 5 May 1789. This was its first meeting since 1614. Many of the members of the First and Second Estates wanted the three estates to meet and vote separately. However, the Third Estate demanded a unified national assembly, with each representative to have one vote. In addition, it wanted the Estates-General to frame a constitution. When the king, along with the First and Second Estates, rejected the demands of the Third Estate, its members met on the tennis court at Versailles and vowed (in what is known as the Oath of the Tennis Court) to remain in session until a new written constitution was adopted. Louis XVI sought to gain time in which to organize troops to remove the Third Estate. To do so, he acceded to their demands by allowing the three estates to merge into a single National Assembly.

Inherent in the actions of the Third Estate was the demand for a unified legislature for the country that would serve as the primary source of law. In addition, the demand for a constitution was a demand for limited government embracing clearly stated laws that were "rationally" adopted. Finally, implicit in the merging of the three estates was the idea of equality.

Popular direct action took place on 14 July 1789, when masses of Parisians stormed the Bastille, a fortress-prison hated for its association with arbitrary incarceration of political dissidents. A revolutionary government was formed in the capital, and in the countryside peasants rose up against many of the nobles. Some of the nobility decided to flee to safety in foreign lands as émigrés. Government property, officials, and members of the nobility were considered natural and justifiable targets of Revolutionary attacks, though in some cases simple personal vengeance was at work.

On 4 August 1789 the National Assembly adopted what has become known as the Decrees of 4 August. In a dramatic all-night session, the members of the National Assembly dismantled the feudal system, renouncing for the good of the nation all privileges of classes, cities, and provinces.

A permanent contribution to politics made by the Revolution was the concept of ordering political representatives or actors according to a range of political ideas from left to right. The delegates in the French assembly seated themselves with the supporters of the king and the nobility on the right, with the middle class in the center and the more radical elements on the left. This formation

has since the period of the Revolution been used (often simplistically) to identify conservatives as on the right, moderates in the middle, and various reformists and radicals on the left.

On 26 August 1789 the National Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The Declaration's first points asserted that all men are born free and equal, with rights that are natural and inalienable. Social distinctions could only be permitted for the common good. Moreover the Declaration stated that the goal of all political associations is the preservation of the inherent rights of man, which include liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. The Declaration also lodged ultimate power (sovereignty) in the nation, thereby removing it from the person of the king. Consequently any attempts or claims to authority not derived from the nation were illegitimate. The Declaration promulgated the idea that liberty was paramount and inherent in all men. Liberty could only be restricted by laws that prohibited activity deemed harmful to society.

Rousseau's influence was apparent, in that law was defined as an expression of the "general will" (a key concept in Rousseau's thought, expounding his belief that the good of all could be promoted by legislators who mysteriously would be able to know what the "general will" of the whole community was, as opposed to the will of each individual or special interest to achieve its own ends). It also declared that every person was a citizen, equal before the law without distinctions, except those produced by virtues or talents.

The Declaration prohibited arrest except as permitted by law. Similarly, punishment was only to be prescribed by law. *Ex post facto* laws were also prohibited. The principle of the presumption of innocence was enshrined, and police abuse of power was prohibited. Points 10 and 11 of the Declaration stated that there was to be freedom of speech and liberty of conscience in religious expression. To secure the rights of man and of the citizen, armed forces were necessary, but only for the common good. The costs of supporting the military were to be borne proportionally, with the greater burden resting on the shoulders of the rich. There were, moreover, to be readily available public accountings of all taxes and appropriations, with public accountability of all public officials. The last point in the Declaration asserted that property was an inviolable and sacred right. Despite the rhetorical absoluteness of this claim, it went on to specify how property could be legally taken with just compensation.

The National Assembly eventually adopted a constitution that turned France into a limited constitutional monarchy with a unicameral legislature. The court system was reorganized, and a beginning made toward adopting a

civil code. France was organized into eighty-three regional units of government called departments. Each was to have an elected council. However, the right to vote was limited to citizens who paid a certain level of taxes. In the minds of many, these reforms were the result of a properly rational approach to ordering the state.

The National Assembly also seized the property of the Roman Catholic Church. Proceeds from sales were used to reduce the French national debt. The National Assembly also reorganized the Catholic Church, closed the monasteries and convents, and mandated the election of priests and bishops (though this provision did not last). Finally, religious tolerance was granted to Protestants and Jews. The National Assembly adjourned at the end of September 1791. The members were under the impression that the Revolution was over, and that the incoming Legislative Assembly would now govern. The Legislative Assembly convened on 1 October 1791. Shortly thereafter it was forced to deal with the opposition of the king and nobility, along with the opposition of many Roman Catholics.

By April 1792, Austria and Prussia were at war with France. The king, however, was hoping for foreign help in defeating the Revolution. Consequently mobs in Paris and Revolutionaries throughout France demanded that the king be dethroned. In August, a crowd of Parisians took custody of the king and his family. The constitutional monarchy was over, and the Revolution was moving toward regicide. The Legislative Assembly responded to these events by calling for a National Convention, which would draft a new constitution.

In early September, French military defeats panicked Parisians into taking control of the growing number of prisoners in the city. One thousand people were summarily executed in the September Massacres. The French victory at Valmy on 20 September helped to restore calm. The dethronement of the king ended the first phase of the Revolution, which up to that time had been a liberal middle-class reform movement seeking a constitutional monarchy. The second stage of the Revolution brought more radical and democratically minded people to power. The National Convention convened on 12 September, declaring France a republic with the official slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." It also put Louis on trial for treason. He was found guilty and beheaded on the guillotine on 21 January 1793.

The Revolution soon became a struggle for power between radical leaders. In the Convention, the Mountain faction, the most extreme element of the Jacobins, the party of the Left (led by Maximilien Robespierre, Georges-Jacques Danton, and Jean-Paul Marat) opposed the Girondist faction, the party of the Right and sought to form alliances with the Plain faction, the neutral majority

within the National Convention. In the ensuing power struggle, Charlotte Corday, a Girondist sympathizer, assassinated Marat in July. This and other incidents allowed the Jacobin faction led by Robespierre to defeat the Girondists.

The Jacobin government instituted both democratic and dictatorial policies. Democratically it created a new citizen army filled by recruits from a national draft. The transformation of the army led to a radical change in military tactics. The more democratic the army became, the more destructive became the battles it fought, since instead of professionals fighting limited engagements, now citizens, promoted by merit, were fighting in a total war for the very survival of their revolutionary cause. The government (that is, the Convention) also extended the benefits of the Revolution to the lower classes. They provided public assistance, universal public education at the primary level, price controls, and taxes based on income. In addition they sought to abolish slavery in the colonies. These democratic reforms were not completely instituted; as a result, France remained socially fractured thereafter.

The Thermidorian Reaction on 27 July 1794 ended the Reign of Terror and sent Robespierre to the guillotine. Conservative forces gained control of the Convention and quickly repealed many of the democratic reforms of the Jacobins. A new constitution was adopted in 1795, and France was ruled by an executive body of five, known as the Directory, chosen by a legislature elected according to more conservative principles. To deal with its enemies, the Directory appealed to a young French general, Napoleon Bonaparte, who dispersed a hostile crowd in the streets of Paris on 5 October. A few years later, after building on his military successes, he was able to seize control of the government on 9–10 November 1799 (18–19 Brumaire in the Revolutionary calendar) and end the Revolution, bringing into being the Consulate.

Explicit or implicit in the numerous reforms adopted by the several revolutionary legislative bodies were ideas that became permanently enshrined and that sometimes bore fruit. The marquis de Condorcet, a Girondist who died in prison before he could be tried, left a literary corpus that stimulated the development of the idea of progress, while Antoine Louis Claude Destutt, comte de Tracy, developed ideas on ideology.

Foreign observers often opposed the basic idea of the French Revolution, namely that rationalism, the application of pure human thought, is sufficient for the creation of the best form of government. Edmund Burke disagreed in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). His *Reflections* argued that tradition and the wisdom of the ages provided better guidance than the claims of Reason. Burke was attacked by a number of writers, but most especially by Thomas Paine who had been a very important

pamphleteer in the American Revolution, authoring *Common Sense* (1776) and other inspiring pamphlets. Paine wrote *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792) to refute Burke's criticisms. Another foreigner stimulated by the French Revolution was Johann Gottlieb Fichte. The concept of fraternity was reduced by Fichte from one of universal rights to what would become one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth century—nationalism—which argued that peoples sharing a common language, culture, and heritage ought to establish for themselves a unified nation. The Revolution also stimulated egalitarian revolutionary socialism, another prominent feature of nineteenth-century European political culture.

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*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Civil Code; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Convention, The; Directory, The; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Paine, Tom; Robespierre, Maximilien; Thermidor Coup

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## Literature and the Romantic Movement

The prose, poetry, criticism, and drama produced during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars offer a cultural insight into the sentiments of the period. The work of some writers responded to the tumultuous contemporary events that surrounded them, either supporting or protesting these events. Other writers shied away from the chaos of daily life, concentrating instead on themes that gave an alternative to the turmoil of French life. Many of the writers were actually caught up in the politics of the day, and some were either executed or exiled from their country. Around the turn of the century, the Classicism that had dominated the eighteenth century literary scene began to slowly be replaced by Romanticism, a movement that came into full bloom in the post-Napoleonic era.

Prior to the Revolution of 1789, censorship of literature was very tight within France. Writers relied on the patronage of the aristocracy for their livelihood, and literature was considered a mainly upper-class pursuit. Some writers, however, were tapping into Revolutionary feelings prior to 1789, such as Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, whose 1782 *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (Dangerous Liaisons) reflected on the perceived decadence of the aristocracy.

Between 1780 and 1800, significantly, many texts were produced, but not many of them rose to the level of literature. In the Revolutionary years, censorship was officially ended, but texts that ran contrary to Revolutionary ideals were banned. Old printing houses went bankrupt in the shake-up, while new ones opened. Many of the texts that were produced in the last decade of the eighteenth century have long been forgotten. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, fiction started to assert its authority as the dominant form of discourse. Novels, rather than poetry or drama, suited the taste of the time best.

Even in poetry and drama, however, the 1790s were not a complete literary wasteland. Standing out as a light of late eighteenth-century literature is André Chénier, considered by many to be the best French poet of the eighteenth century. Chénier's literary style was marked by his use of iambic meter, and his fondness of the style of odes and hymns. An early supporter of the Revolution, Chénier became disenchanted with its later excesses. He was imprisoned during the height of the Terror and executed. During his lifetime, only two of his poems were published, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume* (The Oath of the Tennis Court) and the *Hymne sur l'entrée triomphale des Suisses révoltés du régiment de Châteaueux* (Hymn on the Triumphant Entry of the Rebellious Swiss of the Regiment of Châteaueux), but from 1819, more of his poems began to appear, and he was read and much admired by the Romantics of the nineteenth century. While Classical in their subject matter, Chénier's poems were experimental in style, hinting toward what was to come with the Romantic movement. Victor Hugo, considered the head of the French Romantic movement, was deeply influenced by Chénier's work, particularly in *Les Châtiments* (The Punishments). The epic fragments found in Chénier's work were another preview of Hugo's work, which followed in the nineteenth century.

Through Chénier's poetry of the Revolution, the reader can see a very perceptible change in the poet's mood. The poems of the early Revolution show hope in the future, hope that the changes were to be for the better. As the Revolution progressed, though, Chénier's poems moved away from their early optimism to disgust and fury at the excesses of the Revolutionaries.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, a follower and student of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, continued his career as a writer through the 1790s. His two most influential works—*Etudes de la nature* (Study of Nature) and *Paul et Virginie*—were published before the Revolution, but his work continued through the century. His output, though small, was influential in the Romantic movement with its ideas—similar to those found in Rousseau—of the essential goodness of man.

In direct opposition to the views espoused by Saint-Pierre and Rousseau was the controversial figure Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade. In his writing, de Sade promoted the notion that all human behavior is driven by debauchery, and that evil and lust propel actions. Well into the twentieth century, de Sade's work was banned by censors, and he was imprisoned under both the *ancien régime* and the Revolution. The pornographic *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* (Philosophy in the Bedroom, 1795), like much of de Sade's writing, contained political commentary. In the fifth dialogue of the novel (which was broken into seven dialogues), the reader finds a political tract

entitled “*Français, encore un effort si vous voulez être républicains*” (Frenchmen! One more effort if you want to become republicans). De Sade’s writing was particularly influential for the nineteenth-century Romantic poet Alphonse-Marie-Louis de Prat de Lamartine.

Another author of the same period whose work was considered by some to be marred by obscenity was Nicolas-Edmé Restif de la Bretonne. Writing mainly about ordinary people, with women central to his texts, Restif de la Bretonne’s most important work was completed prior to the Revolution. *Monsieur Nicolas*, however, was written in 1796–1797. Although not of a particularly high literary standard, the novel is interesting because of the unique view of life it offers the reader.

Drama flourished in Revolutionary France. In the decade after 1789, 1,000 new plays were written. Revolutionary and patriotic in flavor, antireligion and antiaristocracy in sentiment, not many were of particularly high quality. Popular in the early part of the Revolution was a play by Marie-Joseph Chénier (brother of poet André Chénier), *Charles IX ou la Saint-Barthélemy* (Charles IX, or Saint Bartholomew), later retitled *Charles IX ou l’École de rois* (Charles IX, or the School of Kings). A five-act tragedy, *Charles IX* appealed to the Revolutionaries with its theme of a corrupt monarchy. The play fell out of favor during the Terror.

Sylvain Maréchal’s *Jugement dernier des rois* (Last Judgment of Kings) was first staged in October 1793, at the height of the Terror. The final scene depicted a volcano erupting, blowing all the European monarchs and the pope off the earth.

The plays of René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt were based on successful novels of the day. Pixérécourt’s plays were melodramas, which was then a new style of drama. His first success was with *Victor ou l’Enfant de la forêt* (Victor, or the Child of the Forest, 1797), followed by the even more successful *Caelina ou l’Enfant du mystère* (Caelina, or the Child of Mystery, 1800). Both were based on novels by François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil.

Dramatist Népomucène Lemerrier’s 1797 play in verse *Agamemnon* was considered a stunning success by his contemporaries. Lemerrier’s reputation persists, though, as the creator of French historical comedy in *Pinto ou la Journée d’une conspiration* (Pinto, or the Day of a Conspiracy, 1800), based on the revolution of 1640 that saw Spain pushed out of Portugal.

Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, one of the most significant French playwrights of the eighteenth century, produced one play after 1789, a drama: *L’Autre Tartuffe, ou la Mère coupable* (The Other Sanctimonious Hypocrite, or the Guilty Mother, 1792). It did not, however, live up to his earlier comedies, such as *Le Mariage de Figaro* (The Marriage of Figaro, 1784).

Supporter of the Revolution Ponce-Denis Écouchard-Lebrun’s poems were very much in vogue during the latter part of the eighteenth century, but quickly faded to obscurity in the nineteenth century. His most celebrated ode was *Sur le vaisseau “Le Vengeur”* (On the Vessel *Le Vengeur*). It told a story of a French man-of-war that was sunk in 1794 rather than surrender to the British. His poetry had very little literary quality but tapped in to popular sentiments of the day. The official coloring of Lebrun’s poetry is undeniable.

Denis Diderot’s posthumously published novel, *Jacques le fataliste*, first appeared in German in 1792. It was another four years before the French version was published. In *Jacques*, Diderot flouted literary conventions in a style influenced by Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1766). A mix of forms, the uncertainty of the novel reflected the uncertainty of the times in which it was published.

The novels of Pigault-Lebrun were extremely popular around the turn of the century, and were widely read. Novels such as *L’Enfant du Carnaval* (Child of the Carnival, 1792) and *Monsieur Botte* (1802) found a large audience, and Pigault-Lebrun’s influence was felt by the Romantics who followed him, who were inspired by his realistic writing style, which mirrored the confusion of everyday life. Many of Pigault-Lebrun’s novels were set against a Revolutionary backdrop, and they were filled with adventure and excitement.

Also very popular around the turn of the century were the novels of Madame “Sophie” Cottin. Cottin wrote five novels, including *Claire d’Alba* (1799), which were sentimental and moralistic.

The early nineteenth century was not a particularly high point in the production of French literature. Book production and distribution was expensive, and sales were comparatively low. In 1800 Bonaparte, then First Consul in the Consulate government, tried to get literature moving again in France. He assigned people such as Louis de Fontanes and Joseph Joubert to encourage the production of literature. Things did not change, though, until the July Revolution of 1830, with its associated changes. A few writers, however, do stand out, both for their intrinsic interest and for their influence on the Romantic movement.

Possibly one of the most influential writers of the period, and definitely one of the most interesting, was Anne-Louise-Germaine Necker, better known as Madame de Staël. De Staël was exiled by Napoleon in 1803, 1806, and 1810. She finally returned to Paris in 1814. She was both hated and feared by Napoleon, who did not know how to deal with women of genius. In the last years of the eighteenth century, her *salon* was one of the most important in Paris.

De Staël wrote two novels, *Delphine* (1802) and *Corinne, ou l’Italie* (1807). Both of these works presented Revolutionary sympathies, and both offer models of femi-

nine determination. Although not implicitly protesting Napoleon, de Staël did go against the French leader by challenging his beliefs. This is most evident in *Delphine*, where the story's protagonist is extremely forward-thinking in her attitudes. Women's rights are supported through the narrative, and religious bigotry is attacked.

The most important of de Staël's works were *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (Literature Considered in Its Relationship with the Social Institutions, 1800) and *De l'Allemagne* (From Germany, 1810). *De la littérature* was a work of literary criticism that reviewed literature from different periods, demonstrating that they reflected the notions of the society in which they were produced. *De l'Allemagne*, another work of literary criticism which was first published in France in 1810 but which was seized and destroyed by police, was first released in Britain in 1813. De Staël emphasized the contrast between German and French literature. She saw Classicism as being essentially non-French in character, while she wrote that romance was essentially French in character. Not only did de Staël help strengthen the Romantic movement in France with such assertions, but she also introduced French readers to a number of German writers and philosophers who hitherto had been unknown to the French.

Standing alongside of de Staël in terms of influence in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods but with more pure literary genius was François René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, a royalist who was exiled during the Revolution. During his exile in England, Chateaubriand wrote *Les Natchez*, a prose epic in twelve books that was not published until 1826.

On returning to France in 1800, Chateaubriand soon established his literary reputation with *Atala, ou les Amours de deux sauvages dans le désert* (Atala, or the Love of Two Savages in the Desert, 1801), a tale that was originally to be part of *Les Natchez*. After abandoning the idea of publishing *Atala* as part of *Les Natchez*, he planned on publishing it as part of *Le Génie du christianisme* (The Genius of Christianity), but also relinquished that idea, and published *Atala* on its own. The short tale secured Chateaubriand's fame in his home country.

When *Le Génie du christianisme* was published in 1802, Roman Catholicism was just being reinstated as the official religion of France, and the Christian apologetics contained therein tapped in to a common emotion running through French society at the time. The publication also gained favor with Bonaparte, whose support Chateaubriand welcomed at first, but from which he later turned away.

Within *Le Génie* was the tale of *René*, which was published separately in 1805. *René* contained all the world-

weariness and yearning that categorized the writings of the early Romantic movement. A beautifully written work, *René* handled the young style of Romanticism magnificently. At the turn of the century, de Staël and Chateaubriand stood marking the change from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, and the change from Classicism to Romanticism as the dominant literary mode.

Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* (1809) contained many allusions to contemporary politics, and was as close as many got to protest literature against the Napoleonic regime. Set in the third century, *Les Martyrs* took the form of a prose epic. Many have drawn similarities between Napoleon and Diocletian; fewer have drawn comparisons with Fouché, Napoleon's chief of police, and *Les Martyrs*'s vicious Hiérocès.

Joseph Joubert published extremely little during his lifetime, but was considered very important and influential in his role as philosopher and counselor to some of the period's foremost thinkers, including Chateaubriand. His reputation as a critic was protected after editions of his writings were published posthumously by Chateaubriand in 1838. Although his literary output in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods was negligible, the impact of his thought on other writers of the time cannot be discounted.

Another forerunner of Romanticism was Étienne Pivert de Senancour, whose *Obermann* (1804) inspired many of the Romantics who followed. Unlike Chateaubriand, though, Senancour's *Obermann* was largely ignored in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1833 that it really came to the public's attention. Appearing under the title *Aldomen* in 1795, Senancour's work was confessional and written in the style of letters. The melancholy that Senancour entwined with his descriptions of nature make *Obermann* a precursor to the Romantic movement. Although fault can be found with the work, it also has very strong merits. *Obermann* was a much more candid form of literature than had been seen before, or would be seen for a considerable time after.

Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe*, written in 1807 and published in 1816, can be constructed as a bridge between the Classicists of the eighteenth century and the Romantics of the nineteenth century. The novel, written by de Staël's longtime companion, combined the analysis of the Classicists with the Romantic theme of the disunited self. More important than the bridging quality of the novel, though, is the fact that *Adolphe* was a predecessor of the modern psychological novel.

What is considered by many to be the first good short story of nineteenth-century French literature did not actually originate in France, but from within Russia. Xavier de Maistre was a French novelist living in Russia. His story,

*Les Prisonniers du Caucase* (Prisoners of the Caucasus, 1815), was considered something of a literary masterpiece.

The literature of the eighteenth century had been dominated by Classicism. Reasoned, clear, and objective, Classicism was focused away from the personal and toward ideas of “taste.” Romanticism rebelled against the reason and will of Classicism, focusing instead on imagination and feeling, and rejected the ideas of a limited imagination. Around the turn of the century, senses and emotions in literature began to come into vogue. Melancholy, dreams, and happiness were aligned with the natural world. The political upheaval of the times and the unsettled nature of society at the time meant that French literature was set to head in a new direction. The returning *émigrés* added their newly broadened minds to this shift away from the old guard. The novels of Chateaubriand and the criticism of de Staël also directed this change to romance being the dominant mode of French literature. Classicism was too rigid to accommodate the emotions and feelings that French writers felt the need to express. Although the full bloom of the Romantic movement did not come until after Waterloo, its beginnings were important in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

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*See also* Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de; Constant de Rebecque, Benjamin; Neoclassicism; Romanticism; Staël, Mme Germaine de

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## Empire-Building within Europe and Abroad

The Napoleonic era did not usher in the age of empire in Europe, but the rise of nationalism and the need for increased trade and raw materials during that era accelerated the development of imperialist policies among the major powers of the day. Though the Napoleonic Wars did hasten the demise of some of the minor imperial states, they also contributed to the expansion of empire for countries such as Britain and Russia. Certain major powers such as Britain were able to expand their empire abroad, while other states attempted to enhance their territories within Europe. Meanwhile, states such as France lost much of their external empire, while many minor states of Europe were absorbed into the Great Powers of the Continent.

The French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars followed a period of intense imperial rivalry between France and Britain. By 1789, Britain had dramatically expanded its empire (even with the loss of those colonies that became the United States). Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the American Revolution (1775–1783) with new colonies in India, Canada, and the Caribbean. France, meanwhile, lost its Indian and North American colonies, but it retained the richest of its Caribbean territories, including St. Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. Significantly, the French colonies in the Caribbean were twice the size of their British counterparts and produced twice the revenue.

The Napoleonic Wars represented for the British an opportunity to displace France from the Caribbean and take control of its rich colonies. This expansion assured British international economic hegemony and dominance of world trade. With this end in view, when war commenced between France and Britain in February 1793, the British immediately launched expeditions that captured Martinique and Guadeloupe. As countries were conquered or switched sides during the successive wars, the British steadily gained new territories. For instance, at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the British restored the colonies taken

from the French, but they retained possession of the strategic territories of Ceylon (formerly Dutch) and Trinidad (formerly Spanish). When war resumed the next year, the British were able to capture the last French trading post in India. They later seized a number of colonies that were part of the empires of minor European states under the sway of Napoleon, including Holland. For example, in 1806 the British captured the Cape Colony in southern Africa, and in 1811 they overran the Dutch East Indies.

While the British sought to expand their overseas empire to support industrialization and strengthen commerce, they did not seek territory on the European continent. Instead, British policy was based on efforts to ensure a rough balance of power among the major European states. Even at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the British did not seek to dismember France, but to maintain its viability as a check on the other imperial powers.

For France, the Napoleonic era was marked by dichotomous official and popular sentiment toward the colonies. On the one hand, the tenets of the Revolution—liberty, equality, and fraternity—were at odds with grand notions of empire. On the other hand, the effort to export these ideals, indeed to export the Revolution itself, led French leaders to launch invasions and acquire new territory. As the Napoleonic Wars progressed, France also found it increasingly important to promote its economic interests by securing its existing colonies or by gaining new ones in order to expand its markets. Military forces were sent to retake Guadeloupe and Martinique and to launch an invasion of St. Vincent.

One example that illustrates the contradictory nature of French sentiments was the nation's policy toward slavery. Although the deputies of the National Assembly initially sought to reconcile the themes of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen with slavery, a slave revolt in Saint-Domingue in 1791 led the government to abolish slavery three years later, in an effort to maintain control of the territory. However, after Bonaparte became First Consul, he restored the institution of slavery in French colonies and launched a disastrous expedition to quell the slave revolt. In 1804, Saint-Domingue became the independent country of Haiti, though Bonaparte was able to reestablish slavery in the other French colonies.

The French effort to develop a Continental empire began as a result of policies to liberate the peoples of Europe from royal tyranny by destroying the Continent's monarchical system. The French desire to "republicanize" the other states of Europe reflected a broad effort at a supranational cultural and political revolution and a concurrent drive to protect France by establishing similar anti-monarchical governments in neighboring states that would no longer pose a threat to the Republic. It later con-

tinued through efforts to actually end the war. Although war began in 1792 as an effort to forestall a counterrevolutionary incursion by Austria, within a year France was at war with every major European power except Russia. Imperial temptations saved the nascent French Republic, as Austria and Prussia, along with Russia, became distracted by their 1793 partition of Poland (which was followed by the 1795 partition, which eliminated Poland from the map). While the monarchies were preoccupied, the Directory was able to draft a massive army of 700,000 and turn the tide of the war.

In 1794, the French armies conquered and annexed territories ranging from the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to Mainz and Savoy. While the French marched to "liberate" these new territories, the inhabitants of the newly acquired regions soon realized that the French were an occupying force. Instead of exporting the ideals of the Revolution, France viewed these regions as resources to support the Revolutionary government, as they essentially became colonies. In 1795, French troops invaded Holland and established the Batavian Republic as a "sister state" to France, but the territory remained a satellite state instead. In 1795, the Directory dispatched the young General Napoleon Bonaparte to invade the Italian states as a means of forcing Austria out of the war. Bonaparte placed new territories under French control and forced the local citizenry to pay taxes to support his armies.

The ability of the Directory to harness the growing nationalism of the French people marked a major turning point in the age of imperialism. As nationalism and imperialism became intertwined, the emerging nation-states of Europe, with their growing industrial bases, were able to field larger and more powerful armies, albeit with weapons largely unchanged in decades, but with ever-more-sophisticated tactics. Efforts by various powers to enforce trade blockades, especially against the French and British, reinforced the need for states to secure sources for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods by establishing colonies or gaining political authority over regions.

In 1798, French armies also invaded Switzerland and the Papal States, and Bonaparte launched his abortive invasion of Egypt. By this time, the Directory had adopted ever-grander imperial aims to gain new territories, both to support the French domestic economy and to establish strategic bases to thwart the imperial ambitions of other European states. For instance, the Egyptian expedition was designed to restrict British access to India and to provide a French presence in the eastern Mediterranean. The Directory also needed new territories to provide new markets because of the ever-more-effective British naval blockade, which prevented France from trading with its extra-European colonies. Concurrently, however, the Directory

faced growing discontent among its newly acquired territories in Europe. Belgium revolted against new conscriptions, and other states chafed under French control.

In May 1804, the First Empire was proclaimed and confirmed by a plebiscite. Subsequent constitutions made Napoleon Emperor of France, and his coronation took place on 2 December. In May 1805, he also crowned himself king of Italy. The ascension of Napoleon as Emperor ended any real pretense of exporting the republicanism of the French Revolution. From 1799 onward, Napoleon attempted to develop an integrated European state system under French suzerainty. He exported his civil and legal codes and endeavored to establish civil authorities that would be loyal to himself. He also restored some aspects of the autocratic *ancien régime*, including its styles, to his court.

After he became Emperor, Napoleon created 3,000 nobles in France (including a large number that had belonged to the old regime). He aspired to rival the ancient Greek and Roman empires and envisioned his modern European-based Empire as a revival of the empire of Charlemagne. In order to ensure the loyalty of conquered territories, Napoleon placed members of his family or trusted military officers on often newly created thrones to rule monarchies that were subservient to Paris. The Netherlands, for instance, was converted from the Batavian Republic to the Kingdom of Holland under Napoleon's brother Louis, while his brother Joseph was first made the king of Naples and later placed on the Spanish throne. Other relatives and favored generals were given titles to various duchies and provinces.

These territories and the institutions of French control throughout Europe were the manifestation of a renewed feudalism. The new monarchs were directly responsible to Napoleon, and to him alone, as vassals had been to feudal monarchs, and the Emperor used territorial conquest to reward family members and military subordinates. He titled his creation "the Grand Empire."

The power of the Royal Navy and the military success he enjoyed on the Continent gradually lessened the appeal of overseas colonies for Napoleon. In the aftermath of the disastrous military expedition to recapture Haiti in 1803, the Emperor decided to sell the secretly acquired (from Spain) Louisiana Territory to the United States. Once war resumed after the Peace of Amiens in 1803, the British went on to capture the remaining French colonies in the Western Hemisphere, including Guiana (Guyana), Guadeloupe, Martinique, and several smaller islands.

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars, Spain retained its major possessions in North America and the Caribbean. However, its hold on these territories was tenuous at best and subject to the vagaries of both internal colonial poli-

tics and the machinations of the international system. In 1793, its forces launched attacks on St. Domingue and Spain offered freedom to slaves who rose in rebellion against the French colonial government.

When Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808, the Spanish colonies in South America refused to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as king. They increasingly asserted their independence and began trading with the British. Argentina and Paraguay (as they later became known) launched revolutions and became independent states. Other territories, including Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Venezuela also revolted against Spanish rule. Although the Crown was able to reassert its authority in these regions, within a decade after the Napoleonic Wars, most of the major Spanish colonies in South America had gained their independence.

The Napoleonic Wars also hastened independence movements in the Balkans. Napoleon was able to convince the Ottoman Empire to go to war with Britain (1806–1809) and with Russia (1806–1812). While the French Emperor sought to use the Turks to divert Russian forces, St. Petersburg used the opportunity to encourage uprisings against the Turks by groups such as the Serbs and the Romanians. The Russians also sought to acquire territory from the ailing Ottoman Empire. For instance, when war broke out in 1806, the Russians invaded and captured the Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia (portions of the territories were returned to the Turks in 1812 as part of a peace agreement).

Rebellion against the French in Spain in the Peninsular War demonstrated the risks of empire for the French and began the process of Napoleon's decline. Combined British, Portuguese, and Spanish regular forces, together with guerrillas were able to tie down French troops and inflict several humiliating defeats on the occupiers. By 1813 Joseph had been driven from Spain. This development drew Austria back into war with France—already being waged by Russia and Prussia—in the autumn of that year.

As the struggle raged in Spain, French efforts to strengthen imperial rule in German-speaking areas created tensions with Tsar Alexander I and led to Napoleon's greatest imperial gamble: the invasion of Russia. By 1812 Napoleon's Empire was the greatest that Europe had seen since the heyday of imperial Rome. France itself was twice the size it had been in 1789, thanks to the annexation of territories, and vast areas of the Continent were under the control of hand-picked kings or nobles loyal to Napoleon. The French Emperor sought to secure legitimacy for his Empire by marrying the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria in 1810. Nevertheless, the other major powers of Europe continued to seek the demise of the French Empire.



Adapted from Rothenberg 2000, 135.

As Russia prepared to reenter the war, Napoleon launched his greatest military invasion at the head of the 600,000 troops of the Grande Armée. His aim was not the conquest of new territories, but to eliminate Russia as a major enemy. The disaster of the campaign, combined with British victories in Spain, led to the unraveling of the Empire. As Napoleon sought to preserve his far-flung dominions, countries such as Prussia and Austria reentered the war in 1813 in an effort to restore the old order and recapture lost provinces, or to simply gain new territories.

Through the winter of 1813–1814, the Allies sought to agree on a common strategy and establish a coordinated front against Napoleon. When the goals of the coalition were finally agreed on, they reflected broad imperial aspirations. Britain demanded and received assurances that it would be given wide latitude in colonial settlements, including the resolution of the fate of the Dutch colonies and Malta. Austria would regain hegemony over northern Italy and its former territories in the Balkans. Prussia and Aus-

tria would acquire territories from the German states. Russia sought territory in central and eastern Europe, particularly in Poland. Finally, in return for his defection from Napoleon, Bernadotte as king of Sweden would receive Denmark and Norway.

As the Allied forces marched on Paris, Napoleon abdicated. Under the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau (11 April 1814) and the Treaty of Paris (3 May 1814), Napoleon was exiled to Elba with an income from France, and Louis XVIII was installed as king. France was reduced so that the nation retained only its borders of 1792. It lost all of its empire, but skillful negotiating by Talleyrand secured the retention of Savoy, Avignon, and parts of both Belgium and the Rhineland. Britain made the most concessions. It kept Malta, Ceylon, Cape Colony, and some minor French colonies, but returned the main French and Dutch possessions in return for the creation of an integrated Dutch-Belgian state that the British hoped would be able to deter future French aggression. By 1814, the British

were paying massive subsidies to their allies, and even the lure of greater empire was overcome by the temptation to end the great fiscal drain on the treasury. The British ultimately became more interested in maintaining the balance of power on the Continent than in gaining widespread minor colonies (although those they kept had great strategic importance). The broader terms of the settlement were left to be decided by the Congress of Vienna, which convened in September 1814.

The Allies bickered among themselves as they divided the French Empire. The most significant controversy arose over how much territory Russia would gain in central Europe (it sought all of Poland). Austria and Britain found themselves arrayed against Russia and Prussia (the latter of which supported Russian claims on Poland in return for a Russian pledge to turn Saxony over to Prussia). Talleyrand, representing the restored French monarchy, allied France with Austria and Britain, so that Russia only received a portion of Poland and Saxony remained free of Prussian domination.

During the Congress, Napoleon returned from exile, in February 1815, and entered Paris as Louis XVIII fled. His reign lasted about 100 days (hence, the period known as the Hundred Days) before his final defeat at Waterloo. Napoleon was exiled to the remote island of St. Helena, while the Congress of Vienna finished reordering the map of Europe. Publicly, the Congress sought to apply the principle of legitimacy and restore the monarchs of the *ancien régime* across Europe. Nonetheless, in those areas where legitimacy collided with the imperial ambitions of the major powers, the principle of legitimacy was ignored. A reduced Poland was reincarnated as a kingdom with the tsar as king. Other Polish territories, including Galicia, went to Austria and Prussia. Austria's borders were restored, and it gained additional territories in Italy and central Europe and the Balkans. Prussian territory was also restored, and the kingdom received half of Saxony, Saarland, Swedish Pomerania, and areas of the Rhineland such as Cologne and Mainz. France was further reduced to her 1789 borders and lost territory to Prussia, Holland, Sardinia, and the Swiss Confederation. Finally, Belgium and Holland were combined to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Napoleon's efforts to rule German and Italian territories had led him to consolidate the myriad duchies, principalities, and bishoprics of the regions into administrative units. Thus, the German territories were reduced in number from 600 in 1789 to 39 in 1815, after the Vienna settlement. The impact of his military campaigns and his civil actions helped encourage nationalist sentiments, which later manifested themselves in the creation of modern states such as Germany and Italy, and in domestic support

for the expansion of empire among colonial powers such as Britain and France. Increased nationalism and the continued drive for further markets launched a new wave of imperialism in the nineteenth century, both in Europe and abroad.

Tom Lansford

See also Amiens, Treaty of; Austria; Bolívar, Simón; Confederation of the Rhine; Egypt; France; Great Britain; Netherlands, The; Ottoman Empire; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Poland; Prussia; Russia; Spain; Switzerland; Vienna, Congress of; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Science, Exploration, and Technology

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars deeply involved some of the most technologically and scientifically advanced nations in the world, particularly France and Britain. Science, exploration, and technology were all affected by the needs of war. Two decades of war thus had a strong effect on these fields in both countries, but it was in France that the impact, first of the Revolution and then of the reign of Napoleon, changed much in the way of science was practiced. Since France led the world in science, these changes in France affected the whole world.

### War and Science

The longstanding connection between war and science in the West intensified during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Armed forces depended on scientific and technological expertise in many areas. Different service branches had different needs. One particularly marked by dependence on science was the artillery, since it was vital that guns be aimed correctly to inflict the most damage on enemy forces. Mathematics had only a limited impact on the actual practice of gunnery, which remained heavily influenced by rules of thumb and trial and error, but an appreciation of the value of applying mathematics to the science of gunnery did encourage armies to train their artillery officers in this discipline. Armies and navies also required scientifically educated men to satisfy the military need for gunpowder. The chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier, a great scientific administrator, was the head of the French commission on powders in the old regime (1775–1783), meeting the needs of the American Revolutionary War and later the vastly greater conflicts of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

The increasing professionalization of the officer corps of the European powers, and later of the United States, led to the integration of scientific training in military education, particularly for the artillery. Their common mathematical training helped form artillery officers into a cohesive body. This cohesion was particularly important in the French military, as the artillery officers held a socially inferior position with respect to cavalry and infantry officers. The ranking of students by their scores on mathematical exams helped form the artillery's meritocratic culture, contrasting with other branches of the service where noble birth was more important.

Navies were also heavily dependent on science. In addition to the complex problems of firing guns effectively from ships rather than stationary platforms, navigation required a sophisticated knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. The world's leading navy, Britain's Royal Navy, required that its navigators be schooled in the method of

lunar distances, which relied on careful observations of the moon to determine a ship's longitude, a method developed in the eighteenth century. Cartography was also necessary to navies. The increasingly global wars of the eighteenth century had put a military premium on worldwide cartographic and hydrographic knowledge. Efforts to form a more complete and exact knowledge of the world's seas and coasts were frequently and increasingly linked with navies. Captain James Cook's voyages earlier in the century had begun a tighter, although not totally harmonious, relationship between British exploration and the Admiralty, one that became even closer during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The leading hydrographer in late eighteenth-century Britain, Alexander Dalrymple, left his post at a private trading concern, the East India Company, to become the hydrographer to the Admiralty when the post was founded in 1795.

The Pacific was the most active site of oceanic exploration, particularly as expeditions were driven by imperial competition between Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Russia. The most active nations in Pacific exploration before the French Revolution were France and Britain. The Royal Navy expelled their French rivals from the high seas during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and continued Pacific exploration, sending George Vancouver to map the northwestern coast of North America from 1790 to 1795 and Matthew Flinders in the *Investigator* to circumnavigate Australia and examine its natural history from 1801 to 1805. Spain had lagged behind Britain and France, but by the late eighteenth century was attempting both to catch up scientifically and to assert its power over its North American colonies with a mission under the naval officer Alejandro Malaspina, which surveyed the Pacific coast of North America up to Nootka Sound in 1792. Continental exploration, such as America's Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804 to 1806, also had military implications and drew on military talent.

### Science and Technology during the French Revolution

Eighteenth-century French science, under the leadership of Paris's Royal Academy of Sciences, had led the world. The French Revolution had effects both creative and destructive on French science. In addition to causing the death of several leading scientists, the Revolution ended the existence of most French scientific institutions, most notably the Royal Academy. However, it gave birth to several other institutions and advanced the careers of many other scientists and engineers who then went on to maintain French predominance in science into the Napoleonic era. French scientists and engineers generally supported the Revolution in its early stages, hoping for social and

political reform along Enlightenment lines. No prominent French scientist joined the royalist emigration, and the technically trained artillery officers were more likely to support the Republic than infantry or cavalry officers. The Revolution, even in its most violent phases, was a high-water mark in the involvement of scientists, engineers, and mathematicians in politics. Several, including the marquis de Condorcet, Lavoisier, the biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, and the mathematician Gaspard Monge, were active in a moderate revolutionary group, the Society of 1789. The most prominent scientists to be victims of the French Revolution included Lavoisier, executed for his pre-Revolutionary role as a tax farmer; Condorcet, who committed suicide rather than be brought before the Revolutionary tribunal; and the astronomer Jean-Sylvain Bailly, who reached the high positions of president of the National Assembly and mayor of Paris before being guillotined in the Terror.

Not all politically active scientists had careers that ended so disastrously. Lazare Carnot, later known as the Organizer of Victory, sat as one of the twelve-man body that ruled France during the Terror, the Committee of Public Safety, as did his fellow military engineer, Prieur de la Marne (Pierre Louis Prieur). Monge and the chemists Antoine-Francois Fourcroy and Louis Bernard Guyton de Morveau also served at the higher levels of the Revolutionary government.

The havoc the Revolution wrought among France's traditional scientific institutions was less because they were scientific than because they were inextricably associated with the old regime and "aristocratic" culture and society. Jean-Paul Marat, a physician and minor experimental physicist specializing in optics before the Revolution, had been trying to storm the barriers of the Royal Academy of Sciences for years. As a Revolutionary politician, Marat attacked the Academy viciously, and many agreed that it, along with the other royal academies, needed reorganization or suppression in the new France. The Royal Academy was suppressed on 8 August 1793. Eventually, a reorganized Academy of Science was established as the first section of the Institute of France, founded in 1795 under the more conservative rule of the Directory.

The financial costs of war and revolution also weakened French scientific institutions. Before its abolition, the Royal Academy had to abandon a project to build a large reflecting telescope to compete with that of the English astronomer William Herschel, and donate the money collected to the Convention. (Of course, British science also suffered from the costs of war. The government, desperate for cash, introduced a new tax on glass, devastating the optical industry and contributing to Britain's loss of the lead in scientific instrument-making to Germany in the early

nineteenth century.) Important scientific periodicals, such as the *Journal des Savants* and Lavoisier's *Annals de Chimie* were also forced to shut down for lack of resources. But French military success also strengthened French science, as victorious commanders sent back to Paris collections of scientific artifacts and instruments from conquered lands. In 1795, for example, the Dutch *stadtholder's* collection became one of the largest of the many natural history collections sent back to the Museum of Natural History in Paris (founded in 1793 at the location of the former Royal Botanical Gardens) by the conquering French armies.

The major medical associations such as the medical faculties of the universities of Paris and Montpellier, the Royal Society of Medicine, and the Royal Academy of Surgeons were also eliminated in the Revolution as bastions of monarchism and aristocratic privilege. Medically, surgeons, with their more pragmatic approach, were the gainers over theoretically minded physicians, as the distinction between the two professions ceased to exist. Physicians, who held actual medical degrees, constituted the more senior of the two types of doctors. Surgeons often did not have the benefit of formal training and generally knew considerably less about medicine, apart from the practice of amputation. The intellectual center of French medicine shifted from the colleges, academies, and universities to the hospitals, particularly the Paris Hospital, which the Revolution removed from the control of the church and placed in the hands of the medical profession. The most important medical scientist in revolutionary Paris, Marie-Francois-Xavier Bichat, had a career associated with hospitals, not universities. His central theoretical innovation was the substitution of the membrane or tissue for the organ as the fundamental unit in the analysis of health and disease.

The new institutions founded by the Revolutionaries were mainly for applied science, technology, and medicine. Among the most important of these institutions were the Institute, the Museum of Natural History, and the Ecole polytechnique, founded in 1794, which under the leadership of Monge became Europe's leading center of mathematics, the foundation of French mathematical supremacy. The Ecole polytechnique was increasingly devoted to military training, culminating in the outright militarization of the school by Napoleon in 1804.

### Scientific Exploration on Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition

The most elaborate work of exploration and science undertaken by Revolutionary France under military auspices took place during Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Bonaparte, a science enthusiast, was able to bring about the establishment of the Commission of Arts and Sciences to accompany his army. The most prominent among the

many scientists who accompanied Bonaparte included the chemist Claude-Louis Berthollet (already acquainted with Bonaparte, as he had accompanied him on the Italian campaign and helped locate the most important Italian cultural and scientific treasures to send back to Paris), the zoologist Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the geologist Dodot de Dolomieu, and the mathematicians Monge and Joseph Fourier. All the leading scientific institutions of Revolutionary France—the Institute of France, the Ecole Polytechnique, the Museum of Natural History, and the Paris Observatory—were represented on the commission, as well as engineers, surveyors, draftsmen, and students of Oriental languages. The membership of the commission totaled 167 on the eve of departure.

In Egypt, members of the commission worked primarily on projects benefiting the French occupation. The language experts served as interpreters or supervised the printing of Napoleon's proclamations in Arabic, the engineers adapted Egyptian infrastructure to French needs, and the medical men set up facilities and treated the many stricken by heat or disease. These immediate practical tasks were not the sole reason for the presence of so many savants, however. Napoleon promoted the setting up of an Institute of Egypt, on the model of the Institute of France. It was divided into four sections—mathematics, physics (including chemistry, medicine, and zoology), political economy, and literature and art, all of which were filled by French scholars rather than Egyptians. Each section was supposed to have twelve members, but was actually smaller. The first meeting of the Institute of Egypt took place on 23 August 1798. Bonaparte, a member of the mathematical section, proposed that the institute concentrate on problems such as improving Egyptian baking and purifying the waters of the Nile, as well as improving the Egyptian legal and educational system. The scholars of the expedition performed extensive fieldwork, of which the most notable product was the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which eventually led to the deciphering of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. Egypt was surveyed for the first time according to European techniques, resulting in more accurate maps. Natural historians collected a huge variety of fossils, plants, birds, fish, and other animals unknown to European science. Particularly interesting were the mummified remains of ancient animals. The Institute's proceedings and the works of its scholars filled the pages of the French occupation's periodical, *La Decade Egyptienne*.

Many of the expedition's savants, after the first excitement of discovery had faded, longed to return to France. This occurred when British control of the Mediterranean made the French position untenable and the army in Egypt surrendered in 1801. Saint-Hilaire became a hero of French science by preserving the specimens collected by

the expedition from falling into British hands as the French were forced to leave. The savants' work was commemorated in the twenty-three volume *Description of Egypt*, begun with French government sponsorship in 1803 and published from 1809 to 1826. This scientific classic was the textual basis of the Western study of Egypt through the nineteenth century.

### Science in the Napoleonic Period

Napoleon's rule over France supported and maintained French international scientific dominance. In part this was due to Napoleon's continued support of Revolutionary scientific institutions, such as the Ecole Polytechnique, the Museum of Natural History, and the Institute of France, as well as Napoleon's own enthusiasm for, and personal patronage of, science. Napoleon, trained in mathematics as an artillery officer, enjoyed the company of scientists, preferring them to literary people, whom he viewed as politically unreliable. He took pride in his membership in the Institute of France, to which he was elected in 1797, and took an active part in its deliberations, attending meetings and serving on committees. He even signed some of his military dispatches as "Member of the Institute." However, he stopped attending Institute meetings in 1802, after he attained the position of Consul for Life. Science was not only useful to Napoleon as a military commander, but restoring the primacy of Paris in the international scientific community was also testimony to his personal glory.

As a patron of science, Napoleon worked through and expanded the traditional eighteenth-century method of prize competitions, announcing a huge prize of 60,000 francs for discoveries in electricity comparable to those of Benjamin Franklin and Alessandro Volta, whom he tried to lure to Paris. (Napoleon's prizes had the advantage over many prizes of the period in that they were not merely awarded but actually paid.) This prize was never awarded, but a smaller one was granted to the British chemist Humphry Davy. Awarding a prestigious and lucrative prize to a foreigner was not exceptional, as Napoleon, like previous French rulers, believed that one effective way to advance French science to lure outstanding foreign scientists to Paris and encouraging them to settle. Napoleon also continued the Revolutionary policy of ransacking foreign scientific collections to send them back to Paris, and raised scientists' social prestige by granting them titles of nobility or membership in orders of chivalry.

The scientists Napoleon liked were apolitical, more concerned with advancing science, technology, and French military power than with social and cultural reform in the Enlightenment tradition. Napoleon encouraged French scientists to think in nationalistic terms, rather than seeing



themselves as part of an international scientific community, a task made considerably easier by the near-constant state of war. Several leading scientists played important roles in his regime, particularly in his vast reorganization of French education. The physicist and mathematician Pierre-Simon Laplace, after a brief and unsuccessful period as minister of the interior, received the largely honorary but lucrative position of chancellor of the French Senate. Berthollet, probably Napoleon's closest friend among French scientists, was a senator, was made a count of the Empire, was paid 150,000 francs to clear his debts in 1807, and received a pension enabling him to support himself and his scientific activities.

As with previous French regimes, Napoleon hoped that science could contribute to economic development. For example, he planned a system of institutions to train a hundred chemists in improved means of extracting sugar from sugar beets, hoping to make France self-sufficient in sugar and end its dependence on cane sugar imported from the Caribbean, vulnerable to the Royal Navy. (Napoleon fell from power before these institutions were set up, and France went back to importing cane sugar.) He also encouraged the development of a French manufacturing sector that he hoped would eclipse that of Britain, which was undergoing its Industrial Revolution. (Although the technology of the Industrial Revolution, such as the improved steam engine, had curiously few direct military applications, the economic power it brought Britain was essential to its war effort.)

Despite Napoleon's emphasis on the services scientists could do for the state, scientific internationalism was not wholly eliminated under the Empire. A leader in maintaining scientific communication between Britain and France during the entire period was Sir Joseph Banks, president of Britain's Royal Society, its leading scientific organization, from 1778 to his death in 1820. His diplomatic nature and connections with the British government and military, along with French respect for him, enabled Banks to maintain scientific communication between the two countries, as well as on occasion to procure the release of British savants held by the French and Frenchmen held by his own government.

Ironically, Napoleon's preference for apolitical scientists meant that many he favored quickly reconciled themselves with the new regime after his fall. Even Berthollet signed the Act of Deposition of 1814, and Laplace voted in the Senate for Napoleon's exile to St. Helena.

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*See also* Art Treasures (Plundered by the French); Davy, Humphry; Directory, The; Egypt; Fulton, Robert; Gay-Lussac, Joseph-Louis; Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Paris; Rosetta Stone; Savants; Terror, The

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## **The Economic Background of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars**

The eighteenth century was a time of dramatic change in the economy of Europe, so much so that it is often referred to as revolutionary. Ironically, many of the structures, ideas, and systems that characterized these revolutions were not new, but had their roots in preceding centuries. The revolutionary nature of the changes of the eighteenth century involved the application and intensification of these systems on an unprecedented scale.

European rulers realized that they had a vested interest in increasing the economies of their respective countries. Prosperity contributed to political stability and to tax coffers. In the early modern period, a number of ideas about how governments could increase growth, especially

through trade, floated around Europe, and historians have grouped them all under the umbrella term *mercantilism*. The basic tenet of mercantilism is that there is a fixed amount of wealth in the world, usually measured in specie, or gold and silver coins. If a country wishes to gain more specie, it has to do so at the expense of other countries. These ideas promoted aggressive tactics, including trade wars such as the four Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century, aimed at forcibly taking over profitable trade routes, ships, and market. They also encouraged control over imports and exports. Too many imports meant that specie was leaving the country, so very high tariffs, or taxes on imports, were the order of the day. To promote exports, rulers used monopolies, special privileges, and tariff protection to encourage domestic industries that produced goods for export.

While mercantilists focused on trade, the Physiocrats (French economists and philosophers whose theories rested on the basis that the origin of all wealth could be traced to agriculture) believed that the most natural and productive source of economic growth was not industry or trade, but agriculture. By their logic, trade simply moved goods around, and industry merely took already existing parts and put them together; neither created anything really new. In agriculture, a single small seed could produce bushels of wheat. In order to realize this potential, farmers needed to be free to pursue cultivation in the best possible ways, and so all the restrictions they faced needed to be removed. Using a medical metaphor, the Physiocrats based their system on the idea of balance, arguing that each part of the social “body” had to be free to develop on its own terms, lest it disturb the natural working order of all its parts. In eastern European countries such as Prussia and Austria, the doctrine of cameralism adopted elements of both philosophies, emphasizing the importance of both agricultural and industrial development, while seeking a balance between the interests of the state and the well-being and best interests of its citizens.

Despite these noble theories, rulers employed mercantilism and cameralism first and foremost because they needed money. Before the eighteenth century, most European states raised money in similar ways. The monarch was usually a large landowner and would use the proceeds from the royal lands as state funds. There were also customary tax arrangements, usually not applicable to the highest ranks of society, the nobility, or the clergy. Without large bureaucracies to help them, rulers found their tax systems difficult, if not impossible to adjust, and taxes themselves nearly as difficult to collect. Rulers could also acquire revenue from providing special services, contracts, or privileges. When these efforts failed, they usually resorted to forced loans from wealthy citizens. Trade could

be an especially lucrative source of income, as it was not usually covered by long-standing traditional arrangements. Rulers sold monopolies on trade in certain areas or in certain goods and heavily taxed imports and exports. Despite rising trade, European rulers found themselves chronically short of cash. Warfare was increasingly expensive, and states that found themselves nearly continually at war also faced the largest deficits.

The first country to radically alter state finance was the Dutch Republic. The newly created United Provinces of the Netherlands was a republic, not a monarchy, so their financial system relied on a system of credit and taxation used by the town governments. Under this system, excise taxes were levied on the consumption of goods, such as wine and paper. These taxes brought in more, and more stable, income than the traditional system of taxes on property or wealth, and they were somewhat easier to collect. As an additional benefit, they applied to all segments of society and exemption was the exception, not the rule, even for the elite. The towns also issued municipal bonds, which permitted them to borrow money against future tax revenues. A bond was simply a loan to the government on the part of its purchaser, in return for which the government paid the bondholder interest. Because the towns of Holland had built up a sterling reputation for good credit, the bonds were considered a secure investment. Through issuing bonds, the young republic could borrow more money, at lower interest rates, and for longer terms than the much larger monarchies around them. The Dutch then used the income from the interest to become great foreign investors. Even after Dutch economic might waned, Amsterdam reigned as the financial capital of Europe.

By the eighteenth century, the Dutch had been dragged into so many wars that their debt, once a source of strength, had become a source of weakness. Much of their state budgets had to be devoted to debt servicing and reduction. The government avoided bankruptcy by raising taxes, but this made the prices of their goods relatively high and affected their competitiveness in trade. Another country, however, was able to use their innovations more effectively—England. In 1688, William of Orange, a leading Dutch nobleman, became king of England through his marriage to Mary Stuart. He brought with him a wealth of knowledge about Dutch finance. By the end of the century, the English had transformed their finances along Dutch lines, established a central banking system with more extensive lending powers than its Dutch counterpart, introduced the use of paper currency, and streamlined their fiscal operations. Along with a supportive Parliament, the government parlayed this financial revolution into political and military success in the eighteenth century. The French lagged behind in reforming their state finances,

which ultimately became one of the causes of the French Revolution.

The expansion of trade, finance, and industry in the eighteenth century receive a great deal of attention from scholars. It is easy to forget, however, that for most Europeans, life did not differ much from what it had been for hundreds of years. The majority of Europeans, approximately three out of every four, were peasants and worked in agriculture. Most owned some land of their own, but often worked the land of others as well. Their lives were dominated by a struggle to feed themselves and their families.

Agricultural practices did change during the period, especially in relatively advanced areas such as England and the Netherlands. The most significant changes were not, on the surface, spectacular, but they did contribute to increased harvest ratios and greater security for agricultural workers. Since the Middle Ages, farmers customarily divided their fields into two parts. One half was cultivated, usually with wheat or other grains, and the other was left fallow, or uncultivated, so that the soil could recover nutrients. Introduced in the seventeenth century, three-course crop rotation divided fields into three parts, cultivating two and leaving one fallow. This increased production simply by putting more land into use, but farmers then began to experiment with other crops in addition to wheat. The cultivation of oats and rye allowed farmers to own more livestock and horses. With these new crops, it also became possible for the motivated peasant (it required considerably more work) to get rid of fallow land altogether by using manure to fertilize the soil. An entire science of agriculture developed, complete with journals and treatises, which were eagerly read by rulers and farmers alike.

In England, the effects were especially dramatic. In 1700, over 20 percent of English croplands lay fallow each season. By 1871, that figure had dropped to only 4 percent. Innovators such as Jethro Tull (mechanical seed drill) and Charles Townshend (turnips) were credited with developing new tools and methods to increase agricultural efficiency. Perhaps more importantly, the British government passed the first Enclosure Act in 1710. Prior to enclosures, the fields in large farms had been divided into small strips and parceled out to numerous peasants, who might own multiple strips spread throughout the property. The peasants also had rights to use designated areas for pasture. Enclosure laws permitted land owners to enclose all of their lands into larger and more efficient farming units, but at the expense of peasant ownership. By 1810, Parliament had passed over 1,000 such acts.

The new practices spread slowly and sporadically, arriving latest in parts of France, Spain, and eastern Europe. Their effects were remarkable. By significantly raising the

fertility of the soil, they made food more plentiful, and the new crops, especially root crops such as turnips and legumes such as peas, alfalfa, and beans, contributed to better and more varied diets for the peasants and their animals. After a long period of slow or negative growth, the population of Europe began to rise slowly and, after 1750, quite rapidly. In Britain, population nearly doubled.

In agriculture, the eighteenth century witnessed the more rapid dissemination of techniques that were largely already known. The same can perhaps be said of trade, as the European trading system came into existence in the sixteenth century and was well established by the seventeenth. In the eighteenth century, trade, like agriculture, intensified, propelled by state governments looking to increase their share of the wealth of the world. New products created new opportunities, and those countries content to rest on their laurels found themselves left behind by the increased competition.

Overseas trade was not the only kind of trade that Europeans engaged in profitably. Countries such as Britain and the Netherlands took advantage of good systems of internal navigation to sell more to the populations within their own borders. The British also promoted trade on their island and across their colonial empire by removing all obstacles to the free movement of goods and people. The French followed suit, instituting a tariff union known as the Five Great Farms, which eradicated many of the tolls and other taxes that had hampered the distribution of goods. Trade around Europe also accelerated. Historians have often overlooked the importance of the increase in domestic and European trade, perhaps because it seemed so unexciting when compared to the amazing exploits of overseas traders.

Long-distance trade was still expensive and risky in the eighteenth century, though the development of maritime insurance served as a cushion. Still, potential profits needed to be high in order to justify investments in trading ventures. Most trade was instigated for luxury items that were in short supply and high demand, especially by wealthy consumers. Silk, silver, pepper, and other spices had enticed Europeans to begin to exploit trade in Asia and Spanish America. Enormous profits justified the creation of armed fleets to forcibly acquire territory and to build fortresses, called factories, to protect merchants. As more countries became involved in trade and the production of goods, however, profits fell. By the late seventeenth century, the price on pepper had fallen more than 80 percent. For most trading companies, it was no longer worth it.

Because of their considerable investment in infrastructure, merchants found it to their advantage to try to find new, more profitable products. In the eighteenth century, those products were tobacco, sugar, tea, and coffee. It

is no coincidence that the three most sought-after products of the eighteenth century were all addictive substances. This ensured their salability in Europe, and as the prices fell, these products became available to more and more people. Profit margins became less spectacular, but larger markets with nearly guaranteed repeat consumers lowered risks. As European populations in most colonies grew, governments introduced protectionist acts that required them to buy goods from the home country, another source of security.

Europeans took advantage of their central position in a world economic system to exploit new opportunities. Sugar, for example, required even greater investment than earlier products because it had to be grown, cut, and harvested, which required considerable amounts of semi-skilled labor, and then processed, which required building refineries. The Portuguese discovered sugar in Asia and tried to grow it in Europe, but they found cultivators unwilling to switch over to the new crop. Instead, they began to cultivate sugar in their colony of Brazil and to import slave labor from Africa, as the natives also proved to be unsuited to the hard labor of sugar production. Attracted by the high profits the Portuguese earned from sugar, other countries jumped into the fray. By the eighteenth century, the Dutch had instituted sugar production in Demerara, France in St. Domingue, the British in Jamaica and Barbados, and the Spanish in Cuba. In each place, they set up large plantations and imported slave labor, which greatly accelerated the slave trade. Between 1700 and 1786, over 600,000 Africans were brought to Jamaica alone. Sugar became a significant export, especially for the British. From 1713 to 1792, Britain exported over £162 million worth of goods from its islands; nearly all of it was sugar. As more countries produced sugar, its price began to fall. Looking for new sources of profit, the Dutch turned to coffee, which they began to grow in the East Indies, especially on the island of Java, and the British to tea, which they grew in India. There were also early experiments with chinaware and cotton, the latter providing a boost to industrial changes.

In the seventeenth century, trade, especially trade to Asia, belonged to the Dutch, who enjoyed their Golden Age. Though still wealthy in the eighteenth century, they became more content to hold on to their gains, and their tactics were, overall, less aggressive and more conservative. The Dutch East India Company was still quite profitable, and many other countries emulated its organization as a joint stock company, a private, limited liability organization that enjoyed government support. While most of these companies failed, the French and British East India companies gained strength (and money) from following the Dutch model. The British used their leverage to control

trade in the Americas and India, and the French used theirs to control trade in Europe and the Middle East. Given that they held roughly equal shares in the overall volume of trade, it is no surprise that the two countries participated in frequent wars against each other, each hoping to gain at the expense of the other.

Trade, especially in the Atlantic world, was an important motor for growth in industry, and export industries showed the greatest increases in production and were the first to be revolutionized. Also, of course, as every history of the Industrial Revolution makes clear, there were a number of spectacular inventions—the steam engine, mechanized spinning, and the iron smelting process—that led to dramatic increases in the production of goods, especially cotton textiles, and similarly dramatic changes in the organization of work, such as the development of the factory.

Because of what occurred in later centuries, it is easy to overestimate the impact of these changes on the economy of the eighteenth century. Even in Britain, the effects were not significant until the latter half of the century and even then only a minority of the population worked in industry, though the percentage continued to rise.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the French finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, inspired by a mercantilist desire to increase exports, began an ambitious program of industrial development and expansion. Though he was not entirely successful, French industrial production was still larger than England's, despite the fact that it was centered on handicraft production, usually carried out in homes or shops and not factories. Industrial production rose in pockets across Europe, usually organizing workers to perform different steps toward the creation of a finished product, a process that historians have termed *proto-industrialization*.

By the end of the century, English production far outstripped its competitors, and this success translated into enormous wealth in the future. Many historians have pondered the secrets of their success and, conversely, the failure of other countries to achieve the same results. Certainly, their success provoked a great deal of jealousy. The British guarded their industrial secrets more closely than their military ones, but continental rulers lured British engineers and skilled workers to their countries, conspired to steal blueprints and other pertinent information, and tried to limit the import of British goods—all to practically no avail before the nineteenth century.

While there are many reasons for British success, two factors stand out in relation to her closest rivals, France and the Netherlands. Like the British, the Dutch underwent an agricultural revolution. In the seventeenth century, the proportion of Dutch agricultural workers was the

lowest in Europe. Their rates of urbanization, literacy, and innovation were all quite advanced. They had several competitive industrial sectors as well, including textiles, ship building, and sugar refining. By the eighteenth century, however, Dutch industry suffered severely from the inability to export their products to most of Europe because of high tariffs. Also, Dutch prominence had evoked jealousy, and its trading rivals engaged in nearly continuous warfare, which the republic, despite its advanced financial system, could ill afford. The Dutch government lacked the ability and the will to support the promotion of its trade and industry as effectively as larger states.

France was the largest state in Europe, in size and population, and throughout most of the century possessed the largest industrial output. The French state was dedicated to supporting economic growth in trade and industry, and was not afraid to use its large army to protect economic interests. The French did not lack in state protection, but they were far behind the revolutionary changes that had propelled Dutch and British success. France did not have the equivalent of Enclosure Acts, and the average French farm was very small, and so less suited to commercial agriculture. Despite the burdens of the feudal system, they were understandably reluctant to leave them and pursue opportunities in other sectors. They had also failed to revolutionize their tax system while still engaging in costly wars. State action was hindered by mounting debt and political unrest, which ultimately led to a complete change in government. The Revolutionary government changed the structure of land ownership, favoring small producers even more than before, but constant food shortages contributed to rampant inflation, which the government found itself relatively powerless to address. For the eighteenth century as a whole, it might be said that the Dutch had a financial revolution, the British had an industrial revolution, and the French had a political revolution.

Laura Cruz

See also Austria; France; Great Britain; Mercantilism; Netherlands, The; Prussia; Russia; Spain

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# A

## Abensberg, Battle of (20 April 1809)

Napoleon's opening advance in his counterattack against the Austrian army under Archduke Charles in Bavaria in April 1809. Based at Abensberg 25 kilometers southwest of Ratisbon, Napoleon directed two forces, a provisional corps under Marshal Jean Lannes toward Rohr and a Rheinbund force (that is, a force from the Confederation of the Rhine) under Marshal François Lefebvre toward Schweinbach, striking the weakest point in the Austrian line and splitting it in two. The Austrian left wing led by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Hiller withdrew on Landshut, leaving the main force under Charles south of Regensburg. Napoleon headed for Landshut, while Marshal Louis Davout turned east to engage Charles.

The main Austrian advance (III, IV, and I Reserve Korps) into Bavaria had stalled at Teugn-Hausen on 19 April with three Korps extended southward to protect the western flank. That evening, Napoleon planned to counterattack across a wide front with the intention of enveloping his opponent's army. Assuming that the Austrian army would retreat southward, pressured by Davout, the French emperor formed a provisional corps under Lannes (elements of III Korps and the French reserve light and heavy cavalry), which was sent east from Abensberg toward Rohr to cut the Austrian line of communications, while a combined Bavarian-Württemberg force would intercept any forces reaching the Grosse Laaber river crossings on the road south to Landshut, toward where Marshal André Masséna with IV Korps was marching.

In the late morning, Lannes approached Bachl, forcing *Generalmajor* Joseph Freiherr von Pfanzelter's small flank force from the Austrian III Korps eastward. The 1st and 3rd Bavarian Divisions with Joseph-Laurent Demont's reserve division headed for Offenstetten and around 10:00 A.M., defeated *Generalmajor* Ludwig Ritter von Thierry's small detachment, forcing him back on Bachl as Lannes approached from the north. Thierry hastily withdrew to Rohr, which he reached at 2:00 P.M., but its defenders, *Feld-*

*marschalleutnant* Vincenz Freiherr von Schustekh-Herve's small contingent from V Korps, could do nothing to halt Lannes. The French provisional corps chased the Austrian troops south to the Grosse Laaber crossing at Rottenburg, where they engaged Hiller's VI Korps from 4:30 P.M. until nightfall but failed to cross the river. Meanwhile, the Württemberg contingent and the Bavarian 2nd Division directed by Lefebvre and reinforced by General Jean-Victor Baron Tharreau's cavalry from Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's II Korps had attacked the right flank of Archduke Ludwig's V Korps on the Abens river crossing at Biburg. Nevertheless, *Generalmajor* Vincenz Freiherr von Bianchi's brigade held them off until ordered to withdraw at 2:00 P.M. The V and II Reserve Korps were pulled back eastward to guard the other Laaber crossing at Pfeffenhausen.

Napoleon's maneuver had split the main Austrian army to the north under Charles (five Korps, including I and II Korps north of Regensburg) from the three Korps (V, VI and II Reserve) to the southwest, forcing Hiller to lead them back on Landshut in some disorder early on 21 April. Napoleon wrongly believed that he had attacked the main Austrian force that day and pursued Hiller's troops, leaving Davout with III Korps to engage Charles.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Masséna, André; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles

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## Abercromby, Sir Ralph (1734–1801)

Victorious general at the landings at Aboukir in 1801, Abercromby's victory in Egypt secured British India from eventual attack and marked a turning point for the British

Army in its struggle against the French. Abercromby, a small, quiet man with terrible eyesight, was born in 1734 to an established family of the Scottish gentry. Originally his family had intended him for the law, but he desired a military career and entered the army in 1756 and served in Germany during the Seven Years' War, where he was influenced by the military tactics of Frederick the Great. He avoided active service during the American Revolution, since he possessed liberal sensibilities and sympathized with the colonists' desire for independence. From 1774 to 1780 he served in Parliament without any particular distinction. In 1781 he rose to the rank of colonel of the King's Irish Infantry, but when that regiment was disbanded in 1783, he retired to his home in Edinburgh.

When war broke out with France in 1793, Abercromby, at age fifty-eight, volunteered for service and was given a command under the Duke of York. Abercromby felt it was necessary to keep the Low Countries from French domination, but he was not hostile to the Revolution and did not wish to see the war lead to the overthrow of the French government. He led the advanced force at the Battle of Le Cateau (1794) and was wounded at the siege of Nijmegen (1794). He did a brilliant job of shielding the British army as it withdrew from Holland in 1794–1795, which was acknowledged by his being made a Knight of the Bath. In 1795 he was placed in charge of the British forces in the West Indies. Always a humane officer, upon his arrival he introduced a series of reforms, including improving sanitation and health conditions and altering uniforms to better suit the tropical weather. He met with great success in the West Indies and captured most of the French Caribbean possessions.

Abercromby, now a lieutenant general, was placed in charge of the British forces in Ireland in 1797 and immediately recognized that the army's attempt to enforce control over the seething nation was counterproductive. He forbade his troops from firing on civil rioters without a magistrate's authority, but Lord Camden, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, rescinded the order and removed the army from the control of civil authority. Abercromby angrily issued a general order describing his ragtag forces as being "in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to everyone but the enemy" (Abercromby 1861, 69) and resigned his command.

Abercromby once again served under York during the expedition to north Holland in 1799. The campaign ended in disaster, but Abercromby acquitted himself well. In 1801 the British government named him commander in chief in the Mediterranean, with orders to push the French out of Egypt. His troops made an opposed landing at Aboukir Bay and began to advance toward Alexandria. Two weeks after landing in Egypt, Abercromby met the

enemy at Alexandria on 21 March and thoroughly defeated them, though he died from wounds received in action. He was buried on Malta and is honored with a monument in St. Paul's Cathedral. Several years earlier he had declined a peerage, but after his death his wife was created Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir and Tullibody.

*Kenneth Pearl*

*See also* Alexandria, Battle of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Middle East Campaign; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); West Indies, Operations in the; York, Frederick Augustus, Duke; of

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## Aboukir, Battle of (25 July 1799)

The last major military action of Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, solidifying his control by removing the last Turkish threat to French dominance of the region.

General Bonaparte led an army into Egypt in 1798 in an attempt to overthrow the Mamelukes, a warrior class with origins in Georgia that had ruled Egypt for centuries. While the Mamelukes ostensibly ruled in the name of Ottoman Turkey, they had generally ignored that connection. France hoped Bonaparte's campaign would return Egypt to Turkish control and increase French influence and access to trade routes.

Turkey, however, did not see the French invasion as friendly and supported the Mamelukes against Bonaparte's army. Bonaparte defeated the Mamelukes, most notably at the Battle of the Pyramids (21 July 1798) and the Battle of Mount Tabor (16 April 1799), and with the major exception of Acre (besieged 18 March–20 May 1799) had achieved some measure of success.

Turkey, however, was not yet willing to concede, and another Ottoman army of approximately 9,000 men was arriving by sea from Rhodes on some sixty transports, accompanied by a Royal Navy squadron under Commodore Sir William Sidney Smith. On 11 July 1799, led by Mustapha Pasha, the so-called Army of Rhodes landed near Alexandria at Aboukir. They quickly defeated the small French outpost and after a short siege gained control of Aboukir Castle. Rather than march toward Alexandria or Cairo, they prepared defensive positions and waited for the French to attack. Their inexplicable inac-

tion gave Bonaparte all the time he needed to prepare his response.

Bonaparte had pulled together all available resources and was ready for them. He had about 10,000 men, including 1,000 cavalry led by the dashing General Joachim Murat. Only General Jean-Baptiste Kléber's division had not yet arrived, but Bonaparte wanted to take full advantage of the Turkish army's lethargy and strike immediately. On 25 July he attacked the Turkish positions and achieved a total victory. The French cavalry swept the field. Murat overran the Turkish command post, killed or captured most of the leadership, and personally captured Mustapha Pasha. The future Marshal Jean Lannes led the infantry and gained control of the redoubt. The bulk of the Turkish army was driven into the sea. Of the 9,000 Turks, 7,000 were killed, many as they attempted to swim back to their ships, and the rest captured. The battle concluded a week later when General Jacques-François Menou forced the capitulation of the remaining Turks who had remained in the castle. French losses were slight, with only some 220 killed and 750 wounded.

Bonaparte was now, at least for the moment, secure in his position in Egypt. He had defeated the Mamelukes and both Turkish armies sent to dislodge him. He would not stay long to savor his success, however, and within a month was on his way back to France for an appointment with destiny.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Egypt; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Lannes, Jean; Middle East Campaign; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron; Mount Tabor, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Ottoman Army; Pyramids, Battle of the; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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## Acre, Siege of (18 March–20 May 1799)

The French siege of the seaport of Acre in Palestine during the so-called Syrian campaign, where General Napoleon Bonaparte received the first serious check of his career. After conquering Egypt, Bonaparte had received reports that he would be attacked by two Turkish armies—one forming at El Arish in the Sinai desert and the other at Rhodes, which would attack by sea. He decided to preempt them by striking against the forces of the pasha of Acre, Ahmad “the Butcher” al-Jazzār (or Djezzar as the French

knew him) and his Mameluke ally Ibrahim Bey. After destroying their supply dumps, he would return to Egypt and concentrate on the seaborne assault, which he expected to arrive midsummer.

On 6 February 1799, 13,000 men set off for El Arish, taking the village and attacking a Mameluke camp on the night of 14–15 February. However, the local fort held out until 20 February, when Bonaparte paroled the garrison. The French army entered Palestine at Khan Yunis and captured Gaza on the twenty-fourth. At Jaffa resistance stiffened. The city was taken by assault (7 March) and left open to atrocity. When some of those paroled at El Arish were found to have fought in Jaffa, Bonaparte had over 3,000 prisoners executed outside the city. The following day the French first noticed an outbreak of bubonic plague. On 17 March, the army reached Haifa and invested the port of Acre the next day. Bonaparte's first assault on 28 March completely failed, as did the second on 1 April.

While the French did prevent the arrival of a relief column from Damascus at the battles of Nazareth (5 April) and Mount Tabor (16 April), Bonaparte's repeated attempts to take Acre by storm were thwarted by the tenacious Turkish pasha. Al-Jazzār and his troops were greatly assisted by the British commodore Sir Sidney Smith, whose men served the city's batteries and brought supplies in from the sea. Bonaparte's men were equally hampered by a lack of proper siege artillery (having been intercepted by the British at sea), a lack of ammunition, mounting casualties, and the continued presence of bubonic plague. As the French threw away their last reserves in a series of heavy assaults (8–10 May), Turkish reinforcements began arriving by sea. Fearing the Turks would soon land in Egypt, Bonaparte abandoned the siege on 20 May, losing most of his equipment and enduring one of the most severe marches ever experienced by a French army.

Having prevented the overland invasion, Bonaparte entered Cairo in triumph on 14 June. While he had arrived in time to defeat the seaborne invasion at the Battle of Aboukir on 25 July, the heavy casualties (2,200 killed or dead from plague, with as many sick or wounded) and the failure to take Acre dented the soldiers' confidence in their commander in chief. On 23 August, Bonaparte abandoned his army and returned to France.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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### Addington, Henry (1755–1844)

Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth after 1805) was the only British prime minister of a peacetime administration during the wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Speaker of the House of Commons since 1789, in 1801 he suddenly found himself as the head of government when the prime minister, William Pitt, was prevented from following the Irish union with Catholic emancipation as a result of divisions within the cabinet and the adamant refusal of George III. The landowners who dominated Parliament were also clamoring for relief from the cost of an inconclusive war, and it now seemed that there was a good prospect for favorable negotiations with the apparently well-disposed First Consul of France, Napoleon Bonaparte. Pitt understood the necessity of this peace but had no desire to take the responsibility for the concessions that would have to be made.

Both Pitt (Addington's close friend) and the king urged him to form a ministry committed to peace and to maintaining restrictions on Catholics. Pitt considered this to be a kind of caretaker government that he would direct from outside, and he counseled four of his ministers to remain in office. The fragile peace in 1801 was certainly popular, though the terms exacted by the French foreign minister, Talleyrand, and Bonaparte in the Treaty of Amiens, signed in March 1802, were bitterly criticized by some. All colonial acquisitions were returned to France and its allies save Ceylon and Trinidad. Addington and his foreign secretary, Lord Hawkesbury, pointed to Britain's retention of both Ceylon and Trinidad as sufficient compensation for the war and insisted that restoring the other possessions was a necessary price for international peace. The income tax, paid by the well-to-do, was abolished but had to be reimposed when the peace turned out to be a mere truce. Addington's government was soon suspicious of France's continuing expansion in Europe, and by the beginning of 1803 there was a general feeling that the renewal of war was inevitable. The government refused to surrender the vital Mediterranean base of Malta without sufficient guarantees from France, and on this issue Britain went to war again on 18 May 1803. With no ready allies, Addington's ministry concentrated on the defense of Britain, though it did build up an expeditionary force for future use. Addington himself, however, did not inspire confidence as a war leader. "Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington," went a popular catchphrase. In May 1804 Pitt became prime minister once more.

Addington later accepted a nominal post in Pitt's cabinet and continued in the so-called Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807), which he helped destroy by telling the king of its plans to open military ranks above colonel to Catholics. He returned to office in 1812 and served as home secretary from 1812 to 1822. Thoroughly alarmed by the reports of disturbances around the country in the tense years after 1815, he was the chief instigator of repressive legislation, including the Six Acts of 1819. Following Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the reform of Parliament in 1832, both of which he opposed, he practically withdrew from politics in the last fifteen years of his long life.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Catholic Emancipation; George III, King; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Pitt, William; Union, Act of

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### Afrancesados

Spanish supporters of the aims of the French Revolution in general and of Napoleon and King Joseph of Spain in particular. Among the Afrancesados, however, there were two very different elements that were united primarily by their support of the French and King Joseph. The Afrancesados were made up of well-educated members of the upper classes and the intelligentsia and by many of the grandees, or upper nobility.

The first group was to a large extent a product of the Enlightenment and saw the French, Napoleon, and Joseph as the means to introduce sweeping reforms into Spanish society and government. They were opposed to the absolute rule of the Bourbon kings of Spain, specifically to Charles IV and his dictatorial and mercurial first minister Manuel de Godoy. They were in favor of a "constitutional" monarchy in which they would have a significant voice, unlike the government of the past, when the nobility and the church had shut these members of the professional classes out of court influence. These Afrancesados were to a large extent anticlerical, though some clerics figured among them, in that they opposed the strong degree of influence of the Catholic Church in Spanish society, especially the activities of the Inquisition.

The second group of Afrancesados was composed of members of the grandee class, who also objected to the dictatorial rule of Godoy as first minister but who also

looked upon the popular uprising that drove him from office and forced Charles to abdicate as a dangerous development that only Napoleon and the French had the forces to subdue. They were more concerned with protecting their own positions of power, wealth, and influence than in leading change in Spain.

Although Joseph attempted to rule with the *Afrancesados* at least providing a Spanish face to his foreign-imposed rule, he was unsuccessful because of the intensely nationalistic though very conservative nature of the popular uprising against his rule. The minor nobility, the inhabitants of small towns, the church, and the peasants that made up the vast majority of the opposition to French rule were opposed to the ideals of both the French Revolution and the Enlightenment that the first, “liberal,” group of *Afrancesados* supported. They were also opposed to the continued power and influence of the *grandees*, who had been seen as an oppressive class even before the French invasion.

The *Afrancesados* were targeted by the partisans for assassination and their property was destroyed. They became the most hated of the partisans’ opponents even though they contributed little actual strength to the French forces occupying Spain. This hatred lent a particularly brutal character to partisan war because it was not simply a war against French occupiers; rather, it was also to some extent a civil war against what was perceived as both a traitorous and formerly privileged class. The *Afrancesados* were frequently a burden to the French forces, especially as the tide began to turn against Joseph. In addition to diverting troops for their protection and escort, they added to the noncombatant trains moving on the barely adequate Spanish roads. For instance, long columns of *Afrancesados* and their baggage were among those fleeing after the disastrous Battle of Vitoria.

In the aftermath of the Peninsular War the *Afrancesados* were targeted as traitors and were enthusiastically victimized. The legacy of the *Afrancesados* continued to affect Spanish politics as the liberals seeking change and constitutional government were often associated with their memory and were in some cases accused of being *Afrancesados*.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Charles IV, King; Godoy, Manuel de; Peninsular War; Spain; Vitoria, Battle of

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## Alba de Tormes, Battle of (28 November 1809)

Fought on 28 November 1809, the Battle of Alba de Tormes was an important French victory in the Peninsular War and one of the few occasions in the Napoleonic era when a force of all arms was broken by cavalry alone. In brief, the aftermath of the Talavera campaign had found the provisional government established to rule Patriot Spain in 1808 (the Junta Central) in a difficult situation. Thus, Viscount Wellington had resolved to refrain from engaging in any further joint operations with the Spanish armies unless they were placed under his command, while the Junta’s many internal enemies were plotting its overthrow. Only a dramatic victory could save the day, and the Junta therefore ordered its three main armies to launch a concentric advance on Madrid. To the northwest of the capital the force involved was the 26,000-strong Army of the Left commanded by the Duque del Parque.

In early October these troops, which outnumbered the opposing French forces by three to two, duly advanced on Salamanca and won a minor victory at Tamames. Thus encouraged, del Parque then occupied Salamanca, only to fall back southwestward as soon as the French showed signs of concentrating against him in strength. No pursuit was forthcoming, however—not only had the invaders had to send some of their troops back to ward off guerrilla attacks on such towns as Valladolid, but the Spanish general had holed up in the towering Sierra de Gredos—and on 18 November del Parque therefore once more marched on Salamanca. Heavily outnumbered once again, the French pulled back to Medina del Campo, where they were attacked by the Spanish advance guard on 23 November.

At this point, however, del Parque heard of the defeat of the Spanish Army of the Center at Ocaña. Realizing that the French were now likely to concentrate against him in overwhelming numbers, he therefore embarked on a hasty retreat in the direction of his base at Ciudad Rodrigo. En route, however, he came to grief. Believing that he was well out of reach of the French, on 28 November he allowed his men to bivouac in a weak position at Alba de Tormes. To make matters worse, meanwhile, his cavalry did not keep adequate watch. Had the French really been far away, then all would have been well, but this was not the case. By riding hard, 3,000 cavalry under General Kellermann arrived on the scene an hour before sunset. Unwilling to let his foe escape, the French general decided to attack without waiting for the infantry who were coming up behind him. Charging home with the élan characteristic of Napoleonic cavalry, Kellermann’s dragoons and hussars drove all before them, and the Spanish retired in great disorder, having lost nine guns, a considerable quantity of baggage, and

some 3,000 men. French losses, meanwhile, were at most 300 men. Since many other Spanish soldiers deserted in the subsequent retreat, for the time being the Army of the Left was out of the war.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Junta Central; Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte; Peninsular War; Talavera, Battle of

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### Albeck, Battle of (11 October 1805)

The Battle of Albeck occurred when Austria’s *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich and Archduke Ferdinand made an attempt to break out from the French forces that were surrounding them at Ulm on 11 October 1805. Mack had sent a force of 25,000 troops eastward along the bank of the Danube. At Albeck, around 6 miles northeast of Ulm, they found the French division of General Dupont, which was part of Marshal Ney’s corps. Dupont was in this isolated position as a result of confusing orders given to Ney by Marshal Murat. Ney had been instructed by Napoleon to take his orders from Murat in the final stages of the encirclement at Ulm. Ney had been told to cross the Danube with his entire corps but had protested that this would give the Austrians a chance to escape. As a compromise Murat allowed Ney to leave Dupont at Albeck. Although this did not satisfy Ney, he grudgingly followed his orders. Dupont had only 4,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery, and his nearest support was a division of dragoons under the command of General Baraguey d’Hillier.

Dupont decided to attack the advancing Austrian force in the hope that he could blunt their attack and at the same time convince them that he had a greater force at his disposal than was in fact the case. Throughout the day the French were able to launch a series of holding attacks against the Austrian force, the fiercest taking place at the village of Jungingen just to the west of Albeck. Here the church was held by the 9e Légère (light infantry) commanded by General Jean Victor Rouyer. Rouyer fortified the church and sent skirmishers forward to blunt the Austrian attacks. He then sent forward reserve columns that had been held outside the village when the Austrian assault slowed at the church. Mack was unable to make effective use of his massive superiority in cavalry because woods to the north of Dupont’s position protected that general’s flank. At nightfall Dupont was able to withdraw his ex-

hausted troops toward Brenz. Mack and Ferdinand withdrew back into Ulm.

Following this failure to break out, Mack was to try again two days later at the Battle of Elchingen. After the fighting at Albeck a furious argument broke out between Ney and Murat as to who was responsible for the danger into which Dupont had been placed. Napoleon intervened in this altercation, in the end supporting Ney.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Dupont de l’Etang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Elchingen, Battle of; Ferdinand d’Este, Archduke; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at

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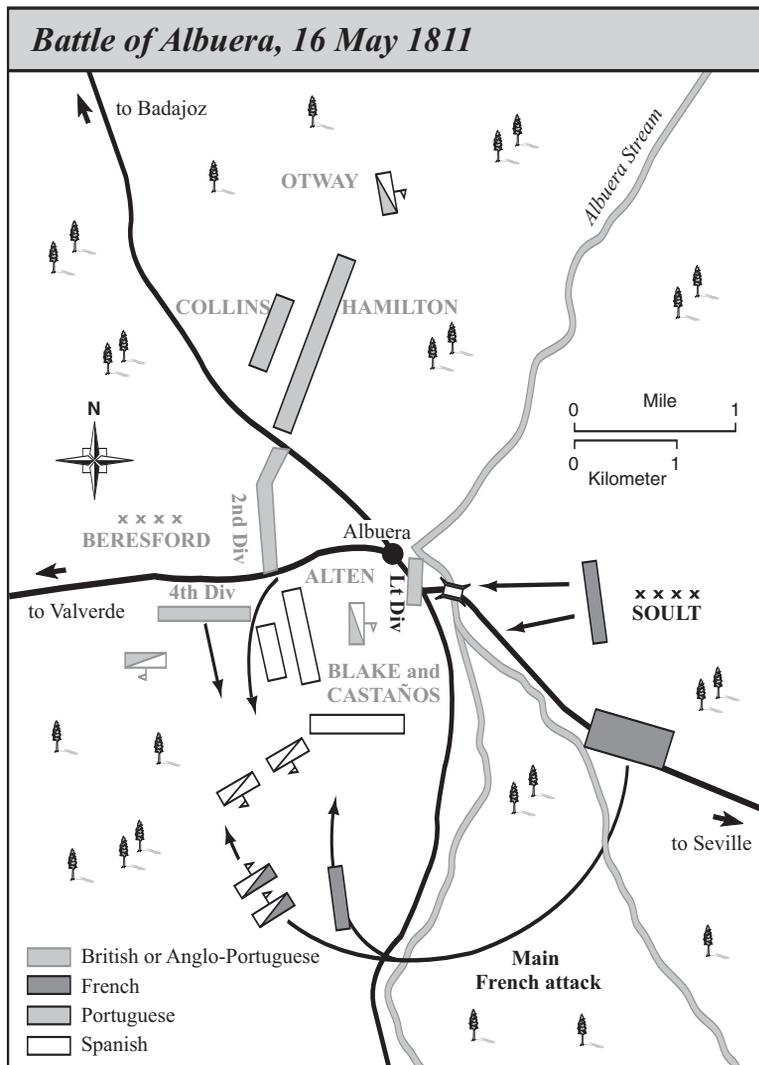
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### Albuera, Battle of (16 May 1811)

One of the bloodiest actions of the Peninsular War, the Battle of Albuera was the result of an attempt on the part of Marshal Nicolas Soult to relieve Badajoz, which had just been besieged by Anglo-Portuguese forces under the command of Sir William Beresford. Outnumbering Soult’s forces by almost three to two, Beresford’s army, which had been joined by two Spanish forces under generals Joaquín Blake and Francisco de Castaños, was drawn up in a strong position along the crest of a line of low hills. In the center of the Allied position, of which the Anglo-Portuguese occupied the left and center and the Spaniards the right—the village of Albuera provided a natural defensive redoubt, while the ridge provided plenty of opportunity for the defenders to take shelter behind the skyline. Soult, however, was a fine general, and he made use of the olive and ilex groves that screened his own position to outflank the Allied right with a large force of infantry and cavalry.

In the face of this threat, the Allied generals were slow to react—they seem, indeed, to have been convinced that Soult’s maneuver was a feint—and their whole army might have been rolled up had a single Spanish brigade not checked the French assault. Finally waking up to the danger of his situation, Beresford rushed most of his British infantry to reinforce the Spanish. The first brigade to arrive was, however, massacred when its divisional commander, Sir William Stewart, launched a premature attack that led to his brigade’s being charged in the flank by a regiment of Polish lancers. (Beresford himself was almost among the victims of this charge; he was caught up in the melee and was forced to defend himself hand-to-hand.)



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002a, 54.

The Allies were only saved by the fact that the French flanking column had no space to deploy and had been forced to come to a halt. As a result the British brigades of Major General Daniel Hoghton and Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie had time to relieve the Spanish in the path of the French and advance against them in line. In the terrible ensuing firefight, the British suffered heavy casualties and the battle once again hung in the balance. Seeing this, Beresford should have launched an immediate assault with the considerable forces he now had echeloned facing the left flank of the French flanking column, but exhaustion, indecision, and lack of confidence had sapped his will, and he failed to take the necessary action. Luckily for Beresford, however, an exasperated staff officer rode over to the commander of the 4th Division, Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole, and urged him to take the offensive.

Soult assailed the oncoming Allied troops with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, only to see his men repulsed

at every turn. Still worse, the French troops on the ridge were now assaulted by some British infantry who had been sheltered from the worst of the firefight. The French forces disintegrated and the fighting abated, with the whole of Soult's left wing retreating in a rout.

Thus ended a terrible day. Not counting several hundred prisoners, the Allied armies had lost 5,380 men dead or wounded, and Beresford was so shaken that he appears to have suffered a nervous breakdown. Soult's losses were still worse, the marshal having lost at least a quarter and possibly a third of his 24,000 men. The French had been thrown back—and burdened by 4,000 wounded, Soult had to retreat—but Beresford's generalship had been very poor, and Badajoz was not to fall for another eleven months.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Blake, Joaquín; Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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## Alexander I, Tsar (1777–1825)

Tsar Alexander I (ruled 1801–1825) was one of the key protagonists of the Napoleonic Wars. During his reign, Russia's international status was transformed. In the early years of his reign, Alexander was able to achieve military success against Napoleonic France. Napoleon's superiority was confirmed at the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. This was an alliance between Russia and France in which Russia was clearly the junior partner. The costly invasion of Russia in 1812, however, fatally weakened Napoleon. In 1813 Alexander became the leader of the Sixth Coalition, which defeated the Napoleonic forces and culminated in Napoleon's first period of exile. Alexander dominated the peace settlements at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. By this date, Russia had become the strongest military power on the Continent, and her status as a European great power was confirmed. Alexander's character is difficult to penetrate.



Tsar Alexander I, whose commitment to the defeat of France left his army the most powerful force in Europe at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. (Artist unknown/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

He was sometimes irresolute but could be stubborn; he always wanted to please his companion, be he one of his “young friends” or Napoleon; he was educated as a liberal but became heavily influenced by mysticism later in his reign. These complexities and contradictions are evident in his foreign policy.

Alexander had been educated by the Swiss republican Frédéric César de La Harpe. An impressionable young man, Alexander enthusiastically absorbed La Harpe’s ideas about the benefits of republican government and the evils of despotism. As a result, he found the seemingly capricious and arbitrary rule of his father Paul I (ruled 1796–1801) dangerous and oppressive. Paul’s erratic behavior, both at home and abroad, offended significant sections of the Russian nobility and military elite. On the night of 23 March 1801, Paul was murdered when a group of conspirators, with Alexander’s knowledge, burst into his room and attempted to remove him by force. Alexander was shocked by the all-too-predictable fate of his father; his remorse and a fear of conspiracy remained during the rest of his reign.

Alexander inherited a difficult state of foreign affairs from his father. Paul had abruptly pulled out of the Second Coalition in 1799 and had then pursued a number of unpopular anti-British policies, including placing an embargo on British trade and dispatching a Cossack expedition supposedly intended to invade India. Alexander’s upbringing had neglected foreign affairs, and his first statements and policies naively envisaged creating a European peace under Russian leadership. In practical terms, this

meant establishing peaceful relations with Britain and France. In less practical terms, it meant an offer to mediate between Britain and France in 1803, and a proposal put to British ministers in 1804, probably written by Prince Adam Czartoryski, for Europe to become a league of liberal and constitutional states, in which all would live in peace, protected and controlled by the benign benevolence of Britain and Russia. The British government had neither the inclination nor the need to accept such an ambitious and impractical scheme.

Rising tensions over France nevertheless pushed Alexander toward alliances with Austria and Britain (war had broken out between France and Britain in 1803). Alexander had been offended by the execution of the duc d’Enghien (who had been seized in neutral Baden, which was the homeland of Alexander’s wife, Elizabeth), by Napoleon’s claiming the title of emperor and, more fundamentally, by a growing recognition of the threat posed by Napoleonic France to the balance of power in Europe in general and to the eastern Mediterranean in particular. By November 1804 Russia had signed a defensive alliance with Austria; in April 1805 this was followed by an Anglo-Russian alliance, to which Austria adhered in August.

Alexander’s first experience of war was traumatic. He was present with the Russian forces at the Battle of Austerlitz on 2 December 1805. The combined Austrian and Russian forces were routed by Napoleon with the loss of some 25,000–30,000 men. Alexander had to share some of the blame for the defeat. Not only had he put himself at the head of the Russian forces (the first Russian ruler to do so since Peter the Great), but he had also overruled the advice of his own commander in chief to delay operations. Far from appearing as a heroic leader of men, he had to flee hastily from the scene of the battle and almost suffered the indignity of capture. The tsar spent the night after the battle on the floor of a peasant’s hut, suffering from stomach cramps. Defeat was swiftly followed by Austrian capitulation. Prussia joined with Russia the following year and suffered shattering defeats at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt before Alexander’s troops could assist. Russian forces, now fighting Napoleon alone, were defeated at the battles of Eylau and Friedland, at the cost of some 30,000 lives. Alexander had little choice but to come to terms with Napoleon.

The two emperors famously met on a specially constructed raft on the Niemen River at the town of Tilsit on the border between Prussian Polish lands and Russia. Napoleon and Alexander tried to outdo each other with expressions of endearment, charm, and flattery. Alexander, as befitted the pupil of La Harpe, apparently expressed to the French emperor his admiration of republics and of non-hereditary succession. The practical results, however, of the Tilsit treaty were of immense significance and firmly estab-

lished French dominance in central Europe and the Mediterranean. Russia suffered few territorial losses—the Ionian Islands and Cattaro (on the Dalmatian coast)—but it had to agree to abandon the Adriatic, to adhere to the Continental System and to accept the creation of the duchy of Warsaw from formerly Prussian Polish territory. Alexander put a brave face on events; he wrote to his sister Catherine that “God has saved us: instead of sacrifices we have emerged from the contest with a sort of lustre” (Hartley 1994, 78). But the unpalatable truth was that Russia had not only been humiliated militarily but had also been forced to abandon important economic and strategic interests in Europe. It was little compensation that Napoleon now encouraged Alexander in the (in Napoleon’s view) harmless conquest of Finland (in 1808–1809) at the expense of Sweden. Alexander returned from Tilsit to face unpopularity at home and with Russia’s international status severely diminished.

The Tilsit settlement was inherently unstable. At least in principle, Russia’s adherence to the Continental System stopped all Anglo-Russian trade. This particularly hit Russian exports to Britain of iron, wood, hemp, and flax (Britain depended heavily on Russia for naval stores). The Russian nobility, already unhappy at what they regarded as the humiliation of the Treaty of Tilsit, also resented the loss of imported luxury goods. The curtailment of trade also meant that the Russian government lost vital income from customs on exported and imported goods. The situation was unsustainable, and in 1810 Alexander in effect withdrew from the Continental System when he imposed duties on French imports. Russia also resented French influence in the Balkans and the restrictions on Russian activities there. The greatest obstacle to peace, however, was the existence of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was in effect a French satellite on Russia’s borders. Alexander had long expressed a desire to recreate an independent Polish state, and he had condemned as immoral the disappearance of Poland-Lithuania in the three partitions in the reign of his grandmother, Catherine II. But he wanted such a re-creation to be on his terms and under Russian control; the dominance of a Polish state by the most powerful country in Europe, and a potential rival and enemy, was simply intolerable. By the summer of 1811 it was obvious that diplomatic relations were breaking down and that Napoleon was preparing for war.

The Russian campaign of 1812 was a turning point in the Napoleonic Wars. Napoleon’s inability to force Alexander to come to terms despite the defeat at Smolensk and the costly stalemate at Borodino and the subsequent occupation of Moscow stretched Napoleon’s supply lines beyond their limits. It has been estimated that at least 400,000 French and French-allied troops perished or were

captured in the Russian campaign. In addition to the devastating human and material losses, Napoleon lost his image of military invincibility. The campaign was also a turning point for Alexander himself. His determination not to negotiate with Napoleon enhanced his image at home and abroad, although in truth he had little choice in the matter. Alexander was acutely aware of his unpopularity and vulnerability after initial setbacks and the occupation of Moscow; furthermore, the fate of his father was never far from his mind. Alexander, by upbringing and education a typical product of the Enlightenment, underwent a profound religious experience during this traumatic time and found solace in Bible study and spiritual matters. From this time onward, his vision of international affairs was couched in religious and spiritual language.

Russian troops crossed Europe in pursuit of Napoleonic forces, and Alexander was now the leader of the Sixth Coalition. Alexander had learned from his unfortunate experience at the Battle of Austerlitz and did not attempt to join the army at the victorious Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. He did, however, make sure that he led his troops triumphantly into Paris on 31 March 1814 after Napoleon’s abdication. Magnanimous in his newfound role as the savior of Europe, Alexander could put the humiliations of Austerlitz, Tilsit, and Moscow behind him and he pronounced to the people of Paris: “I come not as an enemy. I come to bring you peace and commerce” (Hartley 1994, 124). Alexander followed his entry into Paris with a trip to Britain, where he was greeted enthusiastically, at least by the crowds, as a hero and the vanquisher of Napoleon, although, it has to be said that he made a less favorable impression on British ministers: “A vain, silly fellow” was the unkind verdict of Lord Grey (Hartley 1994, 126). Napoleon’s escape from Elba put celebrations on hold, but the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo (without the participation of Russian troops) meant that the settlement of Europe could now proceed.

Alexander’s ambitions and Russia’s newfound military authority in Europe dominated the diplomatic proceedings at the Congress of Vienna. The Allies were relatively little concerned about the fate of France, which could be effectively restrained at its borders, but were greatly troubled by Poland’s fate, which potentially affected the whole balance of power in central Europe. While professing his desire for a free and constitutional Poland and his forgiveness for the participation of some 100,000 Poles in the Napoleonic army that had invaded Russia in 1812, Alexander made it clear that Poland would be firmly part of the Russian sphere of influence. The issue of Poland almost provoked a split among the Allies, but in the end the issue was settled to Russia’s advantage. Almost all the land that Prussia had acquired in the partitions, and that had then

formed the Duchy of Warsaw, now became the Congress Kingdom of Poland, nominally with a degree of independence (and with its own representative institutions) but in practice tied to Russia through the person of the tsar, who was also the constitutional king of Poland.

Russia gained territory as a consequence of victory in the Napoleonic Wars: In addition to the Congress Kingdom of Poland, Russia had acquired Finland from Sweden in 1809 and Bessarabia from the Ottoman Empire in 1812. Furthermore, Alexander was able to dominate the constitutional and territorial settlements of other, smaller states and to determine the very *language* of international agreements after 1815. In 1804, it had been possible for the British government to brush aside Alexander's sweeping, and unrealistic, proposals for European organization. In 1815, it was not possible to ignore his "Holy Alliance"—an agreement by which rulers would act together in union guided by Christian principles to maintain order, peace, and justice. Despite widespread skepticism, and even mockery, of Alexander's scheme, the only prominent individuals who were able to resist joining the alliance were the Prince Regent of Britain and the pope, both of whom refused to sign, and the Turkish sultan, who was not invited. The language of the Holy Alliance and of the pronouncements of the congresses that met between 1818 and 1821 not only was the product of Alexander's own spiritual state of mind but was also a reflection of the newly established power of Russia and of its ruler.

*Janet Hartley*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Catherine II "The Great," Tsarina; Continental System; Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Eylau, Battle of; Finland; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Holy Alliance; Ionian Islands; Jena, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Poland; Russia; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Second Coalition, War of the; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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### Alexandria, Battle of (20–21 March 1801)

A British victory, the Battle of Alexandria ended the French occupation of Egypt, which had begun when Bonaparte had conquered the country in 1798.

In 1800 the British and the Ottoman Turks had planned a three-pronged full-scale invasion by British troops, Ottoman forces, and Anglo-Indian forces. The 5,000-strong Anglo-Indian force under General Sir David Baird would advance by way of the Red Sea. Vice Admiral Viscount Keith had 164 vessels—2 frigates, 100 transports, 5 ships of the line, and 57 Turkish vessels at his disposal. The army commander, General Sir Ralph Abercromby, was well respected, and his professionalism brought new life to the expedition. His subordinate was Major General Sir John Moore, later to become famous for his role in the Peninsular War.

The first battle prior to the capture of Alexandria was fought on 8 March 1801 after an astounding amphibious operation disembarked 6,000 British troops at Aboukir Bay. The fifty men to each boat carried sixty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations. The British, supported by gunboats, overcame strenuous opposition from the French and established a foothold. The French Armée d'Orient, commanded by General Menou, were quickly driven off the beach. On 13 March the British also won at Mandora, the land jutting out between Lake Aboukir and the Mediterranean Sea. The French used cavalry and artillery in an attempt to stop British advances on the sandhills. The hard-won victory cost the British 1,400 casualties; the French lost 700 men.

The Battle of Alexandria, beginning late on the night of 20 March and lasting until just before dawn of the following day, was fought at Nicopolis, some 12 miles from Alexandria, a town of 4,000 people. After constructing field fortifications, 14,000 British troops were deployed—three brigades on the left; Moore's reserve division on the right, facing southwest toward Alexandria; the Foot Guards in the center; and a second line consisting of dismounted cavalry and two infantry brigades.

The British were fully prepared for battle before sunrise on the twenty-first. However, British intelligence had been faulty, and the unexpectedly high number of French troops—12,000—concerned Abercromby. The French were ordered to drive the British into the lake, and they attacked under cover of darkness, before Baird's reinforcement would arrive. Moore's reserve, the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot, as well as the 23rd (Royal Welch

Fusiliers), 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch), 58th (Rutlandshire) Foot, and four companies of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Foot, repulsed the first French attack.

The French twice renewed their attacks. The British, with bayonets fixed, dashed up sandhills to capture the French guns; they were supported by heavy guns from the Royal Navy ships at anchor, which also defended the ground already captured. French grenadiers and cavalry penetrated between the lines of the 28th Foot and the Highlanders, surrounding them front and rear in their vulnerable unfinished redoubt. However, the order "Rear rank 28th; Right About Face" was given, resulting in ferocious hand-to-hand combat by the stubborn and determined British troops, who fought for four hours. By facing about and offering staunch resistance, the regiment saved itself from destruction; as a result, they were thereafter granted the right to wear regimental badges on the backs of their headdresses.

The Black Watch was attacked twice, suffering many casualties, but it eventually captured the colors of an opposing regiment, most of whom had become casualties. The volleys of the Fusiliers throughout the battle were particularly beneficial; the French, to their cost, did not employ infantry in this fashion, instead relying on cavalry and artillery. The cannonades from the British gunboats caused appallingly high French casualties. The fighting was over by 10:00 A.M. Menou's final charge resulted in slaughter; he lost 3,000 killed and wounded.

In the course of the battle, Abercromby personally fought some French dragoons, suffering a fatal wound in his leg, though he remained engaged and in command until his collapse on the field. He died of his wounds on 28 March. Moore was also wounded but recovered. The British suffered 1,468 casualties. Moore pushed the French into Alexandria, which fell in April. Menou, with only 7,300 French effectives, surrendered Cairo in June and, later, Alexandria on 2 September. The French occupation of Egypt was at an end.

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*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron; Middle East Campaign; Moore, Sir John

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## Algeciras, First Battle of (6 July 1801)

Minor naval action fought off Gibraltar between British and French squadrons. Rear Admiral C. A. L. Durand, comte de Linois, with instructions to proceed to Cadiz, left the French Mediterranean port of Toulon on 13 June 1801 with three ships of the line and one 40-gun frigate. He was sighted off Gibraltar on 1 July and four days later word reached Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, then watching Cadiz, that a French squadron was sailing west. On learning that Saumarez led a superior force, Linois decided to postpone his arrival and made for the port of Algeciras, anchoring off the town, and in easy sight of Gibraltar, on 4 July. Light winds delayed Saumarez's arrival in Gibraltar Bay until the early hours of the sixth, at which time he had five 74s and one 80-gun ship. At 7:00 A.M. the lead British vessel, the *Venerable* (74), spotted the French warping toward the shore batteries, whereupon Saumarez ordered the squadron to engage his opponent's vessels in succession. Linois was anchored in shallow water, with intervals of approximately 500 yards between his ships. On shore he had the support of guns in Fort Santa Garcia, a mile and a half to the south, a battery on Isla Verde at the southern end of his line, and another battery at Santiago, at his northern end. Still more guns were sited at La Villa Vieja and at Almirante. Close to shore lay fourteen heavy Spanish gunboats. The weak breeze prevented the British ships from assuming the formation intended for them, so they took up various positions and anchored.

The action began at 7:50 A.M. when the British ship the *Pompée* (74) received broadsides from all four French ships in succession before anchoring at 8:45 very near the French flagship, the *Formidable* (80). A few minutes later the *Audacious* (74) anchored close to the *Indomptable* (80), and at 9:00 the *Venerable* anchored some distance from the *Desaix* (74) and the *Formidable*. A spirited cannonade soon ensued, during which the French ships continued to warp slowly toward the shore. Around 9:15 Saumarez's flagship, the *Caesar* (80), opened fire on the *Desaix*. Five minutes later the *Hannibal* (74) approached, and anchored near the *Caesar*. The last vessel, the *Spencer* (74), was far to leeward and, like her sister ships, could not maneuver in the light, intermittent breeze and unfavorable current. She thus played little part in the action. A few minutes after 10:00 Saumarez ordered the *Hannibal* to rake the *Formidable*. The *Hannibal* managed to interpose herself between that ship and the shore, but in so doing grounded on the shoals, with the *Formidable* on her port

side and the Almirante Tower, the battery at Santiago, and several Spanish gunboats to the starboard. The *Hannibal* fired on all these targets while simultaneously seeking to get afloat. Attempts to rescue her crew failed when the boats sent by other vessels were sunk.

At 11:15 Linois, fearing that other ships from Saumarez's squadron might attempt to maneuver between his line and the shore, ordered his vessels to drift ashore. As this put the French out of range, Saumarez sought to approach closer, but the constant shifting of the breeze, the difficult current, and the rocks and shoals scattered inside the harbor made this impossible. The current had earlier swung the *Pompée* into an unnavigable position, and when the attack could no longer be pursued Saumarez ordered the boats of the squadron to tow the *Pompée* from her vulnerable anchorage. The others had been destroyed in the fighting, and when at 1:30 P.M. action ceased and Saumarez withdrew, he had to abandon even the *Pompée* in order to take under tow the dismantled and grounded *Hannibal*, whose crew had however already been taken prisoner by the French. Both sides suffered very heavily. Saumarez lost 121 killed and 252 wounded, plus the prisoners taken off the *Hannibal*. Linois lost 306 killed and 280 wounded. Three of Saumarez's ships and all of Linois's were heavily damaged.

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* Algeciras, Second Battle of; Naval Warfare; Second Coalition, War of the

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### Algeciras, Second Battle of (12–13 July 1801)

The second of two minor naval actions fought between British and French squadrons near Gibraltar. In the wake of the first action of 6 July, Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez brought his battered ships into Gibraltar, where with unprecedented speed his crews refitted and repaired the vessels in preparation for another bout with Rear Admiral C. A. L. Durand, comte de Linois's squadron off Algeciras. In the meantime Linois sent word to Cadiz, requesting urgent assistance, as he expected a second engagement with Saumarez. At Cadiz, Rear Admiral Pierre Dumanoir Le Pelley commanded a French force of six

ships of the line and two frigates, though these were short of their full complements. On the eighth, however, he was joined by Vice Admiral Don Juan Joaquín de Moreno with five Spanish and one Franco-Spanish ship of the line and three frigates. On the morning of the ninth they embarked, and they joined Linois off Algeciras that afternoon, bringing their total force to nine ships of the line and three frigates. By the morning of the twelfth Saumarez had completed his repairs and had a squadron consisting of the *Caesar* (80 guns), *Venerable* (74), *Superb* (74), *Spencer* (74), *Audacious* (74), *Thames* (32), and three smaller vessels. The *Pompée*, present in the previous action, was left behind. He put to sea to meet his opponent, who early that afternoon also weighed anchor so as to confront Saumarez on the open sea. When the Franco-Spanish force came in sight near Cabareta Point, Saumarez gave chase, his ships forming in line ahead.

Action did not begin until nightfall, by which time Saumarez's squadron was widely separated. At about 11:20 P.M. the *Superb* encountered in the darkness the *Real Carlos* (112), the *San Hermenegildo* (112), and the *St. Antoine* (74) on her port side. Despite these terrible odds, the *Superb* engaged the *Real Carlos*, and after firing three broadsides had brought down her fore-topmast. When the Spaniard caught fire the *Superb* sailed on. Owing to some confusion the *Real Carlos* then mistakenly began to fire at the two friendly ships nearby, evidently mistaking them in the darkness for British vessels. At around midnight the *Superb* engaged the *St. Antoine*, sometimes at close quarters, for half an hour, before the French ship struck her colors. In the meantime the *Real Carlos*, still on fire, had fouled the *San Hermenegildo*, setting her ablaze as well. Shortly before the *St. Antoine* surrendered, the *Real Carlos* exploded, followed at 12:30 by the *San Hermenegildo*. A total of about 300 survivors reached the *Superb* and other British ships, but the remaining troops, approximately 1,700 men, were killed in the explosions. The *Superb* and four smaller vessels secured the French prize, while the remainder of the squadron continued its pursuit of the other ships.

Again the vessels were widely separated, and by 4:00 A.M. the wind, which had earlier increased to a gale, began to lighten to a breeze, and only the *Venerable* and the *Thames* could make headway. At 5:15 a fierce action commenced between the *Formidable* (80) and the *Venerable* in which the two sides fired broadsides at such short range that musket fire was also exchanged. At 5:30 the *Venerable* lost her mizzen topmast, and fifteen minutes later the *Thames* was able to rake the *Formidable* across her stern. At 6:45 the *Venerable* lost her mainmast overboard, leaving her effectively crippled. Meanwhile the *Caesar* and *Spencer*, owing to failing winds, proved unable to press on into effective range. Around 8:00 the *Venerable* lost her foremast,

struck a shoal, and lost her mizzenmast over the side, leaving her dead in the water. The Franco-Spanish were prevented from capturing her, however, by the approach from the south of the *Audacious* and the *Superb*, and rather than continue the contest the Franco-Spanish squadron entered the safety of Cadiz. Saumarez returned to Gibraltar with his prize and the *Venerable* in tow.

The British lost fewer than 150 men, mostly aboard the *Venerable*, which suffered 18 dead and 87 wounded. The French alone reported losses of 25 killed and wounded, which is almost certainly a wild underestimate. To this, of course, must be added the loss of the *St. Antoine* and her crew as prisoners, plus the severe Spanish losses of two ships of 112 guns destroyed and their entire crews either killed or captured. The action was not of great strategic significance, yet Saumarez had shown great daring and skill at chasing and defeating his opponent, having hastily refitted his heavily damaged squadron in the wake of the first encounter off Algeciras only six days previously. The two actions confirmed the correctness of then-current British naval policy: hemming their opponents' vessels into port and confronting any that dared venture out could succeed, even against heavy odds.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Algeciras, First Battle of; Naval Warfare; Second Coalition, War of the

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## Almeida, Sieges of (1810, 1811)

Almeida was one of a pair of Portuguese fortresses that guarded the only two major points of entry for invading armies from Spain, known together as the Gates to Portugal. Almeida, like its more famous Spanish counterpart (Ciudad Rodrigo), sits along the northern route. The fortress's primary mission was to protect the crossings on the Coa River, which created a natural defensive barrier between the two countries. Because of its strategic value, Almeida was the site of two important sieges during the Peninsular War.

In July 1810 Viscount Wellington knew his small British army could not stop the invading French, commanded by Marshal André Masséna, from entering Portu-

gal. Wellington's plan was to make a strategic withdrawal, letting the fort at Almeida hold off the French until October, when autumn rains would make future campaigning very difficult. Almeida was in a strong position to withstand a siege: It was garrisoned by over 5,000 troops with over 100 guns and was amply supplied with food and ammunition, all under the command of the very capable British colonel William Cox, who held the rank of brigadier general in the Portuguese Army.

The siege began on 24 July, when the French pushed the British across the Coa, cutting Almeida off from reinforcements. Masséna began digging siege trenches on 15 August, and the following day he began shelling the fortress. In the first thirteen hours of the siege, the French fired 6,177 rounds (using nine tons of powder) with little effect, until fate played a major role. A howitzer round landed near the main powder magazine and, through a still-unknown chain of events, ignited the million infantry cartridges and 150,000 pounds of gunpowder inside. The ensuing explosions destroyed the center of the fortress and all its supply of powder. Almeida was practically defenseless and surrendered on 28 August. Masséna consolidated his position and in September moved further into Portugal, meeting the British at the Battle of Busaco on 27 September.

The fortress of Almeida remained under French control until spring 1811, when the British began their siege on 4 April. Like Masséna the year before, Wellington knew he had to take the fortress in order to safely control the road. The French attempted to relieve the fortress but were blocked by Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese forces at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro on 5 May. Upon hearing the news of the defeat, the 1,300 men of the French garrison abandoned the fortress and fought their way through British lines and escaped.

The departure of the French garrison ended the invasion of Portugal. Never again would the French enter that country in any numbers larger than a raiding party. These two sieges epitomize Wellington's style of defensive strategic warfare and his reliance on foresight, patience, and determination to achieve victory in the Peninsular War.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Busaco, Battle of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Masséna, André; Peninsular War; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Altenkirchen, Battle of (19 September 1796)

Fought 50 kilometers east of Bonn, the Battle of Altenkirchen was the final victory of Archduke Charles's Austrian army over General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan's French Army of the Sambre and Meuse, which forced the French to withdraw across the Rhine. Leaving a screen, the archduke could march south to attack General Jean Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Moselle. The noted French commander General François-Severin Marceau-Desgraviers, was fatally wounded in the fighting.

Following his defeat at Würzburg on 3 September 1796, Jourdan retreated with his army northwest toward the Lahn River to join his force previously blockading Mainz. Charles's army pursued the French, attempting an outflanking move toward Aschaffenburg, where they defeated a small French force on 6 September. Between 9 and 12 September the French withdrew across the Lahn around Wetzlar. Austrian diversionary attacks occupied French attention on the river valley for another four days, while Charles massed toward Limburg in the west, threatening Jourdan's retreat on the Rhine. The archduke attacked and defeated the French right under Marceau on 16 September, forcing Jourdan to withdraw on Altenkirchen to secure the Hachenburg defile, through which the Wetzlar road ran toward the Rhine. His retreat was covered by Marceau's steady withdrawal against the Austrian advance guard under Freiherr Kray, whose lead units drove the French from Herborn and reached Luisenlust early on 19 September.

General Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte's division had reached Altenkirchen on the morning of 19 September and took a position between the road and the Wiedbach stream. He was followed by General Paul Grenier's and François Lefebvre's divisions, which formed the French main force in two battle lines, while General Jean-Etienne Championnet moved to Weyerbusch, leaving the cavalry to cover Marceau's withdrawal through Hachenberg to Freilingen. The archduke's main body (18,000 men) had reached Molsberg with Kray (9,000 men) at Hahn.

On 19 September, Marceau abandoned Freilingen and withdrew his infantry through the Höchstebach Forest, protected by his cavalry until Kray's cavalry outflanked them. The main French army (25,000 men) established a position behind the Weidbach stream and then covered the rear guard's withdrawal, but during this action Marceau was fatally wounded. General André Poncet took command and joined Bernadotte's left with the cavalry massed behind him. Meanwhile, Kray had taken Höchstebach village and secured the forest, although a fierce rearguard action was mounted by the French around the Walrod mill, action that prevented the Austrian advance guard from

reaching the main French positions. The archduke's army camped at Freilingen. During the night Jourdan continued his retreat and withdrew across the Rhine two days later. By the time Austrian troops reached the former French positions, Marceau was dead. At dawn on 21 September, his body was returned with full military honors. Charles left a screen under Werneck and headed south to confront Moreau.

David Hollins

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Mainz, Siege of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Würzburg, Battle of

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### Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberk (1735–1810)

Austrian general defeated by Bonaparte at Arcola and Rivoli at the end of the 1796–1797 Italian campaign. Although he was a brave, experienced, and decorated hero of the wars of the later eighteenth century, ill health curtailed his effectiveness. A popular commander, he was also enthusiastic about science and became a trusted imperial adviser in his later years.

A Transylvanian commoner, Alvinczy joined the army as a *Fähnrich* (ensign/cadet officer) at the age of fourteen and served for fifty-seven years. Promoted to *Hauptmann* (captain) in 1753, he commanded a grenadier company. His courageous leadership at the battles of Torgau and Teplitz during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) won him promotion to *zweiter* (second) major. After the war, he worked on the implementation of *Feldmarschall* Franz Moritz Graf Lacy's new 1769 uniform and drill regulations. Promoted to *Oberst* (colonel) commanding Infanterie Regiment 19 in 1774, he led his men from the front through the War of Bavarian Succession (1778–1779), taking the "Bohemian Gate" pass and capturing the Prussian commander, Prince Hessen-Phillipsthal. These feats won him promotion to *Generalmajor* (major general) and the Knight's Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa. After a short period instructing the future emperor, Archduke Francis,

in military tactics, he returned to Infanterie Regiment 19 as its *Inhaber* (honorary colonel).

Under *Feldmarschall* Gideon Freiherr von Laudon, he fought in the Austro-Turkish War (1788–1791), but bad weather prevented him from successfully assaulting Belgrade. Promoted to *Feldmarschalleutnant* (lieutenant general), he went to the Austrian Netherlands in 1790 to suppress the Belgian rebellion, until a fall from his horse forced him to retire. Returning in 1792, he commanded a division and steadied his demoralized men at the Battle of Neerwinden (18 March 1793) before leading them in the capture of the village. Commanding an auxiliary Austrian Korps supporting the British, he fought at Landrecies and Fleurus before being wounded at Mariolles. Promoted to *Feldzeugmeister* (general), Alvinczy advised the Prince of Orange in the successful relief of Charleroi in June 1794, losing two horses from under him. Rewarded with the Grand Cross, he was recalled to Vienna to serve on the Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council) in 1795.

After organizing the Tyrolean militia to face the advancing French in 1796, Alvinczy was charged with relieving Mantua from Bonaparte's siege. With an army largely composed of new recruits and with few experienced officers, but aided by his chief of staff, Major Franz Ritter Freiherr von Weyrother, he won victories at the Battle of Bassano (6 November 1796) and, five days later, the first Battle of Caldiero before being defeated at the Battle of Arcola (15–17 November). Despite deteriorating health and bad weather, he regrouped and tried again, but he suffered a second defeat at Rivoli (13–15 January 1797). Bedridden with swollen feet, he was relieved by Archduke Charles in February. Thereafter, he was *General Kommandant* (military governor) in Hungary and a *geheimer Rat* (imperial adviser), directing the introduction of the new 1798 pattern equipment.

David Hollins

*See also* Arcola, Battle of; Bassano, Battle of; Caldiero, First Battle of; Fleurus, Battle of; Hungary; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Landrecies, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Rivoli, Battle of

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## Amberg, Battle of (24 August 1796)

Indecisive Austrian victory over the French in northern Bavaria, east of Nuremberg. After the Battle of Rastatt, Archduke Charles had withdrawn eastward with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour's

Army of the Upper Rhine, before fighting General Jean Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Moselle to a standstill around Neresheim over 11–13 August. Charles's daring strategy, utilizing the maneuver of the central position to achieve a local numerical superiority, was to march north to catch General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan's Army of the Sambre and Meuse in a pincer movement with *Feldzeugmeister* Wilhelm Graf Wartensleben's northern corps. After defeating this French army, he would move south again to cut Moreau's links with France. Although the maneuver split the French armies, Jourdan narrowly escaped the trap and retreated west.

On 17 August, Charles left Latour and marched north with 28,000 men. In the north, Wartensleben had been driven 20 kilometers east of Amberg by Jourdan's army, which had halted in the town. The archduke marched north on 22 August to attack General Bernadotte's division around Neumarkt. After two days of fighting, Bernadotte withdrew northwest, leaving the road to Amberg open.

Aware of Bernadotte's defeat, Jourdan was preparing to evacuate the town. To protect his heavy artillery, the 40,000 troops of the Sambre and Meuse army were positioned in a broad sweep in front of Amberg, with a reinforced right flank, since Jourdan expected Charles, with 18,000 men, to make the main attack. The Austrians had observed the withdrawal of the French guns, and Wartensleben realized that he had to pin Jourdan down to allow Charles time to arrive. During the afternoon of 23 August, he pushed four cavalry regiments across the Naab, followed by a general advance supported by heavy artillery. The French army initially held its ground, but around 11:00 p.m. began to retreat back toward Amberg.

Skirmishing continued through the night, and in the morning, Charles was driving General Jacques-Philippe Bonnaud's French cavalry back through Kastel. To Jourdan's surprise, the main Austrian assault broke from the east as Wartensleben's 35,000 men advanced in three columns onto the hills above the town, which was divided by the Vils River. To the south were the divisions of generals Championnet and Paul Grenier, and to the east stood General Colaud's division. Wartensleben's first two columns (under Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova and himself) overwhelmed Colaud and reached the southeastern part of Amberg; from there they opened up a heavy artillery bombardment. Meanwhile *Generalmajor* Karl Graf Hadik's third column linked with Charles's troops advancing from the Ursenum wood on the south side. The battle became a rearguard action in the town as Jourdan hastened the retreat of the Sambre and Meuse army northwest to avoid being cut off by *Generalmajor* Johann Hotze's column, which was pursuing Bernadotte toward the Nuremberg road. The last-minute French withdrawal had denied

Charles a decisive victory, but Jourdan had lost 2,000 men against the Austrians' 400 and would now withdraw westward toward Würzburg and away from Moreau.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier; Charles, Archduke of Austria; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Moreau, Jean Victor; Neresheim, Battle of; Rastatt, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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**Amiens, Treaty of (25 March 1802)**

The Treaty of Amiens granted a rare period of peace between Britain and France and formally ended the French

Revolutionary Wars. It gave Europe a respite from conflict and British citizens a chance to visit Paris and trade with France, but it lasted barely a year.

The Treaty of Lunéville, signed in February 1801 between France and Austria, left Britain isolated in the war against France. Under the prime minister, William Pitt, Britain had twice raised unsuccessful continental coalitions against France. This was too much for the British business class to tolerate, and Pitt, over a dispute with King George III about Catholic emancipation, unwillingly retired from government in March 1801. The British public was tired of war and its enormous cost, and although the Royal Navy held command of the seas, Napoleon had established France as the uncontested power on the European continent.

The new British government, led by Pitt's successor, Henry Addington, reluctantly entered into peace negotiations with France. The two sides reached preliminary agreement on 1 October 1801. Lord Cornwallis then continued negotiations with France, represented by Napoleon's



*Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 87.*

brother Joseph Bonaparte, at the French town of Amiens. British success in Egypt and the destruction of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen led Britain to believe that it would have the upper hand, but quite the opposite was the actual case. The Treaty of Amiens, formally ratified on 25 March 1802, was a diplomatic coup for France and Napoleon. It effectively ended all opposition to French forces on the Continent. Egypt was to be returned to Turkey, and the Knights of St. John were to regain control of the island of Malta, both regions currently occupied by the British. France, on the other hand, kept all territory within its “natural” frontiers (the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees) as well as Holland and several territories in Italy. Various islands in the West Indies were returned to the Dutch and the Spanish, French allies. While the British public breathed a sigh of relief, the French were exuberant.

All of Europe celebrated the peace, though perhaps the number who thought it would last was somewhat fewer than the number of celebrants. Trade flourished in Britain, France, and the rest of Europe. British tourists flocked to Paris to see Napoleon, joining thousands of other tourists from all over Europe. To many, it seemed that the peace could last forever.

For Napoleon, the Treaty of Amiens was a triumph that built on other accomplishments and brought him his twin goals of domestic and foreign peace. The Concordat with Pope Pius VII had been signed in August 1801, and these two items made Napoleon a hero to his people and a source of wonderment to Europe. Free from conflict, Napoleon concentrated on his much-desired domestic reforms. He also eliminated another foreign entanglement when he agreed to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States, by a deal consummated on 30 April 1803.

Many in the British government had not trusted the French, even as they agreed to the peace. The British ambassador to France, Lord Whitworth, sent a veritable deluge of reports to his government, filled with denunciations of Napoleon and rather absurd claims that the French people were dissatisfied with him. These reports, coupled with continued fears that Napoleon might use the time of peace to prepare for war against Britain, gave ammunition to those who wished to scuttle the treaty. The British government violated the treaty by refusing to leave either Malta or Egypt, even though France had complied with her territorial treaty obligations.

British newspapers began a public relations campaign against Napoleon, whom they had only recently been praising. They published a report by French colonel Horace Sébastiani that suggested that France could easily retake Egypt. The *Times* of London printed large passages from Sir Robert Wilson’s *History of the British Expedition to Egypt* that made the claim that Napoleon had poisoned his

own sick at Jaffa (a claim with some foundation). Personal attacks on Napoleon were hardly a sign of a desire for peace and friendship. Nevertheless, the attacks, including a barrage of cartoons that lambasted Napoleon, increased and spread to attacks on Josephine and other family members. The work of caricaturists like James Gillray, George Cruikshank, and Thomas Rowlandson had a significant political impact. Napoleon’s rage at the failure of the British, in an era of widespread censorship, to suppress such vicious attacks may have been an important factor in the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens.

It is entirely conceivable that a lasting peace between Britain and France was simply not possible. Even so, diplomatic efforts to avoid war continued. Napoleon made numerous proposals regarding Malta and Egypt, but the British government rejected them all, meanwhile denouncing, with some justice, Napoleon’s intervention in the domestic affairs of Holland, Switzerland, and the northern Italian states—all violations of France’s agreement with Austria under the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville but not, strictly speaking, the business of Britain, which was not a signatory to that agreement. On 16 May 1803 King George III held a council on the subject of war or peace, and two days later, the Royal Navy began to seize French ships. Napoleon retaliated by detaining—in defiance of international law—British citizens on French territory. The Peace of Amiens had come to an end, and peace between Britain and France would not be restored again until May 1814.

Though it would be some time before actual fighting began—apart from minor operations at sea—France and Britain were again at war. There was little advantage accruing to either side at the outset. Neither was prepared for hostilities, and the citizens of both nations had been quite happy with peace, as was the whole of Europe. The rupture of the Peace of Amiens led to over a decade of almost-constant war. Napoleon was ultimately defeated, but at a huge cost that might never have been paid had peace prevailed.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Concordat; Copenhagen, Battle of; George III, King; Louisiana Purchase; Lunéville, Treaty of; Middle East Campaign; Pitt, William; Second Coalition, War of the

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### Amstetten, Battle of (5 November 1805)

A rearguard action between Russian and French forces during the War of the Third Coalition. After the Austrian debacle at Ulm, Russian general Mikhail Kutuzov had no other choice but to beat a hasty retreat, which he ordered on 4 November. He left Prince Peter Bagration, with approximately 6,000 infantry and 1,900 cavalry, to cover his movement and hold back the French for as long as possible. The road from Enns ran through a dense forest with a few clearings, and Bagration made a fighting retreat along this road to Amstetten pursued by superior French forces. After making previous stands at Altenhofen and Oed, Bagration decided to fight near Amstetten. Marshal Joachim Murat's troops were in close pursuit of Bagration. The weather also hindered movement since thick snow covered the terrain. Bagration arranged his troops in two lines on the hill on both sides of the road while the artillery was set up on the road itself, protected by the cavalry. The first line comprised Austrian cavalry, while the Russian troops were deployed in the second.

Seeing the enemy lines, Murat ordered the elite companies of the 9th and 10th Hussars to charge them. However, the Austrian cavalry overwhelmed the French. The French were saved by the decisive actions of their artillery, which forced the Austrian cavalry to retreat and gave Murat time to rally his troops and launch another attack with larger forces. General Nicolas Oudinot arrived at the battlefield in time to support this attack with his grenadiers. The French overwhelmed the Austrian cavalry, penetrated the first line of Bagration's defense, and attacked the second, driving the Russians back to Amstetten. Bagration appealed for reinforcements to Kutuzov, who moved rearguard reserves (four infantry regiments, ten cavalry squadrons and one and a half artillery companies) under Mikhail Miloradovich. Fresh Russian regiments were moved to the first line, while Bagration's forces were withdrawn to the second. The fighting continued for the rest of the day, with Bagration and Miloradovich holding their ground and occasionally counterattacking. The fighting was savage on both sides. Around 9:00 P.M. the Russians disengaged and marched through Amstetten following the main forces.

Both sides exaggerated in their reports of the action, claiming victory against superior forces. Murat wrote to Napoleon, declaring, "The action at Amstetten has been one of the most stubborn and one of the most brilliant that the corps ever had: 5,000 men made headway against 15,000 men. . . . Oudinot's division covered itself with

glory; it withstood, repelled and defeated a corps three times as strong as it, fighting under the eyes of Kutuzov and led by the best generals." (Alombert-Goget 1902, 4:512). The Russians also considered Amstetten a great success, since their main goal was to delay the French advance. Bagration and Miloradovich even claimed that the numerically superior French forces were forced to flee with considerable casualties. According to Russian sources, the Allies suffered around 2,000 casualties.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Murat, Joachim; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at

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### Anglo-American War

*See* War of 1812

### Antommarchi, Francesco (1789–1838)

A Corsican by birth, Francesco Antommarchi served as Napoleon's physician during the former emperor's last days of exile on St. Helena. An anatomist by specialty, Antommarchi studied medicine in Italy, where he set up his practice. Sir Hudson Lowe was anxious for Napoleon to have adequate medical care, fearful of negative publicity if he did not. When Napoleon refused to see British doctors on the island, such as James Verling, Lowe turned to Napo-

leon's family to select a doctor. Antommarchi was chosen by Cardinal Joseph Fesch (Napoleon's uncle) and Madame Mère (Napoleon's mother).

Antommarchi first visited Napoleon in September 1819, having arrived a few days earlier. He stayed until Napoleon's death in 1821. Napoleon had no faith in Antommarchi's abilities, suggesting that he was better able to dissect horses than humans. Napoleon's lack of confidence in his fellow Corsican was probably justified, and Napoleon was reluctant to follow any of his medical advice.

When Napoleon died on 5 May 1821, Antommarchi conducted the postmortem examination under the watchful eye of a number of British doctors, but he refused to sign the official report, notwithstanding his general agreement with that report's conclusions. In 1825 Antommarchi published his memoirs of his experiences on St. Helena in *Derniers moments de Napoléon* (Last Moments of Napoleon), which was soon thereafter translated into English. A few years later he promoted sales of a death mask of Napoleon that he claimed to have made, though those claims are considered suspect.

*J. David Markham*

- See also* Lowe, Sir Hudson; St. Helena; Verling, James Roch
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### **Arakcheyev, Aleksey Andreyevich, Count (1769–1834)**

Russian general and minister of war, Arakcheyev was born on 4 October 1769 to a minor noble family in the Tver *gubernia* (province). He graduated from the Artillery and Engineer Cadet Corps with the rank of sub-lieutenant on 8 October 1787 and remained at the corps as an instructor and librarian. In 1790–1792 he served as a senior adjutant to the director of the corps. In 1792 he was appointed commander of the Gatchina Artillery with the rank of captain. He became very close with Grand Duke Paul, and over the next three years was promoted, first to major and then to colonel, and became the infantry inspector at Gatchina. After Paul became tsar in November 1796, Arakcheyev rose to major general and received command of a battalion of the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment, quickly followed by appointment as the commandant of

St. Petersburg. On 16 April 1797, he was given the title of baron and, on 30 April of the same year, he became the quartermaster general of the Russian Army.

However, at the whim of the quixotic tsar, Arakcheyev was dismissed with the rank of lieutenant general on 29 March 1798. Paul soon forgave him and returned him to service in January 1799, making him commander of the Life Guard Artillery Battalion and the inspector of all Russian artillery. On 16 May 1799 he was given the title of count of the Russian Empire with the motto "Devoted without Flattery," composed by Paul himself. However, Arakcheyev's aloofness, gloomy personality, straightforwardness, and rough character made him disliked by many. In the fall of 1799 he was dismissed for concealing his brother's financial machinations. He remained at his estate in Gruzino for the next four years, except for a brief trip to St. Petersburg on the eve of Paul's assassination.

Arakcheyev was reinstated to his position of inspector of all artillery in 1803 and was instrumental in launching artillery reforms in the Russian Army. On 9 July 1807 he was promoted to general of artillery. In 1808 Tsar Alexander I appointed him the minister of war and general inspector of the infantry and artillery. In September 1808 the Rostov Musketeer Regiment was renamed as Count Arakcheyev's Musketeer (later Grenadier) Regiment. In 1809, Arakcheyev briefly ventured to Finland, where he participated in Prince Peter Bagration's crossing of the Gulf of Bothnia during the Russo-Swedish War. In 1810 he presided over the Department of War within the State Council. In early 1812 Arakcheyev remained with the imperial headquarters attached to the 1st Western Army and then traveled to St. Petersburg. He returned to the army in December 1812 and served as the head of the Imperial Field Chancellery in 1813–1814. In April 1814 Alexander promoted him to field marshal, but Arakcheyev asked him to annul this order because he did not command any troops. Instead, Arakcheyev received a portrait, set with diamonds, of the tsar.

Arakcheyev's power increased beginning in 1815, when Alexander was preoccupied with foreign affairs and depended on him for domestic administration. He served as the inspector of all infantry and artillery and supervised the State Council and the Cabinet of Ministers during Alexander's absence. He was in charge of the infamous system of military colonies and created a network of settlements populated with some 400,000 men. This period was often referred to as *Arakcheyevschina* (Era of Arakcheyev). Arrogant and ruthless, Arakcheyev virtually governed the Russian Empire of his time and made numerous enemies through his callous and brusque decisions. By the end of Alexander's reign, he was one of the most despised, yet feared, men in the empire. Immediately after Alexander's

death, Tsar Nicholas I removed him from all positions of power. Arakcheyev retired to his estate at Gruzino, where he died on 4 June 1834 and was buried in a local church.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War

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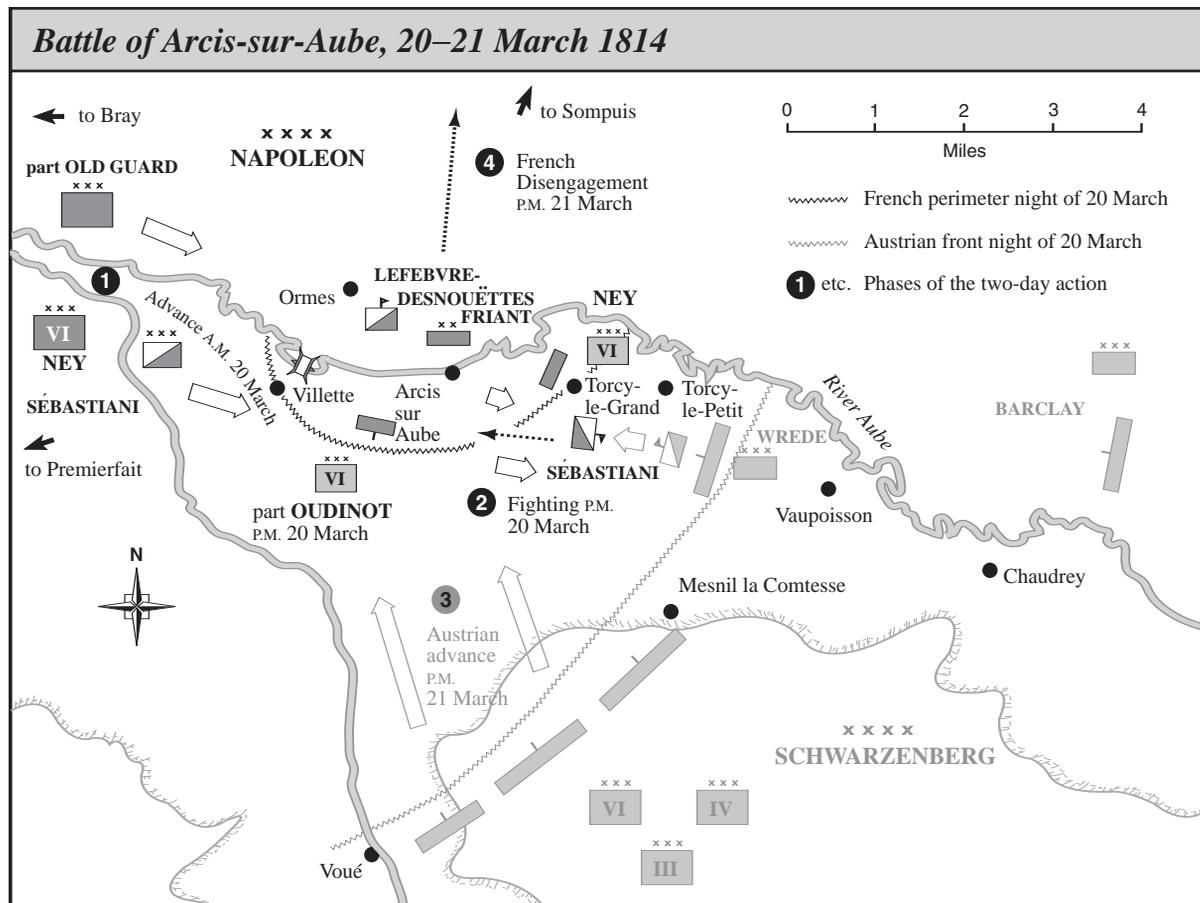
**Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of (20–21 March 1814)**

The Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube was fought between Napoleon’s troops and Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg’s Army of Bohemia (mostly Austrians) during the campaign in France in 1814. Schwarzenberg proved victorious in this battle primarily because Napoleon underestimated him. Arcis-sur-Aube would prove to be the beginning of the end

for the French; it was the last major battle fought by Napoleon himself before Paris fell.

After Napoleon had retaken Rheims from the Allies on 13 March 1814, he sought to check the Austrian advance on Paris. There were several routes possible. Marshal Jacques Macdonald had been forced to retreat along the Seine, and Napoleon considered joining up with him near Meaux, but he feared that move would reveal his intentions. He could attempt to break up the Allied forces at Sézanne, but that route risked the use of bad roads in order to divide the enemy. Napoleon instead chose to follow Schwarzenberg, who was retreating toward Troyes to the south. This plan promised greater strategic rewards: Schwarzenberg’s forces were spread out for 80 miles, and if Napoleon could deliver a decisive blow and remove Schwarzenberg from the campaign (or at the very least disrupt the Allies’ communications with their respective capitals), he would be better placed to engage the Army of Silesia (mostly Prussians) in the north.

The miscalculations of the two leaders produced very different results. Napoleon planned to scare the Austrians off by a show of force at Arcis-sur-Aube, which he had



*Adapted from Chandler 1966, 995.*

been told was held by a small Allied rear guard. With Schwarzenberg already in retreat, Napoleon concluded that an offensive push at Arcis would force the traditionally cautious Schwarzenberg even farther from Paris. Apart from marshals Auguste Marmont and Adolphe Mortier, who were left to hold off the Prussians under General Gebhard von Blücher, Napoleon concentrated his 23,000 men at Arcis, on the Aube River, convinced that he was facing a small force that he outnumbered. But Schwarzenberg did not follow Napoleon's expectations. When he learned of the advance, he concluded that the French were moving on his headquarters at Troyes, and he stopped to face them near Arcis.

On the morning of 20 March, Napoleon's advance forces crossed the Aube and took Arcis unopposed. As intelligence had failed to indicate the presence of the enemy, Marshal Michel Ney was caught by General Karl Freiherr von Wrede's Bavarians at Torcy, a mile and a half east of Arcis, while most of the rest of the Allied cavalry crashed into two French divisions in the town itself, driving back in confusion the Imperial Guard cavalry under generals Eduard Colbert and Rémi Exelmans. Had not Louis Friant's division of the Old Guard appeared at the bridge over the Aube at this moment, a rout might have ensued, but the sight of their bearskins heartened the fugitives, aided by the timely presence of Napoleon himself, who rode about the field rallying the troops, though nearly at the cost of his own life: A live howitzer shell burst near the Emperor as he rode; the explosion killed his horse but left its rider unharmed. Allied assaults petered out around dusk.

During the night both sides received reinforcements, and by the morning of the twenty-first Schwarzenberg was able to deploy more than 80,000 troops, opposed by fewer than 30,000 French. Cautiously, and greatly underestimating French strength, Schwarzenberg delayed his attack until late afternoon. But by then it was too late. Napoleon, having been unable to ascertain the enemy's true strength because of rising ground between the opposing forces, had that morning sent out his cavalry to reconnoiter their position. On learning that nothing less than the entire Allied army of 100,000 men was assembled before him, the Emperor decided to retreat. With bridging equipment fresh from Paris, most of the French forces were already safely across to the north bank of the river when Schwarzenberg finally ordered an attack around 3:00 P.M. Marshal Nicolas Oudinot, leading the rear guard, fought furiously, holding back the Allies until 6:00 P.M., when he withdrew across the river and blew the bridge behind him.

Schwarzenberg's hesitation had saved Napoleon's army, which lost approximately 3,000 men in the fighting, giving it the opportunity to retreat once the Emperor realized that he faced more than the rear guard he had ex-

pected. Napoleon proceeded toward Vitry, intending to goad Schwarzenberg into chasing him to St. Dizier rather than advancing to Paris. But the Austrian commander, who had lost about 4,000 killed and wounded at Arcis, ignored this ruse and chose not to pursue. Instead, his forces defeated Mortier and Marmont four days later at La-Fère-Champenoise before uniting with Blücher on the twenty-eighth at Meaux and marching directly on Paris.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Rheims, Battle of; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; St. Dizier, Battle of; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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### Arcola, Battle of (15–17 November 1796)

Fought over marshy ground between the Adige River and its tributary, the Alpone, in the vicinity of Verona, the Battle of Arcola (Arcole) was one of the hardest-fought victories of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign and resulted in checking the third Austrian attempt at relieving the besieged fortress of Mantua.

In October 1796 a tired, hungry, and severely under-strength (French) Armée d'Italie anxiously waited for replacements and supplies, which arrived in too little quantity and too slowly. The number of the sick, especially among the troops assigned to the blockade of Mantua, increased daily. Peasant insurgencies and brigandage in the rear constantly caused the French considerable trouble. Reports announced that the Austrians had the upper hand in Germany, thus sweeping away any hope that the French armies on either side of the Alps could link up.

Despite recent reverses, the Austrian prospects looked relatively better. After his failed attempt at rescuing Mantua in September, *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser had managed to lead 13,000 men behind the fortress walls, thereby reinforcing the city garrison (also plagued with epidemics) but at the same time raising the demand on the exhausted local community for food, fodder, and other supplies. The blockade of Mantua, nonetheless, had the effect of stripping Bonaparte of field troops. After the



The young General Bonaparte, tricolor in hand, leads an attack across the bridge at Arcola, where he saved French forces from imminent defeat at the hands of a numerically superior Austrian army. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

victories in Germany, the Austrian Aulic Council moved troops to Italy and devised a new plan to relieve Mantua. Once again two separated armies, under *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Alvinczy, would deliver a pincer attack. An army with about 27,000 men and seventy-four guns was to advance westward from Frioul. Another army, with 17,000 men and sixty guns under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich, was to descend from Tyrol down the upper Adige valley. According to the plan, they would join at Verona. Long distances and rough terrain, however, made communication between the two armies difficult, a principal reason for their eventual failure.

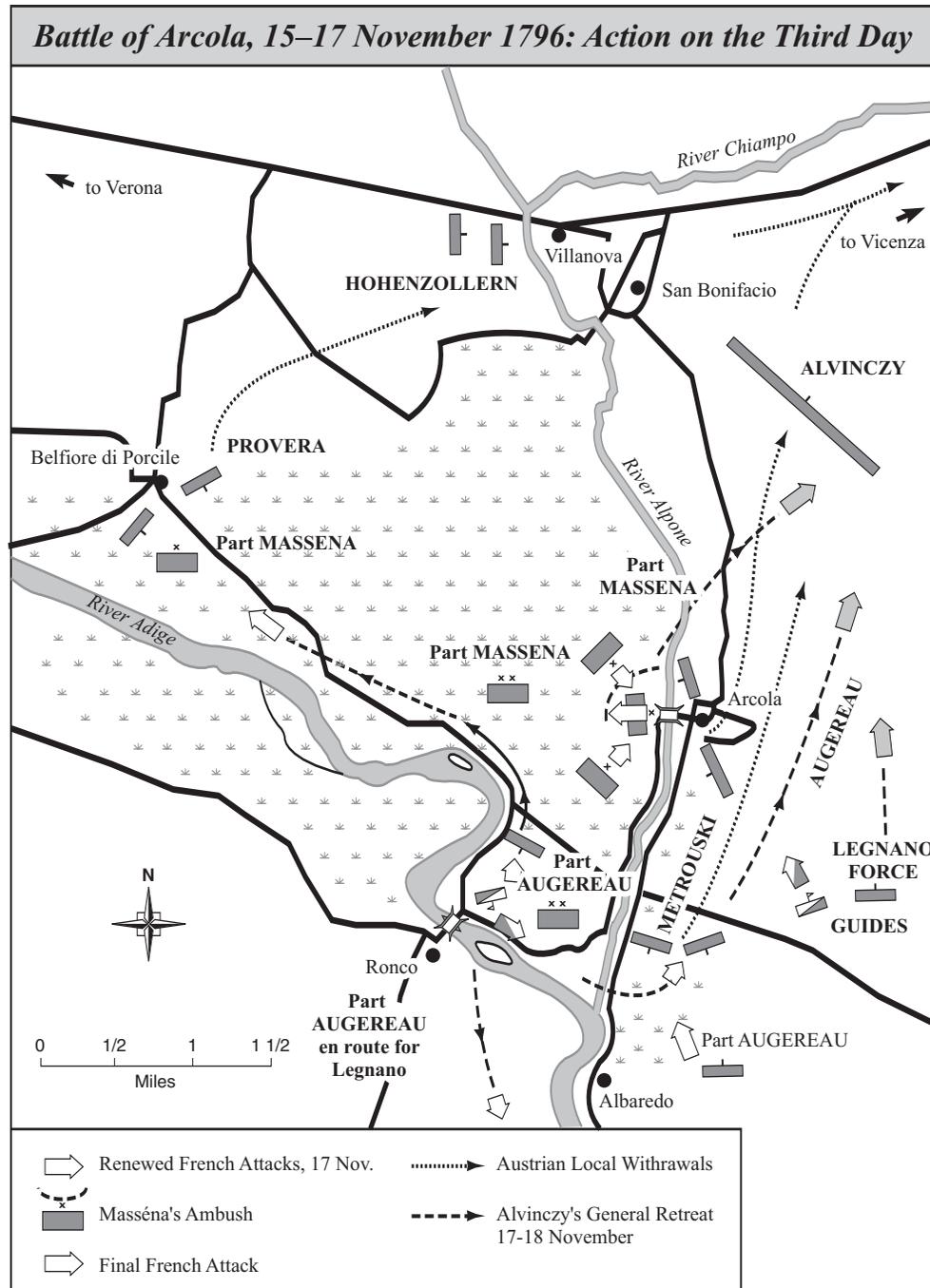
By 2 November, when the Austrian offensive began both from Tyrol and Frioul, the *Armée d'Italie* had 42,000 men, with a large proportion of them unfit for service. To cover the corps around Mantua (8,800 under General Charles Kilmaine), Bonaparte had General Charles-Henri Vaubois (10,500) at Trent, André Masséna (9,500) at Bas-

sano, and Pierre Augereau (8,300) on the Adige. The army reserve was kept behind Verona.

Bonaparte may have undervalued the threat from Tyrol. Outnumbered, Vaubois soon started retreating down the Adige. Had Davidovich succeeded in pushing him back to Verona by mid-November, the course of the campaign would have been different. In fact, the Austrian commander wasted many days at Rivoli before resuming his advance and debouching on the plain on the seventeenth. By that time, however, Bonaparte had won at Arcola and could turn west to dispose of Davidovich.

The events leading to the decisive battle began on 6 November, as Alvinczy's army crossed the Brenta. The French soon withdrew to Verona with the Austrians in pursuit. On the twelfth, Masséna and Augereau mounted an unsuccessful counterattack at Caldiero. With the enemy now lurking from the heights just east of Verona, Bonaparte altered his strategy and redirected his divisions to Ronco, a village a dozen miles southeast of Verona on the right bank of the Adige, not far from the confluence with the Alpone. By crossing there on a pontoon bridge, the French would fall on Alvinczy's left flank, or possibly on his rear, at Villanova. Only two narrow roads running across dykes were available to proceed through the wide marshy triangle between the two rivers, one leading to the hamlet of Porcile, northwest of Ronco, the other heading north to the wooden bridge at Arcola, a village on the eastern bank of the Alpone. The French maneuver began on 15 November at daybreak, with Masséna's and Augereau's advance guards soon clashing with the reconnoitering parties Alvinczy had sent toward Ronco and along the Alpone. A protracted and confused battle ensued, whose exact development remains a mystery, with several events still not entirely understood.

On the first day, Masséna succeeded in dislodging *Generalmajor* Giovanni, Marquis Provera's man from Bionde and Porcile. On the right, Augereau made slow progress toward the bridge at Arcola, his line of advance being exposed to murderous fire from the dyke running parallel on the far bank of the Alpone. Once in sight of the bridge, a few officers (apparently including Bonaparte) put themselves ahead of the French column to spur their discouraged soldiers to break through the defile. The attack, however, was soon aborted, and Bonaparte had a near escape from capture after falling in the swamp during the Austrian counterattack that forced Augereau to withdraw. Later in the afternoon, a brigade under General Jean-Joseph Guieu was ferried across the Adige farther south at Albaredo, where it came up along the eastern bank of the Alpone and succeeded in taking Arcola at dusk. Strangely enough, however, Bonaparte recalled Guieu back to Ronco, where the rest of the army had rallied for the night.



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 109.

Alvinczy had meanwhile started to withdraw his troops from Verona, thus avoiding entrapment.

On the second day, the battle continued to rage over the marshy ground and the causeways, neither party prevailing. A French extemporaneous attempt at crossing the Alpone just north of its confluence with the Adige failed miserably. Perhaps more concerned with what was happening in the upper Adige valley between Vaubois and Davidovich, neither commander did much to break the stalemate.

On 17 November the last stage of the battle saw the French advancing on Arcola from two different directions. While Jean-Gilles-André Robert's brigade (in Masséna's division) pushed forward on the western bank of the Alpone, most of Augereau's division crossed on a pontoon bridge farther downstream, and—with some reinforcements from Legnago—engaged the enemy just south of Arcola. According to French sources, Bonaparte ordered a feigned cavalry charge on the Austrian left flank, with trumpet calls

spreading panic among the lines of infantry. On the left wing, the rest of Masséna's division easily broke through at Porcile. Those events sped up Alvinczy's decision to abandon the battlefield and retreat eastward to Montebello. At Arcola the French suffered 4,500 casualties, the Austrians 7,000.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Caldiero, First Battle of; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Second Coalition, War of the; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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### Argüelles Alvarez, Agustín (1776–1843)

Like the Conde de Toreno, an Asturian, a graduate of the University of Oviedo, and an early adherent of Spanish liberalism, in 1808 Agustín Argüelles Alvarez was an official of the Ministry of Finance. Sent on a secret mission to Britain in 1806 to sound out the possibility of an alliance against France, he was still in London when Spain rose in revolt against Napoleon. Returning to Spain, in June 1809 he became the secretary of the commission that had been set up to oversee the establishment of a new national assembly. Elected to this body as a deputy for Asturias, he played a leading role in its debates and gained such a reputation for his oratory that he was nicknamed “the divine.”

A strong supporter of the liberal revolution, in 1814 he was imprisoned by King Ferdinand VII. Released by the Revolution of 1820, he became minister of the interior and began to veer more and more to the right. Fleeing to London in the wake of the revolution's collapse in 1823, he remained in exile for the next ten years, but the restoration of constitutional politics brought him home in 1834. Though never again a minister, he continued to sit in the Cortes as a deputy and in 1841 became the tutor of the young Queen Isabel II.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Ferdinand VII, King; Peninsular War; Queipo de Llano, José Maria, Conde de Toreno

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### Armed Neutrality, League of (1801)

In 1800, the Baltic nations of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden formed the League of Armed Neutrality to protect their vessels against inspection and seizure by British warships and to guard against full-scale incursions by the Royal Navy in the Baltic.

By 1800 the burden of the fighting on the Continent essentially rested on the shoulders of the French and Austrians, the former governed by the Consulate from late 1799, under Napoleon Bonaparte. Between 1800 and 1801 Britain had instituted a policy of armed impressment (the seizure of men to serve aboard warships) against all nations, including neutral states. Utilized primarily as a policy to acquire manpower from any opposing nations, impressment became a problem for neutral nations like the United States and Denmark. The United States challenged European impressment in 1798 with its so-called quasi war with the French Revolutionary government.

Denmark, however, was a different case. A number of European nations, like Denmark, believed that neutrality was the most efficient policy in regards to the Anglo-French conflict. In 1801 Russia and Denmark assumed an aggressive stance through the formation of an alliance called the League of Armed Neutrality. Britain had engaged in an aggressive policy of confiscating neutral ships. In addition, numerous British privateers harassed Danish ships in 1800, and late in that year a large British fleet forced Denmark to reconsider its passive neutrality policy. Essentially, Denmark initiated a policy of arming its maritime convoys. This policy, however, proved to be insufficient, as British privateers continued to pester Danish ships with impunity. Tsar Paul I of Russia decided to reintroduce the League of Armed Neutrality.

Originally formed in the 1780s to counter French aggression on the high seas, especially during the latter phases of the American Revolution, the League served the temporary purpose of aligning the neutral nations of Russia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Prussia. It seemed that the alliance could act as a regional balance to British hostility. In 1801, however, that hope went unfulfilled. In the summer of 1801 the British attacked and decisively defeated the Danish fleet at the Battle of Copenhagen, a victory by which the League of Armed Neutrality was instantly discredited on the diplomatic stage, with a final and mortal blow being dealt by news of the assassination of Tsar Paul, which had occurred on 23 March. His successor, Alexander I, had no interest in upholding the principles of the League, and Russia's arrangement with the other Baltic states came to a formal end in June 1801. The regional aspect of the League of Armed Neutrality vanished as quickly as it had appeared. Its long-term sig-

nificance was that it had introduced the idea of uniting neutral nations in a cause against the aggressive naval powers. This was a concept that lingered for the next century.

*Jaime Ramón Olivares*

*See also* Consulate, The; Copenhagen, Battle of; Denmark; Paul I, Tsar; Prussia; Royal Navy; Russia; Sweden

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### Armistice of 1813 (2 June 1813)

The spring campaign of 1813 ended on a very uncharacteristic note for Napoleon: a negotiated armistice with the representatives of Austria and Russia at Pleischwitz on 4 June. After the campaign the main Russian and Prussian armies were bruised but unbroken. Nevertheless, Napoleon had rebounded in the spring and had reestablished his reputation through his victories at Lützen (2 May) and Bautzen (21–22 May). However, Napoleon's army was as damaged physically by these victories as were the Allies, and his huge losses in Russia the previous year had reduced his cavalry to near impotence in its most important function: the pursuit of beaten enemies after tactical victories in the field.

The terms of the armistice, signed on 2 June, were as follows: It would last for six weeks (to 20 July) and included an option by either side for its extension (though the Allies would have to agree together on this point) and provisions for Austrian mediation toward a lasting peace. Eventually the armistice was extended for the remainder of the summer to 10 August, but hostilities did not resume until 15 August. Napoleon retired his forces across the Bober River but remained the master of Saxony and held key positions inside Prussia and along the Elbe as well. Significantly, large French garrisons at Danzig and along the Oder River remained cut off and under siege.

A question must therefore remain as to why Napoleon agreed to the armistice. His reasons were both military and political: Not only had he lost his cavalry, but his logistics had collapsed and his army was slowly melting as his starving, young, inexperienced conscripts straggled away. In addition, Cossacks and Prussian irregulars bedeviled French lines of communication back through Germany—one particularly audacious band had actually captured Leipzig on the eve of the armistice. Politically, given Austria's increasingly hostile attitude and threats of armed mediation, Napo-

leon felt he had no choice but to accept. As a result he also agreed to a cessation of hostilities to prevent adding the considerable military might of Austria to that of his opponents.

For the exhausted Russians and Prussians the armistice was a godsend. Their armies were in a strategic cul-de-sac in Silesia, and another hard blow would have caused the Russians to abandon the Prussians and retreat to the north and away from their allies. Austria too was relieved at Napoleon's decision because it was not ready to mobilize and deploy significant military force. Had Napoleon remained on the offensive, there was very little that the cautious Austrians could have done to interfere with Napoleon in Silesia. That said, Napoleon knew little of these matters, and his army and marshals also agreed with his decision. The Allies also benefited financially: on 15 June, Russia and Prussia each received £2 million in subsidies from Britain, and Austria was offered £500,000 as an inducement to join the coalition.

In hindsight, most experts agree that this armistice was a strategic mistake for Napoleon. Austria, which had by the Convention of Reichenbach on 19 July agreed to join the Allies if Napoleon refused Vienna's terms as mediator, formally did so on 12 August—followed shortly by Sweden, which had provisionally offered support on 7 July. The long period served the Allies far better than it did Napoleon, for the British landed huge amounts of supplies and arms in northern Europe via the Baltic ports. Moreover, the Allies gathered in July at Trachenberg and crafted an attritional strategy that would ultimately counter Napoleon's generalship by avoiding battle with him and beating his subordinates. The armistice of 1813 is another indicator that Napoleon was no longer the adept political strategist that he had been in his heyday at Leoben (1797) and Tilsit (1807). At the beginning of the armistice Napoleon was on the verge of total victory and outnumbered his foes; at the end the Allies were twice as strong as he, well rested, and united in their purpose to eject him once and for all from Germany.

*John T. Kuehn*

*See also* Bautzen, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Lützen, Battle of; Reichenbach, Convention of; Tilsit, Treaties of

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### Arroyomolinos de Montánchez, Battle of (28 October 1811)

While the action at Arroyomolinos barely merits being called a battle, it was nevertheless a significant engagement in the 1811 campaigns fought in the province of Estramadura of western Spain, which resulted in the effective destruction of most of General Jean-Baptiste Girard's division of Jean-Baptiste Drouet's V Corps.

General Sir Rowland Hill's 2nd Division, along with Portuguese infantry and British cavalry attached to him, had been assigned the task of observing Drouet's force in the province of Estramadura. Drouet's corps was the linking element between the French forces under Marshal Nicolas Soult in the south, who were besieging Cadiz, pursuing Spanish guerrillas, and preparing to besiege the city of Tarifa; and the French forces in the north, who were covering Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. Drouet's position had become even more important following the transfer of two divisions from the Army of Portugal to the forces in the south, who were conducting a campaign against the Spanish around Valencia.

Both Hill and Drouet were directed to observe the other and were instructed not to bring on decisive combat, as they were equally matched and success was unlikely unless one of them made a serious mistake. Drouet did exactly that by allowing one of his divisional commanders, Girard, to move his division 50 miles north from his base in Merida, out of supporting distance from the second division of the corps. Girard moved north to pursue guerrillas, to find new areas in which to gather provisions, and to establish better contact with the forces of Marshal Auguste Marmont and the (French) Army of Portugal.

Once Hill became aware of Girard's isolation, he requested permission from Viscount Wellington to maneuver against Girard with the object of taking him by sur-

prise and defeating his isolated division. Wellington concurred, and Hill began to move the bulk of his force against Girard. Hill also requested assistance from General Francisco de Castaños, who commanded a force of Spanish infantry in the area. Hill would provide two British brigades, nine battalions of Portuguese infantry, 900 cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. Castaños would add 2,000 infantry and 600 cavalry; the two combined would outnumber Girard by about 2 to 1.

By a series of forced marches beginning on 23 October, Hill moved his combined British and Portuguese force without alerting Girard of his approach and without letting Drouet becoming aware of the reduction in the forces facing him farther south. By the twenty-eighth the Allied forces were united and closing in on Girard, who had only a vague notion that there were any British or Portuguese forces in his area. Girard's cavalry, nearly 1,000 strong, had not detected Hill's approach.

Starting out at 2:00 A.M. in a heavy thunderstorm, Hill marched the last 5 miles to Arroyomolinos and deployed his troops less than half a mile from the town without encountering any French resistance or warning. Girard had ordered about half his force, under General Charles-François Remond, to begin marching, and they had just left the town when Hill's forces struck. Hill had blocked every road leading out of the town, and as Girard attempted to escape, his troops ran into one Allied column after another. They were pinned against steep hills by rapidly advancing British light infantry, which held them just long enough for the pursuing brigades to capture all but 500 men of General Jan Henryk Dumbrowski's French brigade, who escaped by clambering up the steep slope accompanied by their commander and Girard. Remond's brigade escaped the debacle, but only by tireless marching. Hill captured or killed 1,600 French and took over thirty officers and three cannon for the loss of seventy-one men.

In the short run, the action at Arroyomolinos separated the Army of Portugal under Marmont from the Army of the South under Soult and forced the French to detach further troops to close the gap and to deal with renewed Spanish guerrilla raiding in the province of Estramadura. Girard was disgraced and relieved of command for a time, although he was later to serve again as a divisional commander, eventually being killed at Hougoumont during the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Hill would rejoin Wellington's forces in time for the 1812 campaign and the sieges of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. Finally, this small episode confirmed Hill as a competent independent commander in Wellington's eyes—one of his few—and generated additional confidence among Wellington's British and Portuguese troops.

*John T. Broom*

See also Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste comte d'Erlon; Guerrilla Warfare; Hill, Sir Rowland; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Art Treasures (Plundered by the French)

During the French Revolution, and especially during the Napoleonic period, thousands of works of art were taken to France, where they enriched the Louvre's collections.

Many masterpieces had been destroyed "in the fire of the Revolution," but with time the value of art began to be better appreciated and works of art to be regarded as national treasures. The French government created favorable conditions for the opening of public museums and the trade in antiques. The Louvre Palace, which initially was the king's official residence, was to become the Musée des Monuments Français. The first masterpieces displayed there came from the collections of King Louis XVI and the comte d'Angéviller and from other private collections. All the art collections established by the nobility in the eighteenth century had been acquired through private purchase. Hitherto, until the expulsion of the Jesuits and the onset of the French Revolution, no thought had existed of enlarging art collections by treating artworks as part of the spoils of war.

One of the earliest significant acquisitions for the Louvre took place in the middle of 1795: The first Dutch campaign brought to its rooms over 200 Flemish masterpieces, including 55 paintings by Rubens and 18 by Rembrandt. It was not until Bonaparte's Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, however, that theft emerged as a regular by-product of the war. The Directory was the first French government that promoted the confiscation of masterpieces, ordering Bonaparte to accumulate art stolen from Italy, "the kingdom of beauty," and bring it to France, "the kingdom of liberty." The purpose of such a policy was the enrichment of the national museums with the most famous works of European art. Loreto, the famous sanctuary situated in Marche, was saved by an insurrection from thorough plundering, though the ancient Statue of Our Lady (which had been venerated there) was sent to Paris, to be returned only in 1801. Bonaparte easily justified his thefts, describing them in the peace treaties as contributions of war.

Bonaparte's primary goal was to transport the most valuable pieces to France. As such, after he had signed an armistice with the king of Sardinia at Cherasco on 28 April

1796, Bonaparte wrote from Acqui to the French plenipotentiary in Genoa, Guillaume-Charles Faypoult de Maisoncelle, asking him to compile a list of the most important galleries in northern Italy. In August of the same year Bonaparte informed the Directory that 110 masterpieces were en route to Paris: 25 from Milan, 15 from Parma, 30 from Modena, and 40 from Bologna, and promised many more. The Cathedral of Monza alone was forced to hand over to Bonaparte a contribution of 11,300 kilograms of gold and 184 kilograms of silver (obtained by melting liturgical artifacts). Soon thereafter, by the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte secured the confiscation and transfer to France of all works of art in the Papal States. Bonaparte boasted to the Directory of his acquisitions in Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, and Perugia. The masterpieces plundered in those places were sent directly to Paris.

Along with the works of art taken from Rome, Bonaparte stole the best Italian masterpieces. From the Vatican museums alone he took such ancient statues as the Laocoön, the Apollo, and the Torso of Belvedere. Paintings went too: masterpieces by Raphael (*Transfiguration and Ascension*), Michelangelo da Caravaggio (*Deposition*), Giulio Romano (*The Holy Family*), and Guido Reni. In 1797 the French conquered Venice and despoiled it of such masterpieces as the bronze horses of St. Mark, which first were placed in the Jardin des Tuileries and then on the Arc de Triomphe. The symbol of the city, the bronze lion from St. Mark's Square, was used as the fountain ornament at the Hôtel des Invalides. The greatest period of plundering in Italy took place after 1798, with the separation of Savoy from Piedmont and the imposition of French government after the Battle of Marengo. This was merely a prelude to the subsequent occupation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples) and of the neutral Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

The enormous quantity of confiscated works of art was entrusted to Dominique Vivant, Baron Denon, who from 1795 onward had helped establish the Louvre, which from 1803 was called the Musée Napoléon. Denon put the various pieces in order and placed them on exhibit. He worked for the Emperor for twenty years, not only in France but also in the course of seven military campaigns (from the campaign in Egypt in 1798 until the invasion of France in 1814), organizing the plunder of precious art and at the same time participating in the battles of the various campaigns. After 1800 he handled the distribution of masterpieces among twenty-two museums that he had opened in different French provinces and towns. By 1802, 846 fine paintings were on display, along with those stolen from French churches, monasteries, and nunneries and from the nobility.

In 1806 Denon began to confiscate art first in Germany, soon thereafter in Spain (whence, beginning in

1808, he took paintings by Titian, Bartolomé Murillo, and Raphael), and then in Austria during the campaign of 1809. Denon's last visits to Italy took place in 1811 and 1812, when he wanted to enrich the Musée Napoléon with the masterpieces of such primitive Tuscan painters as Duccio di Boninsegna, Giotto di Bondone, and Giovanni Cimabue. During this period Denon also stole medallions and valuable manuscripts preserved in various archives and libraries.

After Napoleon's final defeat in 1815, delegates (including Antonio Canova from the Papal States) arrived in Paris from various nations whose works of art had been stolen, demanding the return of their masterpieces. However, securing the restoration of their respective collections proved difficult and at times impossible. In the end, 248 out of the 506 Italian paintings in France remained there after the Napoleonic Wars. Other countries faced similar circumstances. On 5 November 1815, Secretary General Athanase Lavallée informed Count Pradel that the process of restitution had come to an end, with 2,000 masterpieces returned out of a total of 5,233 items overall.

*Elvio Ciferri*

*See also* Canova, Antonio; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Papal States

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## Artillery (Land)

Artillery during the Napoleonic Wars served a number of functions. The main function in battle was to fire upon enemy infantry, who represented a relatively static target. It was also used to support attacks on fortified positions and built-up areas. Artillery could also be employed to control bridges and other bottleneck points and it could be used to disrupt forming-up areas. Artillery at the end of the eighteenth century consisted of two types of weapon. First was the gun, or cannon, the barrel of which by convention was approximately 6 feet or more in length; weapons with shorter barrels were termed howitzers and were used for high-angle fire to enable fire to lob shells over obstacles. Guns were normally classified by the weight of the shot they fired, so a light 3-pounder gun fired a solid iron ball weighing 3 pounds, and a 12-pounder used 12-pound shot.

The improvements in gunpowder and barrel making meant that guns were increasingly lighter and could be

horse drawn, increasing their mobility both on the march and on the field of battle. On the march the guns traveled in a column with all their support elements. In battle the guns themselves and their ammunition wagons were set up facing the enemy, and horses and noncombatant elements moved to the rear. Every gun had a gunner, who was in charge of the weapon, and a gun crew. The officer in charge chose where his guns were to be placed and directed its fire. The crew was responsible for moving the gun into position, preparing it for battle, loading and firing the gun, sponging it out between rounds, and hitching and unlimbering. Gunner drills were practiced during training so that operating and firing the gun in battle was as smooth as circumstances permitted.

All armies organized their artillery in groups, often known as batteries or troops within their parent regiment. A battery frequently consisted of between three and six guns depending on the gun caliber. Larger guns were grouped in smaller numbers. A 9-inch battery might have between six and twelve guns, and there would be two or more batteries per regiment. To many gunners, the loss in battle of a gun to the enemy was the same as the loss of its colors (flag) was to an infantry regiment. Artillery regarded itself as a superior arm of the military and developed many traditions to reflect this.

Guns fired a number of projectiles, one of which was the spherical ball. Guns also fired grapeshot and canister, both of which consisted of a number of smaller caliber balls bagged or placed in an open-ended canister and loaded in place of a standard full-caliber shot. This was used to fire on cavalry or infantry presenting itself en masse, and had the same effect as a shotgun but on a much larger scale. The individual balls often had a greater effect at shorter ranges than a single, full-caliber ball. Guns could also fire shrapnel, which burst in the air above the target if the fuse setting was correct. Guns could also fire what was known as shell, which was a hollow case shot with an explosive charge detonated by a fuse. Shell was fired mainly by howitzers, and if the fuse setting was correct, such projectiles were very effective, particularly if they burst in enclosed spaces. Whichever projectile was used, if the gun crew was effective, the damage the guns could inflict on infantry or cavalry was significant, and well-concentrated gunfire could be decisive.

The French Army that Napoleon commanded inherited its artillery from the monarchy, with great improvements having been made by Jean-Baptiste de Gribeauval, inspector general of Artillery in the second half of the eighteenth century. He followed Gustavus Adolphus in believing that artillery needed to be better made and more mobile. He improved French artillery manufacture by having the guns made more accurately, and he also lightened

the gun carriages. The result was a highly mobile artillery which was more effective in battle and able to move more readily. Napoleon tried to improve on this by shortening barrels even further and using a smaller powder charge, but the attempt was a failure. However, all the Austrian and Prussian 6-pounders that were captured were pressed into service by the French and proved to be excellent weapons. Napoleon had trained as a gunner and fully appreciated the value of artillery in battle. As the quality of his army declined, he tried to substitute guns for musket power and began to use grand batteries, which consisted of several dozen guns massed together for concentrated fire. His aim was to use the power of his guns to shred the enemy line so that his infantry could advance.

British artillery equipment also underwent certain changes, the most important of which was the introduction of the single-block trail carriage. This meant that British artillery was as maneuverable as that of the French. British guns after 1804 were able to fire shrapnel shell, which the French never had and which French infantry hated. The range of artillery in direct fire was a maximum of 500 to 600 yards; this of course meant that the guns would be able to engage enemy infantry or cavalry for a much longer period before the muskets of the infantry and the sabers and pistols of the cavalry could harm them. The guns were always placed under infantry protection. The Duke of Wellington used artillery selectively, never in large numbers, but at the right time and right place, so that artillery played a small but important role in his defensive tactics.

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*See also* Artillery (Naval); Shrapnel; Siege Warfare

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## Artillery (Naval)

Naval guns of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period were muzzle loaders, and virtually all larger ship guns were of iron, which was far less expensive but heavier than bronze. Long guns were mounted in broadsides on wooden truck carriages. Guns were denominated by the weight of the solid shot they fired rather than by the diameter of the gun bore as is common today.

In frigates and ships of the line, the heaviest guns were mounted on the lowest deck to aid in stability. In addition, one or more long pieces, known as chase guns, were mounted on the top deck, forward, in order to engage an enemy vessel at long range in pursuit. The largest long gun in common use at sea during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period was the 32-pounder for the British and the 36-pounder for the French. Ships were rated according to the number of guns they carried. At the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), for example, the British first-rate (100 guns or more), the *Victory*, mounted thirty 32-pounders, twenty-eight 24-pounders, thirty 12-pounders, twelve quarterdeck 12-pounders, and two 68-pounder carronades. British frigates mounted only 18-pounders, while American frigates in the War of 1812 were armed with 24-pounders. A mix of calibers presented problems, and one trend of the period was a movement toward single-caliber armament, which might mean a mix of long guns and carronades of the same caliber, at least on smaller vessels. Another trend was the movement toward smoother, more functional designs.

The standard length of U. S. Navy long guns was equivalent to the diameter of about 18 shot (approximately 6 feet long), but this varied widely; chase guns, which had the greatest range, were always the longest; lower deck guns were the shortest. The ideal ratio between the weight of long guns and their shot was thought to be about 200 pounds of metal per 1 pound of shot.

Small howitzers carried in the fighting tops of larger vessels were used as antipersonnel weapons. Small guns in cannon form, known as swivels, might be mounted on the rails of smaller vessels, again as antipersonnel weapons. Howitzers and swivels were normally not counted as part of a ship's armament rating.

Most guns of the period were long guns, but carronades had been growing in popularity. The carronade was the most important innovation in naval ordnance at the end of the eighteenth century. A short, light gun of large bore, first manufactured by the Carron Company of

Scotland in 1776, the carronade was lighter than a long gun of comparable caliber, which enabled it to be employed where a heavier gun could not be supported, as on the poop or forecastle. The savings in weight made it especially popular for smaller vessels. Generally speaking, the carronade came to replace the smaller long guns on naval vessels. While in the smaller ships there was a shift to carronades, in the larger vessels the long gun remained in favor—although there, too, some carronades were included. The largest carronades were 68-pounders carried on the forecastle of first-rate ships of the line.

Unlike the long gun, the carronade had no trunnions (lugs on the side of the barrel that supported it in its carriage) and was mounted on its bed by means of a bolt through a loop cast on the underside of the piece. All carronades were short, only about seven calibers in length (equivalent of the diameter of about seven shot), with the ratio between the weight of carronades and their shot being about 50 to 60 pounds of metal for every pound of shot. This was in contrast to a ratio of as much as 150 to 200 pounds per pound of shot in long guns. The carronade used approximately one-third the powder charge of a long gun of similar caliber. Owing to its low muzzle velocity, the windage on the carronade could be sharply reduced. The ball fired by the carronade moved at a relatively slow velocity but produced a large irregular hole and considerable splintering, the chief cause of casualties in a naval battle in the age of sail.

The carronade was ideally suited for close actions, but it had its disadvantages, chief of which was its lack of range. Carronades were employed at point-blank range, which meant about 450 yards for a 68-pounder and 230 yards for a 12-pounder. If the fighting was at long range, the carronade was a liability, as was revealed during the War of 1812.

Projectiles consisted principally of solid shot, but case shot (canister) and grapeshot, totaling approximately the same weight, were available for close action, as was explosive shell. There was also disabling and chain shot, designed to damage spars and rigging. The most common projectile for engaging another vessel was solid shot, and in close actions guns might be double- or even triple-shotted—the loading of two or three rounds of ammunition at the same time. As holes could be easily patched by a ship's carpenter, shot was primarily employed for inflicting casualties on personnel. Warships could absorb a tremendous amount of punishment and were rarely sunk in battle; those that did sink usually succumbed to fire or the explosion of the magazine. Most that surrendered did so in consequence of excessive personnel casualties or after being overpowered by boarding.

Generally speaking, because of limitations of crew size, guns could only be effectively fought on one side of the ship

at a time. Thus, a ship doubled, that is, with an enemy warship on both sides at once, found itself at a real disadvantage. Speed of loading was most important in battle, and well-trained crews often made the difference in outcome, as was demonstrated in the frigate engagement between HMS *Shannon* and USS *Chesapeake* in 1813. Moreover, at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, the fact that British gun crews could fire their cannon twice as fast as their French and Spanish counterparts more than made up for the British deficiency in number of guns (2,148 to 2,568).

Range varied according to powder charge and elevation. For example, in 1812 the shot for a long gun charged with powder one-third the weight of the ball and at an elevation of 2 degrees would reach 1,200 yards on the first graze (that is, at the point of first impact). But most ship engagements in the age of fighting sail were fought at very close range, almost at dueling-pistol range.

There were also mortars for shore bombardment. Carried in special ships known as bomb vessels, or simply as bombs, their most common sizes were 10- and 13-inch. Sea mortars generally fired exploding shell.

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*See also* Artillery (Land); French Navy; Frigates; Naval Warfare; Royal Navy; Ships of the Line; United States Navy

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### **Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d' (1757–1836)**

Charles Philippe, comte d'Artois, was the youngest brother of kings Louis XVI and Louis XVIII. He was instrumental in leading the counterrevolution of the Vendéans and became king of France as Charles X in 1824 on the death of Louis XVIII.

When the French Revolution began in 1789, the power and legitimacy of Louis XVI naturally came under increased

scrutiny. As the Revolutionaries questioned the legitimacy of the Crown in ruling over the French people, Louis sought advice from his advisers as well as from his family. Specifically, in 1789, with more demand for political reform from the lower classes, the king asked his younger brother, the comte d'Artois, whether he should remain as king or flee to a place of safety. The comte advised the king to leave as soon as possible, given the hostilities expressed by the Revolutionaries in the preceding few months. Understanding the grave nature of the situation, Artois gathered his wife, mistress, and children and fled France for England in late 1789. Over the next six years, he watched with trepidation as the monarchy was abolished and, more important, as the Revolutionaries began the wholesale execution of the nobility, including many in the Bourbon family. In 1793, Artois was shocked to hear that his brother, the king, had been guillotined. Thus began in earnest the Reign of Terror.

In 1793 Artois returned to France to participate in the failed Vendean counterrevolution. This royalist resistance, led by aristocratic officers and priests, occurred in the Vendée in western France. Despite the popularity of the revolt, the national government defeated the rebellion, and Artois once again fled the country.

In 1814, after the tumultuous wars of the Napoleonic era, the French monarchy was restored, to much acclaim. With the assumption of Louis XVI's brother, the comte de Provence, as Louis XVIII, the fifty-seven-year-old Artois returned to his homeland. In 1824 Louis suddenly died in Paris. This allowed Artois to become Charles X, king of France. Charles was nothing if not a reactionary monarch. First, he ordered the indemnification of the aristocrats for all their lands seized under the Revolution. He also restored the right of primogeniture. In doing so, he essentially transformed the monarchy into an absolutist regime.

In 1830, when Charles called for national elections, the royalist faction lost many seats in the Chamber of Deputies. On 25 July 1830 Charles issued the Four Ordinances, which restricted freedom of the press, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, restricted the franchise, and called for new elections. In effect, he was staging a coup d'état. After riots broke out, the king called out the troops, resulting in the deaths of over 1,800 people. On 2 August, Charles abdicated in favor of Louis-Philippe, the duc d'Orléans. Charles fled France with his wife, a new mistress, and the Polignac family. Six years later, Charles, the last Bourbon monarch of France, died in exile.

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*See also* Emigrés; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Terror, The; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Aspern-Essling, Battle of (21–22 May 1809)

The Battle of Aspern-Essling (known to the Austrians as Aspern and to the French as Essling) represented the first significant military defeat suffered by Napoleon in battle. The two-day engagement was fought between an Austrian army of 95,000 men under the command of Archduke Charles and a French army, which eventually reached 65,000 men under Emperor Napoleon. Having taken Vienna after defeating the archduke in Bavaria, Napoleon was keen to bring the Austrians to a decisive battle that would end the war. He was concerned about Prussian neutrality, his unreliable Russian ally and the stirrings of popular revolts in the Austrian Tyrol and some minor German states.

On 12 May 1809 Napoleon took possession of Vienna without a fight. In the previous month he had stopped and then driven back an Austrian offensive moving into Bavaria under Charles. Despite the severe check he had inflicted on the archduke, the battles of Abensberg and Eggmühl did not prove decisive. The Austrian army, although beaten and separated into two unequal halves by the Danube, was able to conduct a successful retreat west toward Vienna. The bulk of the Austrian army, under Charles, retreated toward the mountainous safety of Bohemia. What remained, about 25,000 men, under the command of the competent *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hiller, retired directly on the capital. Vienna was not prepared for a siege, and the citizens made it clear that they did not intend to suffer one. Therefore, when the French began to prepare for a bombardment, Hiller evacuated the city, although a considerable quantity of materiel was left behind. Most important, all the bridges across the Danube were destroyed, making a crossing impossible.

Although he possessed the Austrian capital and had inflicted a defeat on its army, Napoleon had not achieved victory. Charles, in command of 120,000 troops, was somewhere north of the Danube and ready for a fight. Charles's brother, Archduke John, was approaching, albeit slowly, from Italy with 50,000 men. Two further concerns weighed on the French Emperor: the uprisings and rumors of uprisings in the Austrian Tyrol and a few of the German states, and the neutrality of both Russia and Prussia. The revolts and Charles's presence required that several divisions be deployed to cover the French line of communications, thus weakening the main army. All these threats meant that Napoleon needed and desired a quick resolution to the war with the Habsburg monarchy; a decisive win would resolve everything.

He therefore immediately pressed his subordinates to bring all possible reinforcements to the main army, now around Vienna, and to locate a tenable crossing. Initially Napoleon looked to cross at Nussdorf, just north of Vienna, but this was too obvious. Rather, he chose to cross at Kaiser-Ebersdorf, 3 miles downstream of the capital. Here the river was wide but shallow, and Lobau Island offered an excellent staging point. Four bridges would be required, the longest being 505 yards, the shortest 83 yards, with the total crossing, including the island, measuring 2 miles. The process of securing the islands and building the bridge began on 18 May, with the Emperor and the marshals present, and the first elements of the army started to cross on the twentieth.

Napoleon ordered the crossing certain that the archduke was not at hand but, rather, several days' march further north. His great success in April had made him contemptuous of the Austrians and willing to risk a crossing of the Danube, which was now flooding. But Charles had decided by 18 May to stand and fight, having everything to gain from the present situation. However, he would not contest the crossing at the river's bank; rather, he planned to allow the French to get across enough strength that he could inflict a costly defeat and perhaps secure a negotiated peace. With this in mind he drew his army together on the great plain north of Vienna, the Marchfeld, observing the French from a high-ground vantage point on the Bisamberg. On the evening of the twentieth, certain the French would now cross at Lobau, Charles brought his several Korps into a general line running from Stammersdorf west through Deutsch-Wagram. When morning dawned on that Whitsunday, 83,600 infantry, 14,250 cavalry, and 292 guns, all drawn up in assault columns, stood ready to move forward to the attack.

Even as the Austrian attack evolved it was clear that the French position was weak. The bridge across the Danube was the army's only link to its base, and it was subject to the furious flow of the river and the numerous boats and other missiles the enemy was sending down river. When the bridge was broken on the nineteenth, Napoleon considered canceling the entire operation, but he was dissuaded by his marshals. Therefore, while troops could be rushed across, artillery, ammunition, and stores in sufficient quantity could not. The villages near the immediate crossing point, Aspern and Essling, with their stone buildings and walls, offered a good defensive position, but the French did not suspect an attack and so gave no orders to fortify them. When the Austrians did attack on the twenty-first, there were only 23,000 French with forty-four guns to hold the bridgehead.

The Austrian attack called for the concentric movement of five Korps columns. The first three columns, VI, I,

and II Korps, were to attack Aspern. The IV Korps, under Prince von Orsini Rosenberg, was divided into two columns. The first, directly under Rosenberg, was to attack Essling, while the second, reinforced, column would sweep wide, take Gross-Enzersdorf, and then proceed into the French rear. The Cavalry Korps covered the broad and open center between III and IV Columns, while the Grenadier Korps sat in reserve 2 miles to the rear. Theoretically sound, the plan required the columns to be in position at the same time, which proved impossible. There was too much distance to be covered, and the French outposts slowed the Austrian deployment from march columns into lines of battle. Instead, the blows failed to hit together, with I Column, under Hiller, attacking at 2:00 P.M. and the last column attacking two hours later, thus dissipating the Austrian numerical superiority, which should have been overwhelming.

The fighting on the afternoon of the twenty-first was to prove relatively indecisive. The Austrian assault on Aspern was met by a stout defense, directed personally by Marshal André Masséna. Stopped cold, the Austrians were forced to reorganize before a second attack. In Essling, Marshal Jean Lannes expertly handled the defense and held the town and right flank despite the loss of Gross-Enzersdorf. At the same time, in the center an advance by the Cavalry Korps, which was poorly coordinated, was shut down by Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières's countercharge. Seeing an opportunity to upset the enemy's overall plan, Napoleon ordered his heavy cavalry, the cuirassiers, to smash the center. Perceiving this threat, Charles ordered a portion of the nearby infantry of II Korps to shift left and cover the center. Arriving at the crucial moment and formed in the cavalry-proof "battalion mass," the Austrian troops delivered a crushing volley at fifteen paces and sent the French horsemen flying. Combat continued in Aspern with house-to-house fighting, and the Austrians eventually cleared the town of the enemy. Essling, however, remained firmly in French hands. As darkness fell, the fighting subsided.

By nightfall the situation was tenuous for the French. During the day's intense fighting the bridge over the Danube had been breached several times, with only 8,000 French troops managing to cross. That night Napoleon was able to rush across most of Lannes's II Corps, elements of cavalry, and the Imperial Guard. Marshal Louis Davout was ordered to bring up his III Corps to cross on the following day. As the sun rose on the twenty-second, the French totaled some 50,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 144 guns, while the Austrians, preparing to resume their offensive, could still call on 80,000 infantry, 14,000 cavalry, and 280 guns. Looking at the situation and confident of the steady arrival of reinforcements, Napoleon perceived



Fighting in the streets of Essling. Beleaguered French infantry exchanges fire with Austrian troops in the distance. (Print after F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

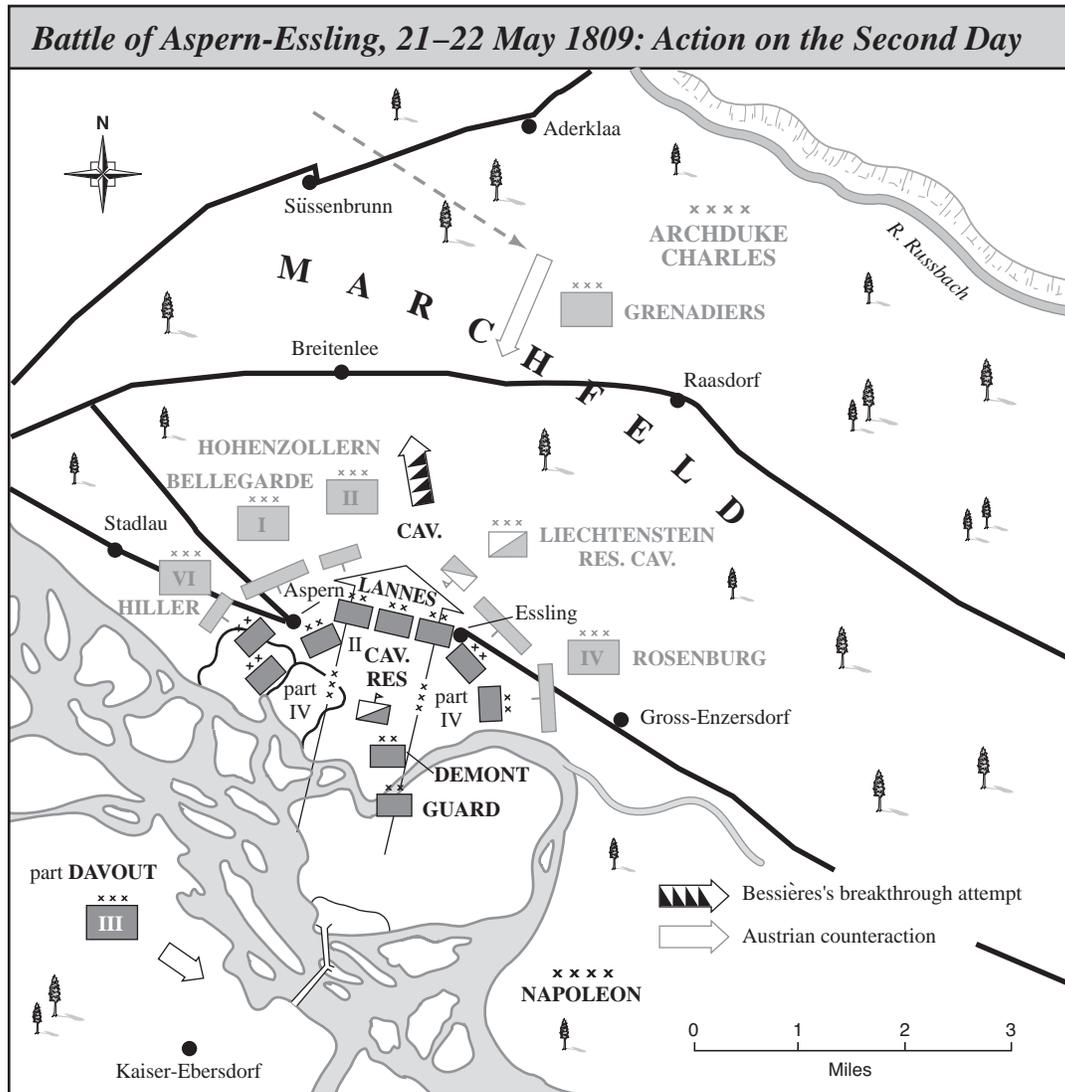
the inherent weakness of the Austrian center. He therefore decided to assume the offensive and attempt to regain the initiative with a blow to the enemy's center. For the French everything now rested on the bridges' remaining intact and the Austrians' will to fight.

The morning of the twenty-second saw the French under Masséna regain all of Aspern because the local Austrian commander had lost his nerve and withdrawn in the night. The Austrians would attack the town throughout the day, consuming the energy of two entire Korps. Essling, under the command of Lannes, remained solidly in French hands throughout the morning. This success allowed Napoleon to deploy the freshly arrived II Corps, three divisions strong and backed by Bessières's cavalry in the center. The French attacked at the juncture of II Corps and the Cavalry Corps, intending to rupture the enemy line and drive them back. The attack moved forward with some initial success, suffering heavy losses from Austrian artillery fire. However, the timely intervention of Charles and his commitment of the Grenadiers stopped the advance. By 9:00 A.M. the crisis had ended, and Lannes's II Corps could not go any further. Worse, at 10:00 A.M. the Austrians managed to inflict serious damage to the bridge, blocking the arrival of Davout's corps and much-needed ammunition.

The Emperor realized now not only that he would have to withdraw to the line of Aspern-Essling but that he would have to retire across the Danube. Such a withdrawal could only be accomplished under the cover of night, which meant that the French must hold their positions for the remainder of the day.

As the French withdrew Charles continued to press his attacks. In the center his efforts were held by repeated French cavalry charges. Unable to break the center, he pulled back his infantry and massed 150 guns to bombard the enemy line. During this intense cannonade Lannes was mortally wounded. Austrian attacks on Essling nearly succeeded and required the commitment of several battalions of the Imperial Guard to repel them. The majority of Aspern had fallen to Hiller by 4:00 P.M., but orders from Charles's chief of staff kept the Austrian commander from rolling up the French line. The battle ended with a whimper, the French quickly withdrawing through the evening and the Austrians making no effort to press their success.

Fighting ceased with the Austrians in command of the field, but they had failed to achieve their objective of beating Napoleon. That said, the battle had been a bloody, embarrassing reverse for the French. Losses were high on both sides. Austrian casualties were probably slightly higher, but



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 705.

both sides suffered some 5,000 dead and 21,000 wounded. Despite a hasty retreat the French only lost three guns, a pair of colors, and several supply wagons. The evacuation to Lobau had gone well, and Napoleon retained the island, which proved essential when he returned to the offensive a month later. Charles made no effort to attack the French position; he had fought a careful battle and did not intend to take risks with the army, as Napoleon so obviously had. Aspern-Essling was therefore a check to the French, not a defeat, with the decisive battle of the war instead occurring a few miles away on 5–6 July, at Wagram.

Lee W. Eysturlid

See also Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen (French); Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eggmühl, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Imperial Guard; John, Archduke; Lannes, Jean; Masséna, André; Wagram, Battle of

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## Auerstädt, Battle of (14 October 1806)

The Battle of Auerstädt (now Auerstedt) was one of two battles to take place on this day between the French army under Napoleon and its Prussian opponents. While Napoleon himself engaged a force under Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (commonly known as Prince Hohenlohe) at Jena, Marshal Davout's III Corps encountered the main body of the Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick and fought a desperate but ultimately victorious battle at Auerstädt against superior numbers.

Davout's III Corps consisted of the divisions of generals Louis Friant, Charles-Etienne Gudin de la Sablonnière, and Charles Antoine Morand, and numbered 28,000 men with forty-four guns. His objective was to delay any attempt by the Prussians to move further down the road in question, holding up their withdrawal to Magdeburg or Leipzig. Brunswick's force consisted of 48,000 men with 128 artillery pieces (not including battalion guns), organized into five divisions and a force of light troops. The 3rd, or Vanguard Division, was under the command of Graf Schmettau; the 1st under the Prince of Orange, and the 2nd under Graf Wartensleben. A reserve corps under Graf Kalkreuth consisted of two reserve divisions, the 1st under Graf Kunheim and the 2nd under General Alexander Wilhelm von Arnim. General Gebhard von Blücher had his own command of light troops. Brunswick's immediate objective was to reach the Unstrut River at Freyburg, in Saxony, and cross it. The Prusso-Saxon force under Hohenlohe to the south was to cover this movement.

The terrain in the valley of the Saale River, where this battle was fought, was hilly, with deep ravines cutting into the various plateaus. The left bank of the Saale was an escarpment and was wooded in places. The road from Naumburg to Weimar and Erfurt passed through the village of Kösen, where there was a stone bridge over the Saale. On the far side of the river, the road continued uphill and onto the plateau of Hassenhausen and then into a defile at the village of the same name. The valley along this road between Tauchwitz and Hassenhausen had steep sides that hindered the movement of wheeled vehicles. A relatively small force could plug this bottleneck and hold up a considerably larger force. At the far side of the Kösen Defile, the road continued through the villages of Tauchwitz and Poppel and onto a plateau through Gernstedt and Auerstädt, and from there to Erfurt and Weimar. Two streams ran down from the Ranzen hill to the north of the road near Hassenhausen, the Knochelbach and the Lissbach. The villages along them included Spielberg, Bendorf, Poppel, Tauchwitz, and Rehhausen.

Brunswick spent the night before the battle bivouacked around Auerstädt, while Davout had moved

westward, passing Naumburg, crossing and holding the bridge over the Saale to its east, and sending on three regiments of chasseurs, followed by infantry, to the Kösen Defile. Brunswick was aware that his line of movement along the road from Weimar to Naumburg was blocked.

Between 3:00 and 4:00 A.M. Davout received orders to continue his movement via Kösen and Auerstädt toward Apolda. At 4:00 A.M. the 3rd Division moved off from its bivouac at Neu Flemmingen, taking the route to Kösen. At 6:00 A.M. the vanguard of the division, the 25th Line, preceded by a squadron of chasseurs, crossed the bridge at Kösen, with the main body following half an hour later. The 2nd Division left its bivouacs behind Naumburg at 5:00 A.M. and moved to the left of the 3rd Division.

The Prussians marched off at 6:00 A.M. on 14 October from Auerstädt via Gernstedt and toward Poppel, where Prussian dragoons clashed with French chasseurs, chasing the latter off into the thick morning mist. At Hassenhausen, the pursuing Prussians encountered Gudin's division, which was moving up, and they were driven off by canister fire from French artillery.

Blücher had been placed in temporary command of the ten squadrons of cavalry of Schmettau's division, which he led around the north of Poppel onto the Ranzen hill northwest of Hassenhausen. They were accompanied by a battery of horse artillery. As little was now happening there, Blücher continued to Spielberg.

Meanwhile, Davout had Gudin deploy his infantry battalions in squares, mainly to the north of Hassenhausen. Blücher's cavalry made no headway against the solid French veterans, despite launching several attacks against them. Blücher had a horse shot from underneath him. The Prussian troopers eventually broke and could only be rallied at Spielberg.

It was now clear that the French had a substantial force at hand here, although the heavy mist made it impossible to determine their exact numbers. Schmettau quickly deployed his infantry in two lines, intending to seize the crucial village of Hassenhausen rapidly, as this would open the road as far as the Saale. However, after advancing eighty paces, Schmettau halted to allow Wartensleben to deploy his men to the right. The front line of the French fell back into the village, taking up positions in the houses and gardens, ditches, and sunken roads.

About 9:00 A.M. Friant's division came up, and one of its brigades was used to extend the line north of Hassenhausen, to support Gudin. The remainder of the division was sent toward Spielberg to move around the Prussian positions from the north. Of Gudin's division, the 25th Line was north of Hassenhausen, with all his artillery. The 12th and 21st were in reserve, behind the 25th. The 85th engaged a battalion of Prussians, driving them back. The

111th, part of Friant's division, was deployed to the right of the 25th, while the 108th occupied Spielberg. The 48th and 33rd took up positions to the rear of this village. General Jean-Baptiste Viallannes's cavalry brigade moved up to cover the right flank of III Corps. Finally, a battery of 12-pounders was deployed on a ridge a little to the north of Hassenhausen.

A violent firefight opened up around Hassenhausen. Schmettau's 2nd Line deployed to the left in response to the French flanking move. Despite having driven off the Prussian cavalry, the situation on the French right remained precarious. The noise of this firefight reached Brunswick, who was about 600 paces south of Tauchwitz. As he was not sure of the situation, Brunswick sent his chief of staff, General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, to Schmettau to establish what was happening. When Schmettau was wounded, Scharnhorst took command of the Prussian forces in that area.

Brunswick intended to deploy Wartensleben's division to the right of the road to gain the heights south of the village. He directed Hanstein's Grenadier Battalion at this point toward a tree and rode off with its skirmishers. After proceeding only a few hundred paces, a projectile penetrated Brunswick's left eye, leaving him mortally wounded. Although the Prussian king, Frederick William III, was present, he neither took over effective command personally nor delegated that responsibility to a senior general. Scharnhorst, still commanding Schmettau's division, did not hear of this event until later.

Less than half the army had been deployed so far, yet control now broke down. Wartensleben's leading brigade closed in for an attack east of Tauchwitz. The next brigade moved southward toward Rehhausen and deployed without coordination with the leading brigade, climbing the heights and enveloping Hassenhausen from the south. Friedrich von Irwing's Prussian dragoons rode down the French 85th Line, which was falling back to Hassenhausen. The Prussians then cleared the village.

It was now about 10:00 A.M. As the cavalry had opened the way, Wartensleben continued his advance. Davout now committed the last two of Gudin's regiments, the 12th and the 21st. As they closed in on the Prussian troops near Hassenhausen, they started suffering heavy casualties and halted. A critical moment had been reached. General Wicard von Möllendorff ordered Prince Louis Ferdinand's regiment to take the village, while the French 21st Line moved into it. The Prussians opened fire on the village, but the French, under the cover of the buildings, held their positions.

Fresh troops were needed to decide the battle, so the Prince of Orange's division was ordered up. Part of the cavalry was sent on in advance.

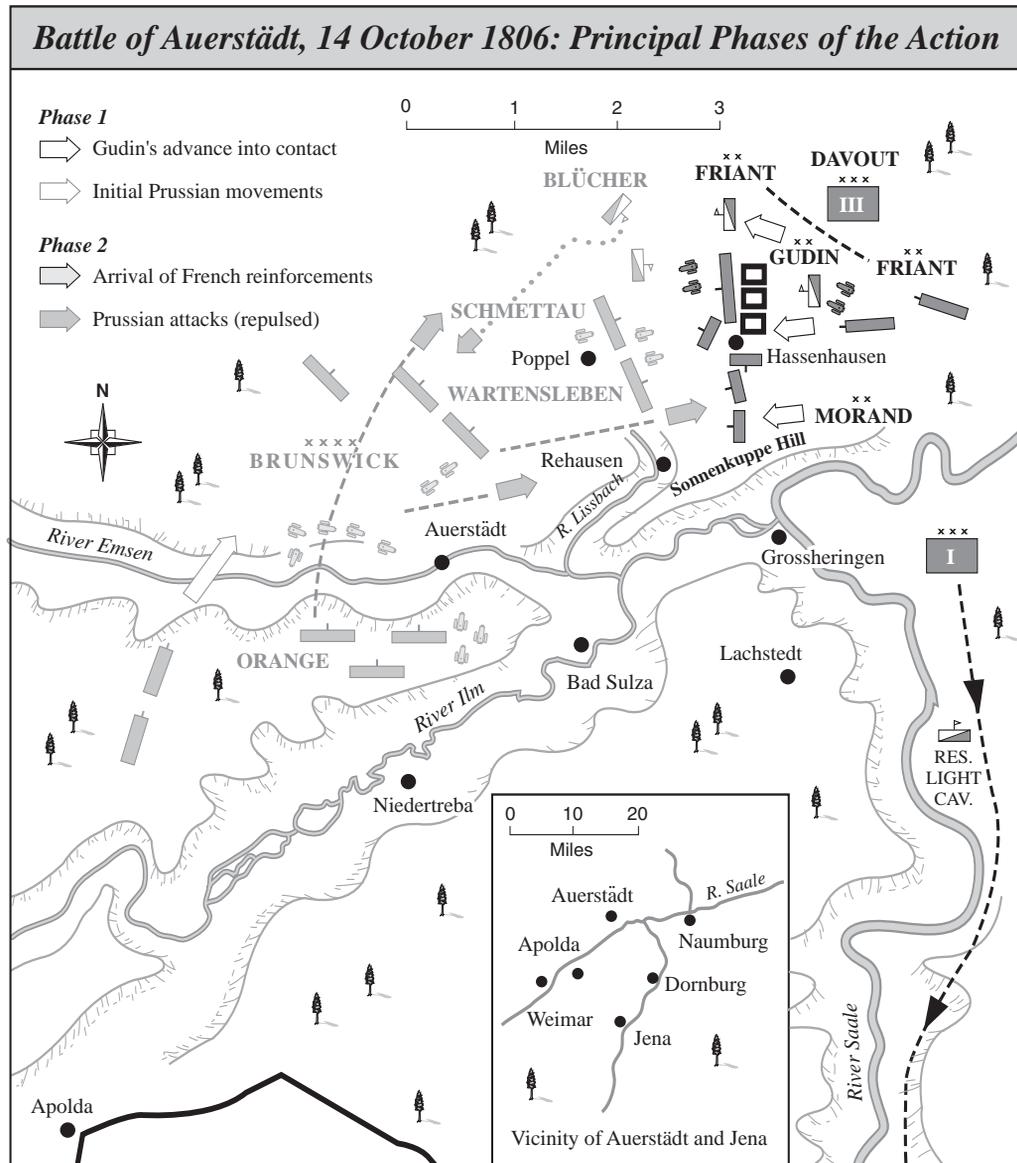
At 10:30 A.M. Morand's division came up and Davout immediately threw one regiment, the 13th, supported by two guns, directly against Hassenhausen, but he had the rest move against the Prussian right. The 13th cleared the village, passing right through it. The remaining regiments were used to extend the French left, and lines of infantry engaged each other with musketry, inflicting heavy casualties. The French infantry here too was subjected to several determined cavalry charges, but control over the Prussian cavalry was also lost, with individual regiments and squadrons making uncoordinated attacks on the French squares. The famed Prussian cavalry was being squandered.

The Prince of Orange's division now arrived, having been delayed en route. The king, in nominal command, had intended to use it on his left, but as Wartensleben's division started to waver, only the leading brigade marched on to Poppel. The remainder wheeled right, moving up via Rehhausen and filling the gaps in the line. At this point, the French enjoyed not only a local superiority in numbers but also a stronger position. Added to that was their greater experience of war. Having fought off the Prussian cavalry, Davout now slowly ground down the Prussian infantry and was gaining the upper hand.

Around midday, the Prussian right started to show signs of breaking. However, the Prussians still had two and a half fresh divisions available, including Kalkreuth's reserve. Kalkreuth's cavalry, lacking any orders, became involved in unnecessary fighting. General Alexander von Arnim's division moved through Auerstädt onto the heights toward Eckartsberga to counter the French moving from Spielberg to Liesdorf. Kunheim's division deployed around Auerstädt. The reserve was fed into the battle piecemeal to plug the gaps, but to little avail. The Prussians were shot to pieces and fell back through Auerstädt. In the middle of this mass of men, Scharnhorst, wounded but carrying a musket, came across the king. Frederick William then ordered the reserve to withdraw.

The Prussians, with one-third of their army not committed to the action, failed to bring their superiority of numbers into play. Blücher pleaded with the king to continue the battle, gathering together a number of cavalry regiments, including the still-fresh Gensdarmes Regiment, but Frederick William called him back. His intention was to move the remnants of his army to link up with Hohenlohe, Ernst von Rüchel, and the Prince of Weimar's detachment and stabilize the situation. From there, he considered withdrawing toward the Elbe River. The reserve retired in relative order, but its left did not do so with sufficient haste and was roughly handled by the pursuing French.

The confusion of the retreat degenerated into chaos in the growing darkness. The disorder increased when the fleeing masses of Brunswick's force crossed paths with



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 491.

parts of Hohenlohe's broken corps, which was falling back toward Weimar from that day's fighting at Jena. It also ran into Friedrich von Holtzendorff's detachment, which had fallen back from Apolda, crossing the Ilm at Ulrichshalben. There was now little chance of reestablishing any order. Companies were separated from their battalions, battalions and squadrons from their regiments, regiments from their brigades. Gunners cut their traces and made a dash for it. Many deserted, particularly from the Polish regiments. The seething mass then separated, with part going on toward Erfurt and the remainder toward Magdeburg. The pursuing French cavalry mopped up isolated units, taking them prisoner. Napoleon concentrated his movement toward Berlin, the Prussian capital. The Saxons ended their alliance with the Prussians.

The confused retreat makes it difficult to be certain of the losses suffered by the Prussians in this battle, but these have been estimated at 15,000 dead and wounded and 3,000 prisoners. The artillery lost fifty-seven field pieces and a large number of battalion guns. Davout lost about one-third of his men, with Gudin's division alone losing 3,500 men—nearly half its strength.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Friant, Louis; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von

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### Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles (1757–1816)

Pierre Augereau rose from the ranks of the Parisian poor to become one of Napoleon's first great lieutenants. A veteran of the pre-1789 French Army, Augereau served in the armed forces of a number of other European powers. Observing how things were done, he consequently brought a broad understanding of tactical skill to the battlefield. Fighting with distinction in the campaign of 1796–1797 in Italy, Augereau established his reputation. Napoleon never forgot the services Augereau rendered at the Battle of Castiglione in holding off one of the most dangerous Austrian offensives in northern Italy.

But the tall, hooked-nose former noncommissioned officer never added substantially to the reputation established during his early years under Napoleon until he performed with great credit at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. In 1814, Augereau received command of the French army at Lyons with instructions to strike the southern flank of the forces invading France. His failure to do so compromised Napoleon's brilliant defense east of Paris, and Augereau's reputation was permanently sullied by accusations of incompetence or even betrayal of his former commander.

Augereau was born in Paris on 21 October 1757. He came from the lower stratum of the capital's society, with various sources describing him as the son of a grocer, a domestic servant, or a stone mason. For the remainder of his life his speech bore the flavor of the Parisian gutter. Evidently his mother was German. He turned to a military career at an early age, serving first in the French Army. In

1777 he abandoned the French ranks after reportedly killing an officer who had insulted him and then served in the Russian, Prussian, and a number of other armies. The story of these years remains murky, but Augereau almost certainly served in Prussia—as seen by his familiarity with Prussian drill—and just as certainly was a deserter from the Prussian Army. If he had been caught in the act of deserting, he would have suffered the normal penalty of being executed. He had become an expert fencer during his first years of military service, and his years of wandering around the Continent probably included intervals in which he supported himself as a fencing master.

Men with Augereau's military background had extraordinary opportunities as France mobilized its population for war in the early 1790s. After a frustrating period of service in the forces combating insurgents in the Vendée, Augereau arranged for his transfer to more promising duties in the mountainous front against Spain. Here he rose to the rank of major general by the close of 1793. His work included training recruits in the style of discipline and battlefield movements he had experienced in the Prussian Army. His military skills made him popular with his troops, and they were awed as well by his tall, physically imposing figure. To the men under him he was known as the Big Prussian.

Fighting against the Spanish, Augereau proved to be a skilled combat commander as well as a capable trainer of troops. He defeated a powerful Spanish force at San-Lorenzo-de-la-Muga in May 1794. Placing his troops in a centrally located position, Augereau struck in turn at each of the five different Spanish columns advancing against him. In November he played a key role in the decisive French offensive at Figueras, and he remained facing the Spanish until the Madrid government sued for peace in 1795.

Augereau was transferred to the (French) Army of Italy later in 1795, fought successfully at the Battle of Loano in November, and did his best to hold the neglected French forces together during the ensuing winter. He was one of the senior officers in the army when Bonaparte took command in the spring of 1796. Along with General André Masséna, Augereau led a division with conspicuous aggressiveness as the young Bonaparte separated the Sardinians from their Austrian allies in the mountains of northern Italy and then plunged into the Po River valley. Having helped Bonaparte take the rich lands of Lombardy, Augereau led his division in numerous efforts to secure what had been won. This included helping besiege Mantua, the last enemy fortress to hold out against the French, and invading the Papal States to compel the pope to accept French domination.

The peak of Augereau's service in Italy and the unforgettable moment in his entire career came in August 1796.

With Austrian armies under *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser moving down both sides of Lake Garda, Napoleon was hard pressed to mount an effective defense. In later years, Augereau suggested—somewhat implausibly—that he deserved the credit for persuading Bonaparte not to retreat south of the Po River. In any case, Augereau marched his division 50 miles in a day and a half to reach a position in front of the Austrian column east of Lake Garda, then fought like a lion to hold the Austrian advance guard at Castiglione. By stopping the advance of Austria's eastern army, he gave Bonaparte time to defeat the other enemy forces to the west. Bonaparte then linked up with Augereau at Castiglione to defeat the eastern wing of Würmser's offensive. In all, Augereau played the key part in frustrating Austria's most dangerous counteroffensive against the French in northern Italy. By this time, he had also acquired a reputation as one of the most enthusiastic, if indiscriminating, looters of Italian property in Bonaparte's ranks.

The following year saw Augereau back in Paris on a political mission for Bonaparte. Elections to the French representative assemblies were producing a significant number of conservative delegates. The rising influence of royalist factions alarmed the Directory, the five-man governing executive in France. When the Directory expelled conservatives from their stronghold in the Council of Five Hundred, the lower branch of the French legislature, in September 1797, they needed a reliable military man to maintain control over the nation's capital. In command of the 17th Division garrisoning Paris, Augereau occupied the legislative chambers, arrested the apparently dangerous royalists, and made certain no popular uprising occurred to block the Directory's purge. In 1797, in the wake of this success, Augereau developed political ambitions of his own. Although he served in the Council of Five Hundred, his hopes of high office were squashed when he twice failed to obtain one of the newly vacant seats on the Directory.

Subsequently, Augereau held commands in western Germany and on the Spanish frontier. His ties with Bonaparte grew tenuous, perhaps because Bonaparte found other generals, such as Jean Lannes, more talented and more loyal. Thus, Augereau did not join the coterie of generals that Bonaparte took to Egypt in 1798. He played no role in Bonaparte's seizure of power in late 1799, apparently unable to decide whether or not to join in overthrowing the Directory. Nonetheless, in May 1804, when Napoleon honored the most important military commanders in France with the rank of marshal, Augereau found himself within the favored circle. When titles of nobility followed in 1808, the soldier who had once been a poverty-stricken Parisian child was honored as the duc de Castiglione.

In 1804, promoted to command VII Corps for the forthcoming invasion of England, Augereau established his

headquarters at Brest. When Napoleon shifted the newly formed Grande Armée eastward to meet a threat from Austria and Russia, Augereau led his army across the length of France, greatly contributing to Napoleon's triumph by surrounding an entire Austrian army at Ulm. By destroying a complete enemy division near Kempten on the Iller River south of Ulm, Augereau helped close the ring around the Austrian forces under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich.

The 1806 campaign against Prussia saw Augereau's corps on the left flank of the advancing Grande Armée. After participating in the Battle of Jena, Augereau's forces advanced to Berlin. As the war continued against the remnants of the Prussian army and the large Russian forces that now joined them, Augereau's troops, along with much of the rest of Napoleon's army, entered northern Poland for the frustrating campaign of early 1807. Mud, poor roads, and a harsh climate took their toll on Augereau and his men. Augereau himself was sufficiently ill to request that he be relieved, but he was persuaded to stay on and to lead a crucial assault against the Russian left flank at Eylau. Attacking through a heavy snowstorm, Augereau's corps lost sight of the direction in which they were to advance. Instead, they marched directly into the Russian artillery's line of fire, and their ranks were struck as well by friendly fire from French cannon.

In the aftermath of the disaster at Eylau, Augereau went on sick leave, and the ragged remnants of his VII Corps were disbanded and sent to join other units. Augereau's next command was in Spain, where he was stationed from June 1809 through April of the following year in command of the Army of Catalonia. He served without distinction in Spain, and he was relegated to commanding a rear area in Germany during the invasion of Russia in 1812.

The final years of the Napoleonic Wars saw Augereau's career reach a new height at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. Only a few months before, he had gone on sick leave again, and those who saw him at the time had remarked on his aging appearance and wavering concentration. But at Leipzig he fought fiercely in holding the French right flank and extricated the surviving forces of his corps once the field had been lost. In response to this performance, Napoleon reputedly remarked that the old Augereau of Castiglione had reappeared. Such generals were a precious commodity the following year as France faced invasion, and Napoleon awarded Augereau a key role in guarding the nation's eastern frontier. The old soldier was assigned to build an army at Lyons with which he could strike the southern flank of the Austro-Prussian forces crossing the Rhine and moving toward Paris. Napoleon's desperate defense of French soil during the spring of

1814 relied heavily on vigorous action by Augereau, and the veteran warrior failed utterly to provide it.

Either from a lack of energy and determination or possibly from an unwillingness to help Napoleon survive, Augereau remained stuck at Lyons, then retreated southward to Valence; his army never took the field. Napoleon was left to his own devices to hold off the Austrian and Prussian invaders in the river valleys east of Paris. He fought brilliantly, but the absence of any activity on the part of Augereau helped doom his efforts to failure.

The possibility that Augereau had deliberately failed to aid Napoleon was confirmed by his conduct after the Emperor abdicated. He publicly condemned Napoleon and urged that the returning Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, be accepted as the country's legitimate ruler. Louis in turn rewarded Augereau by allowing him to keep the title of marshal in the French Army and by naming him to the Chamber of Peers, the upper house of the new French legislative body.

Augereau could not duplicate his success of 1814 in negotiating further changes of regime when Napoleon returned from Elba in 1815. His former commander rejected Augereau's offer to serve the revived Empire, and Napoleon ordered the veteran soldier's name erased from the list of marshals. But Augereau's failed attempt to change sides made him a marked man after Waterloo and Louis XVIII's return to power. Augereau was stripped of the honors the king had conferred in 1814, and he died at his country estate in Normandy on 12 June 1816.

Neil M. Heyman

*See also* Castiglione, Battle of; Council of Five Hundred; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Figueras, Battles of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Loano, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Marshalate; Papal States; Peninsular War; Pyrenean Campaigns; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Vendée, Revolts in the; Würmsers, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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### Austen, Jane (1775–1817)

The social commentary and deeply satirical depictions of middle-class life found in her novels made Jane Austen one of the most influential novelists of the nineteenth century. Austen's novels focused on middle-class rural life in contemporary England. Although she had brothers in the Royal Navy, Austen largely ignored the political and military events of her lifetime in her writing, instead concentrating on the domestic. Once considered a shortcoming in Austen's work, this introspection is now considered to be one of her greatest strengths.

Jane Austen was the seventh of eight children born to George and Cassandra Austen. The Austen family was a very tight-knit group, and Jane was particularly close to her only sister, Cassandra, who was two years older than she. Education was considered important in the Austen family for both males and females. Cassandra and Jane were sent away to boarding school, while the Austen males were educated at home. Jane began her schooling at the age of six. It is unclear when her formal education ended, but it would seem that by the time she was eleven she had completed her time at boarding school.

In 1791 Austen's cousin, Eliza de Feudillide, to whom she was close, returned to England after living in France with her husband, a royalist named Jean Capot de Feudillide. De Feudillide visited England in 1792 but returned to France after hearing that he would be declared bankrupt if he did not return. He was executed in 1794 and Eliza married Austen's brother Henry in 1797.

Despite the fact that much of Austen's writing was peppered with romance, she never married. Rumors of love affairs that the author supposedly took part in have been hard to prove. It is commonly accepted, though, that she was engaged very briefly to Harris Bigg Wither, the brother of three girls whom both Jane and Cassandra were close to, in 1802.

In November 1797 Austen's father sent a copy of her novel *First Impressions* to the London publisher Cadell.

The novel was immediately rejected. *First Impressions* was an early version of *Pride and Prejudice*, which many consider to be Austen's finest novel. At around the same time, she was also working on *Elinor and Marianne*, which would become known as *Sense and Sensibility*.

In 1803 Austen's father was successful in selling the manuscript of *Susan* to Messrs. Crosby and Cox for £10. Although the book was advertised once, it was not published by Crosby and Cox. In 1809 Austen wrote to the publishers, under an assumed name, stating that she would attempt to have the book published elsewhere if they did not mean to publish it. Crosby and Cox responded by offering her the choice of buying the manuscript back for the original £10 or facing proceedings if she went ahead with publication without paying them back. Austen could not afford the money and did not respond.

In 1811 Austen found publishing success, with *Sense and Sensibility* being accepted for publication. The novel was published in November 1811 by T. Egerton, and she made £140 from the first edition. Of all of her novels, *Sense and Sensibility* was given the most thorough critical reception in Austen's lifetime. Published under the pseudonym "A Lady," a second edition was released at Austen's expense in November 1813.

Egerton offered Austen £110 for the outright copyright to *Pride and Prejudice*, which she accepted. *Pride and Prejudice* was first published in early 1813, a second edition was released in the same year, and a third appeared in 1817.

Austen's next novel, *Mansfield Park*, was completed in mid-1813 and significant in being the first of Austen's novels that was not a revision of one of her pre-1800 works. Begun in 1811 and published in 1814, *Mansfield Park* was not as well received as Austen's previous novels.

*Emma* was begun early in 1814 and completed by March 1815. Published in December 1815, critical response to *Emma* was moderate, but the novel sold well. *Emma* was dedicated to the Prince Regent, who was a fan of Austen's work. Although the feeling was not mutual, Austen did not have any alternative but to dedicate the work to the prince once she was aware that it was his wish. John Murray, who wanted the copyright of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Sense and Sensibility*, published *Emma*. Austen would not sell the copyright; instead, the new novel was published under commission.

In 1815 Austen began work on *Persuasion* but put the manuscript aside when her beloved brother Henry became ill. Henry recovered, and in 1816 bought back the manuscript of *Susan* from Crosby and Cox for the same price for which it had originally been sold: £10. During that year Austen's health was waning, but she worked on the *Susan* manuscript, converting it into the novel *Northanger Abbey*. *Persuasion* was finished in spring 1817. Another novel, *San-*

*diton*, was begun in January 1817, but only eleven chapters were written before Austen became too ill to continue.

Austen wrote her will in April 1817. Nursed by her adored sister, Cassandra, Austen died on 17 July. She was buried at Winchester Cathedral on the twenty-fourth. *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey* were published posthumously by her brother Henry in December 1817.

Despite the critical and popular following that has grown since Austen's death, she did not reap significant financial rewards for her work during her lifetime. Her entire earnings from her writings during her lifetime did not exceed £700. Considering, though, that neither her mother nor her sister (with whom she lived for most of her life) had any significant income, Austen's modest income reduced the burden on her brothers to support the Austen women.

Cassandra destroyed most of Austen's letters after her death. Henry wrote a biography of a few pages, but this did not add much to what was known of Austen. Nothing more on her life was published for fifty years, when James Edward Austen-Leigh, her nephew, wrote a memoir. It included extracts from *Sanditon*.

Shannon Schedlich-Day

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Keats, John; Romanticism; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Wordsworth, William

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## Austerlitz, Battle of (2 December 1805)

Exactly a year to the day after Napoleon's coronation as Emperor of France, the climactic battle of the 1805 campaign took place near Austerlitz in Moravia (now in the Czech Republic). It was the culmination of Napoleon's first campaign as Emperor and saw his army, nurtured in the training camps along the English Channel coast for two years, prove its mastery on the battlefield. Many consider Austerlitz the greatest of Napoleon's victories.



The Battle of Austerlitz, widely regarded as Napoleon's greatest victory. The Austrians withdrew from the Third Coalition, forcing their Russian allies to withdraw into Poland. (Library of Congress)

After the capitulation of Freiherr Mack's Austrian army at Ulm in October 1805, General Mikhail Kutuzov's Russian army turned back from the Austro-Bavarian border, retracing its steps eastward. Kutuzov evaded the French pursuit before joining a concentration of the Allied army at Olmütz, just over 100 miles north of Vienna, late in November. Napoleon ended his pursuit at Brünn.

Napoleon's position appeared weak, with only four formations close to Brünn: the Imperial Guard, Marshal Joachim Murat's Cavalry Reserve, and IV and V Corps of marshals Nicolas Soult and Jean Lannes. However, this was misleading. Both Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte's I Corps and Marshal Louis Davout's III Corps were capable of joining Napoleon by forced marches.

On 21 November, Napoleon pushed Soult beyond Austerlitz and, following in his wake, focused on an area dominated by a long plateau above the village of Pratze, about 4 miles west of Austerlitz. This, Napoleon felt, was a battlefield where he could achieve a decisive result.

At Allied headquarters the discussion was on whether to fight or withdraw and await the arrival of reinforcements. Kutuzov advocated withdrawal, but the appearance of Tsar Alexander I at the front reduced his authority. Alexander was convinced this was his chance to personally lead Russia to victory over Napoleon and an apparently weak French army, far from home and at the end of an extended line of communications. Although the Austrian emperor, Francis I, was also present, the Russians had cared little for Austrian opinion since the capitulation at Ulm. On 27 November, the Allied army moved forward.

Napoleon, concerned about his vulnerable communications, needed a decisive victory to bring the campaign to a swift end. Determined to lure the Allies to battle, he encouraged an impression of weakness, sending an aide to Allied headquarters ostensibly to discuss peace. Meanwhile, his advanced troops withdrew westward, giving up the strength of the Pratzen plateau, further adding to Russian confidence. At the same time, orders were issued for Bernadotte and Davout to march.

Napoleon's chosen position extended from a steep fortified hill, known to his men as the Santon, just north of the Brünn-Olmütz road, southward through the villages of Jirzikowitz and Puntowitz, and along the Goldbach stream through Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz to Telnitz, a distance of about 7 miles. Lannes's V Corps formed the left of the army, anchored on the Santon. To his right, two of Soult's infantry divisions, under generals Dominique Vandamme and Louis St. Hilaire, respectively, stood behind Jirzikowitz and Puntowitz, leaving the three brigades of General Claude Legrand's division to cover the remaining 3 miles of the front line. The position suggested an overwhelming weakness on the French right. Bernadotte's I Corps maneuvered into a position in support behind Vandamme who, with St. Hilaire, was to provide the spearhead of the army; Murat's Cavalry Reserve was positioned to operate between Lannes and Soult. An army reserve formed of the Imperial Guard and General Nicolas Oudinot's Reserve Grenadiers stood close to headquarters on Zuran hill. Napoleon's plan was to tempt the Allies to throw their weight against his weak right, then occupy them with Davout's ar-

living III Corps, while his strong left attacked and drove a wedge into the rear of their army.

The task of drawing up the Allied battle plan fell to the one Austrian staff officer still respected by the Russians, Kutuzov's chief of staff, *Generalmajor* Franz Freiherr von Weyrother. Analyzing the limited knowledge he possessed of the French dispositions, Weyrother conceived the idea of a massive sweep by the Allied left and center through the weak right of the French position. As the French fell back before this onslaught, the Allied right would add its weight to the attack. Together, these thrusts would push the French north, away from their line of communications, or back on Brünn. This was exactly what Napoleon hoped for.

The Allies moved into position late on 1 December. Michael Freiherr von Kienmayer's Advance Guard of I Column took up a position close to the village of Augezd on the southern or left flank, with the main body of I Column, commanded by Dmitry Dokhturov, established at the southern end of the Pratzen plateau. Next in line came II Column under Louis Langeron, then III Column with Ignatii Yakovlevich Przhebishevsky at its head. General Fedor Buxhöwden held overall command of the three columns. The IV Column formed in the rear of III Column, directed by Johann Karl Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky and General Mikhail Miloradovich. The main cavalry force was designated V Column. On the northern flank, Prince Peter Bagration's Army Advance Guard lay across the Brünn-Olmütz road, while the Imperial Guard, the only reserve, occupied high ground not far from Allied headquarters in Krzenowitz. Such was Allied confidence concerning the weakness of the French position that no reserve was allocated to their left. The plan was aggressive, designed to hit the French with as much force as possible, preventing any escape.

The freezing night of 1–2 December passed and, as the Allies struggled to form their columns in the thick mist that shrouded the plateau, Napoleon issued final orders to his corps commanders. They were to wait until the Allies were committed to the attack. Soult remained at headquarters, ensuring Napoleon could directly order his divisions forward.

Kienmayer's Advance Guard of I Column, the Allied extreme left, opened the battle by advancing on the village of Telnitz. The French defenders, from Legrand's division of IV Corps, held the buildings tenaciously, and it was only after the main body of Dokhturov's I Column arrived an hour later and joined the attack that the French infantry fell back on their cavalry and artillery support. With Telnitz captured, Kienmayer's orders were to push on. However, Buxhöwden ordered him to halt. The plan called for the columns to advance together, but there was no sign of II Column, which should have been advancing on Dokhturov's right flank.

Confusion on the plateau delayed the start of II Column, but finally a brigade appeared, marching down the

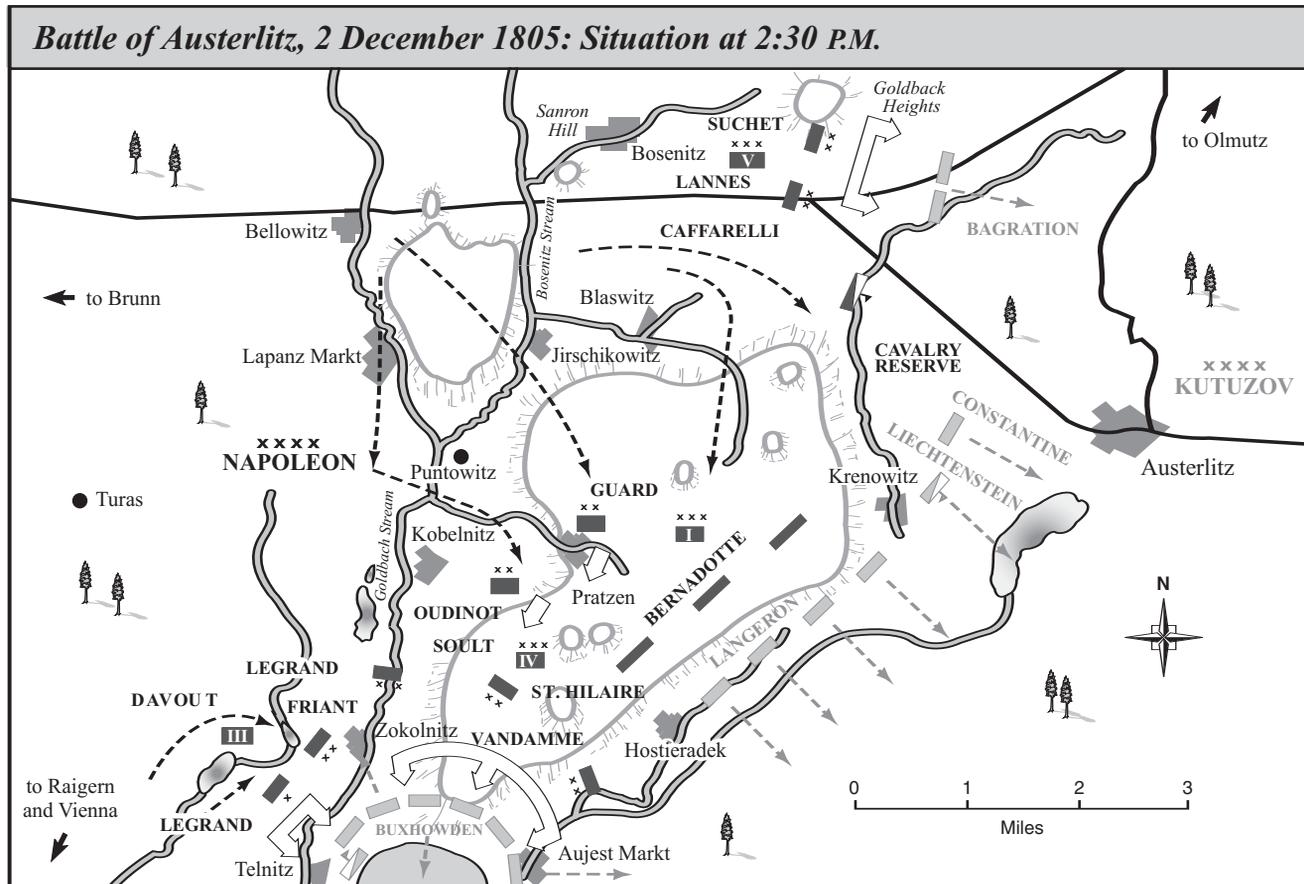
slope toward the Goldbach, although it veered to the right and came up against the village of Sokolnitz. Legrand's men, alerted by the attack on Telnitz, were ready. Langeron halted, ordering his artillery to bombard the village while he waited for his second brigade and the arrival of III Column.

As the bombardment continued, Przhebishevsky's III Column made a belated appearance. Finding Langeron further to the right than expected, III Column drew up opposite Sokolnitz castle, a large country house north of the village, defended by more of Legrand's determined men. Przhebishevsky immediately ordered an attack, and the castle changed hands three times before the French defenders finally fell back. At the same time, Langeron, still missing his second brigade, launched a successful attack against Sokolnitz village. As the Russians consolidated, fighting flared up again at Telnitz.

Following Napoleon's orders to press northward as fast as possible, the leading units of Davout's exhausted III Corps arrived southwest of Telnitz. Responding to a request for help, Davout sent an infantry brigade from Friant's division and a dragoon division toward Telnitz. Friant's remaining two infantry divisions pressed on toward Sokolnitz. The unexpected appearance of this new force before Telnitz caused panic among the defenders until a charge by Austrian hussars sent the French infantry flying, leaving Telnitz once more in Allied hands. Kienmayer again sought permission to continue his advance, but once more Buxhöwden refused, as II and III Columns had still not moved beyond Sokolnitz. Then, as the Russians finally prepared to advance, Davout threw Friant's two divisions forward. Langeron's sole brigade bore the brunt of the initial attack before driving the French back, but not before Przhebishevsky's men also faced a fresh attack. French aggression was proving effective, the main thrust of the Allied plan becoming bogged down on the Goldbach.

The IV Column was scheduled to commence marching an hour later than the first three columns, but it was about 9:00 A.M., two hours after the first move against Telnitz, before it finally got underway. The cause of the delay lay with V Column, the main cavalry force, part of which had bivouacked overnight in the wrong area and impeded other columns as it moved off. Jointly commanded by Miloradovich and Austrian *Feldzeugmeister* Kolowrat, IV Column was numerically strong, with about 12,000 men, but lacked quality. All fourteen Russian battalions had suffered attrition on the long march to the Bavarian border and back, while half the Austrian infantry were raw and inexperienced depot battalions.

At French headquarters Napoleon waited anxiously. The mist that had shrouded the Pratzen plateau cleared at about 8:00 A.M. and then, at last, he saw that the Allies were



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 429.

moving against his right as he had hoped. At about 9:00 A.M., with gunfire to the north confirming that Lannes was in action against Bagration and with continuing gunfire from the south, Napoleon ordered the two divisions of IV Corps, Vandamme and St. Hilaire, to march for the plateau, where he anticipated little resistance. As the leading units of the Allied IV Column approached Pratze, Soult's 16,000 men came into view. The three understrength Russian battalions and two squadrons of Austrian dragoons of the advance guard immediately prepared to defend Pratze. Kolowrat led his two Austrian brigades toward the Pratzeberg, the highest point on the southern end of the plateau, while Miloradovich prepared to defend Pratze and Staré Vinohrady, the high point on the northern end, with the advance guard and his two Russian brigades.

The French, believing there would be little opposition, sent only a battalion to clear Pratze. It was comprehensively repelled, but a second wave of General Paul Thiébault's brigade swept forward, and after a fierce struggle, five Russian battalions turned and fled, their retreat protected by the two squadrons of Austrian dragoons.

While Thiébault was clearing Pratze, the 10<sup>ème</sup> Légère (10th Light Infantry), the leading unit of St. Hilaire's division, bypassed the village heading for the Pratzeberg, intending to secure the high ground. The delayed Russian brigade of Langeron's II Column was finally marching for Sokolnitz when the commander, General Sergey Kamenski, observed this French force. He immediately sent word to Langeron before turning his brigade and heading back toward the plateau. Initially Kamenski's men pushed the outnumbered 10<sup>ème</sup> Légère back, but before they could outflank them, Thiébault rushed forward with the rest of his brigade and artillery support to stabilize the position. As the Russians and French engaged, Franz Freiherr von Jurczik's Austrian brigade of Kolowrat's command, making for the Pratzeberg, joined the attack, with Rottermund's brigade in support. The initial attack failed, and Kamenski and Jurczik fell back. It appears that Rottermund, isolated by this move and with confusion all around, ordered his men back toward the Allied position on Staré Vinohrady. The desperate battle for the Pratzeberg continued as Langeron rode up from Sokolnitz and, realizing the danger, immediately summoned reinforcements.

With ammunition running low, St. Hilaire was close to ordering a retreat, when he decided instead on a desperate bayonet attack against the Russians to ease the pressure on his command. Both sides had suffered heavy casualties, but the ferocity of the French assault proved too much for Kamenski's men, who turned and fled. Jurczik's men attempted to stem the tide, which they did, briefly, before also falling back. Two battalions, sent by Langeron to reinforce the position, arrived just as the Allies abandoned the Pratzeberg and were crushed between St. Hilaire's men and a brigade of Legrand's division that advanced from the Goldbach. The French were in undisputed possession of the Pratzeberg.

At the northern end of the plateau Vandamme brought his division up to Pratze. To the east of the village Miloradovich stood with his remaining five battalions, while Rottermund's Austrian brigade occupied Staré Vinohrady. The heavily outnumbered Russians held their ground for a while, but as the French began to outflank them and artillery fire increased, they gave way. Rottermund made a stubborn resistance, but, outnumbered 2 to 1 and with his flanks threatened, his line finally gave way. It was now about 11:00 A.M. and the French were masters of the Pratzen plateau from north to south. From his headquarters, Napoleon ordered an advance. Bernadotte's corps marched eastward, part of it climbing the plateau, as did the Imperial Guard and the Reserve Grenadiers.

As part of the Allied plan, Bagration, the Russian commander on the northern flank, was not to advance until it was clear the battle was underway in the south. To his left the cavalry of V Column occupied the area between him and the plateau. Opposing Bagration, Lannes's V Corps had similar orders, to delay an advance until the battle was underway. It was probably not until sometime between 9:00 and 10:00 A.M. that Lannes began to move. An attack by the Russian cavalry to arrest this movement brought a temporary halt but then developed into a confused series of cavalry melees. While these ebbed and flowed, a Russian attempt to outflank the French line failed, blocked by a fierce defense of the Santon strongpoint. As the cavalry combat continued, with the Russians facing the full weight of Murat's Cavalry Reserve, the Austrian cavalry faced one of Bernadotte's divisions, advancing north of the Pratzen plateau. The Russian cavalry resistance finally broke under the weight of a charge by General Etienne Nansouty's division, and the Austrians, now threatened in the flank by Vandamme's capture of Staré Vinohrady, also fell back. With the Allied cavalry threat removed, Lannes ordered his infantry forward again.

Bagration's infantry stood firm in the face of repeated French attacks. A forward position on Bagration's left, occupied by elements of the Russian Imperial Guard, finally

gave way under pressure and exposed his flank. Grudgingly, Bagration pulled back until two Austrian batteries arrived to offer much-needed support. Lannes's advance petered out in the face of this concentration of fire.

Back on Staré Vinohrady, Vandamme began to reform his division after the exertions of battle. Observing this, Grand Duke Constantine, commander of the Russian Imperial Guard, determined to prevent him from pushing on. Four battalions of Guard Fusiliers stormed forward, attacking a battalion of 4ème Ligne (4th Line Regiment) at bayonet point, forcing them to break. The Russian Guard infantry rushed on but stalled at a second French line and fell back. As they regrouped, the cavalry of the Russian Imperial Guard moved forward and crashed into the re-forming battalion of 4ème Ligne, capturing their eagle. The cavalry also broke a second French formation, the 24ème Légère (24th Light Infantry). Napoleon, who had now arrived on Staré Vinohrady, immediately ordered his Imperial Guard cavalry to attack. The ensuing melee absorbed the entire cavalry of both Imperial Guards, but the French benefited from the arrival of Drouet's division of Bernadotte's corps, behind which they were able to re-form before returning to the fight. Unable to sustain the action any longer, the Russian Guard fell back toward Krzenowitz, their retreat protected by the Guard Hussars.

With the Allied threat in the north neutralized and with control of the Pratzen plateau secured, Napoleon turned southward with Vandamme's division, followed by the Imperial Guard and the Reserve Grenadiers. He linked with St. Hilaire's division as he progressed, leaving Bernadotte to hold Staré Vinohrady. Down along the Goldbach, Legrand and Davout were still occupying the Allied attack columns when the French appeared on the plateau in the rear of the Allies at about 2:00 P.M. As St. Hilaire's division prepared to move off the plateau, Legrand extended his divisions toward them, and Davout launched fresh attacks to engage the Allies. Langeron and Przhemishevsky realized the battle was lost with the appearance of French troops on the plateau. Langeron extricated five of his nine battalions still fighting on the Goldbach and marched southward. Przhemishevsky attempted to fight his way out to the north but failed, and he surrendered near Kobelnitz.

While the French pushed toward Sokolnitz, Buxhöwden ordered Dokhturov and Kienmayer to retire eastward. As the leading units reached the village of Augezd, Vandamme's men appeared on the plateau above them, cutting this escape route. Veering to the right, the head of the column ventured onto the ice of the vast frozen Satschan pond, where a combination of French artillery fire and the weight of men and equipment caused the ice to break, dumping many into the freezing but shallow water. About

200 Russians died there. Those units following turned back, under the protection of a determined rear guard that held off all French attacks, and escaped across a causeway on the southern side of the pond. At about 4:00 P.M. the last Allied troops left the battlefield.

Austerlitz was a stunning victory for Napoleon, gained, with great dramatic effect, on the first anniversary of his coronation. On 4 December, at a meeting with the Austrian emperor, Francis, the two emperors signed an armistice. Tsar Alexander agreed to the terms and withdrew his army back to Russia. By the end of the month the war had officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Pressburg. The terms humiliated Austria, forcing it to pay a huge financial indemnity and give up large tracts of land. This further weakened Austria's already-waning influence in the German territories, leading the following year to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the creation of the French-dominated Confederation of the Rhine. The smoldering resentment caused by the imposition of these terms saw Austria resume hostilities four years later.

*Ian Castle*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich; Confederation of the Rhine; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Francis I, Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Guard (French); Kamenski, Sergey Mikhailovich, Count; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Langeron, Louis Alexander Andrault; Lannes, Jean; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Pajol, Claude Pierre; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Pressburg, Treaty of; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Souham, Joseph; Sault, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Victor, Claude Perrin; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Austerlitz Campaign

*See* Third Coalition, War of the

## Austria

Collective name for the lands under the personal rule of the Habsburg monarchs, formalized as the Austrian Empire in 1804, which fought in most of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. After the Holy Roman Empire ended in 1806, the Austrian Empire became more centralized and cohesive and began to create its own identity, but it was still run on a provincial basis. The core of the Empire was its western Hereditary Lands (*Erblande*) and Bohemian lands, balanced by the eastern Hungarian provinces. Additional territories in Italy, Germany, Poland, and the Netherlands, gained and lost across the period, created a multinational empire, which had been consolidating since the mid-eighteenth-century wars with Prussia but which was still economically weak and so needed allies to face the short-term challenge of France and the long-term threat from Russia.

The 1792 population of approximately 24.4 million was steady during the wars but increased rapidly at their end. The western core of the Empire comprised Bohemia (2.5 million people), Moravia (1.25 million), and Austrian Silesia (300,000), together what is now the Czech Republic; Lower Austria (1.6 million), Upper Austria (600,000), Styria (750,000), Tyrol (550,000), Vorarlberg (100,000), Carinthia (270,000), and Carniola (400,000), what is now modern Austria and Slovenia. The small counties of Gorizia-Gradisca and Istria plus the port city of Trieste at the northern end of the Adriatic made up the Littoral, with

a population of 200,000. The 1772 First Partition of Poland added Galicia-Lodermaria, and Turkey ceded the Bukovina in 1775, now southern Poland and western Ukraine, bringing the total population to 2.76 million.

The northern Italian possessions of Lombardy and Mantua, with 1.5 million people, were lost to the French, while Venetia with its population of 2 million, including its Dalmatian possessions, was acquired under the 1797 Treaty of Campo Formio. The Duchy of Tuscany, independent under the rule of the emperor's oldest brother, was lost in 1803, as was Venetia in 1805, but all were recovered in 1814. The wealthy Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium and Luxembourg), with 2 million people, were lost in 1794, and the small enclaves in southern Germany, collectively named the *Vorlande* (250,000), were ceded in 1803, but the territories of Brixen and Trent (enclaves in the southern Tyrol) were acquired in 1803. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Salzburg was acquired in 1805, adding another 200,000; in the same year, Tyrol was lost, not to be regained until 1814. The 1795 Third Partition of Poland added West Galicia (about 600,000), which was lost again in 1809 by the Treaty of Schönbrunn. In the east, Hungary, Croatia, Transylvania, and the Military Frontier (*Militargenze*)—now Hungary, Slovakia, the northern parts of Croatia and Serbia, northwest Romania, and western Ukraine, with a total population of 9.4 million—had been recovered from the Turks a century earlier.

Germans (23 percent of the total population) dominated the Hereditary Lands with scattered populations across the eastern lands, whose main population was Hungarian (14 percent) with Slovaks (5 percent) in the north, Romanians (7 percent) in the east, and Croats and Serbs (3 percent each) in the south. Italians and Flemings/Walloons (Belgians) were predominant in their provinces, while Czechs (11 percent) and Slovenes made up the majority in the Bohemian lands and Carniola, respectively. Galicia's and Bukovina's population was almost all Polish or Ruthene (Ukrainian), with large numbers of Jews and Romanians. Dalmatia's 260,000 people were largely Croatian with Serbian and Italian minorities. Gypsies (120,000), plus groups of Bulgars, Armenians, and Ladins were dispersed across the eastern territories.

The Empire was based on personal rule by the Habsburg monarch, Francis (Franz), who reigned as Holy Roman Emperor Francis II and, after 1804, as Emperor Francis I of Austria. Each province was governed by a governor (or viceroy), together with its own landtag or diet (provincial assembly), although in reality, the western assemblies were not summoned. Consequently, Vienna dealt with provincial administration through the Vereinigte Hofkanzlei (Joint Imperial Chancery) for the western lands, but it worked through the Hungarian and *Sieben-*

*burgen* (medieval German settler colonies) chanceries for the east. The senior administration positions were mostly held by the *Hochadel* (senior nobles), who formed a non-nationalist class owing allegiance to the monarch only, a situation that also encouraged minor German nobles who had joined as Holy Roman Empire officials to remain in Vienna after 1806, notably Grafs Stadion and Metternich.

In Vienna, the emperor was advised by the Staatsrat (Privy Council), whose members sent individual reports to him via his *Kabinett* (personal secretariat), although their personal status depended on their standing with the emperor. However, the heads of the three main departments—foreign affairs, defense, and finance—reported to the emperor directly. In the west, justice was conducted through the Oberste Justizstelle (Justice Ministry) and the police were led from their own *Hofstelle* (an imperial office reporting directly to the emperor) by Anton Pergen and, after 1805, Franz Freiherr Hager. Better coordination was achieved during the existence of the Staats- und Konferenzministerium (State Council) from 1801 to 1807, which enabled the three senior ministers (the foreign, defense, and interior ministers), the emperor, and the head of the *Kabinett*, plus three *Referendars* for specialist issues, to meet for discussion of policy questions. In 1802, the Interior Ministry broke up again into the Finance Ministry and Chancelleries. After 1808, the reconstituted Staatsrat held frequent meetings under Archduke Rainer, meetings also attended by the foreign and defense ministers.

Foreign affairs were directed from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatskanzlei, whose head (the director general) enjoyed considerable influence in key appointments, including those of army chiefs of staff. Wenzel Anton Fürst Prince von Kaunitz had retired as director general in 1792, followed briefly by Philipp Graf Cobenzl until he was sacked and replaced by Johann Freiherr von Thugut in 1793. Johann Ludwig Graf Cobenzl (Philipp's brother) and Franz Graf von Colloredo jointly held the post from 1801 to 1806. It was then held by Stadion until he was replaced by Metternich in late 1809. The imperial policy had initially been to attempt to contain the mayhem of the French Revolution, but after the Napoleonic regime was established, imperial policy gradually shifted toward an accommodation with France, which culminated in the dynastic marriage of Archduchess Maria Ludovika to Napoleon in 1810 and the alliance of 1812. Alliances with Russia in 1799 and 1805 and appeals to German nationalism in 1808 had ended in failure, so that after 1813, Austria aimed to be the balancing force in Europe.

Finance, directed by the Hofkammer (or Camera, that is, the treasury), was always a problem for the Empire, and British war subsidies made little impact. Imperial income

came from extensive Crown lands, supplemented by taxes paid by imperial free cities, mining operations, and the coinage minters, plus customs duties. The Hungarian and Transylvanian cameras were directly controlled by Vienna, but the Netherlands and Milanese cameras were independent, paying a proportion of any local financial surplus. The national debt, which rose from 417 million gulden in 1792 to 739 million in 1816, was administered by the Kreditdeputatio, and the Hofrechnungskammer (Court of Audit) supervised expenditure. The basic unit of Austrian currency was the gulden (or the florin, especially in Hungary), with an exchange rate of 3.2 French livres in 1796 and 14 British pence in 1799. It was divided into 64 kreuzer—in terms of buying power, one kreuzer was approximately equal to one modern U.S. dollar—and a kreuzer was further subdivided into 4 groschen.

With permanent budget deficits, the government resorted to issuing paper money to finance the wars. Known as the *Bankozettel*, 27 million gulden was in circulation by April 1792, rising to 46.8 million in 1796. After the debasement of silver and bronze coinage, the *Bankozettel* rose to 200 million gulden in 1800, so the discount rate (Augsburg quotation) began to move up from par—that is, face value (100)—to 115 in 1800 and 135 in 1804. By 1806, the *Bankozettel* was nearly 450 million gulden, with a discount rate of 175. By 1808, it was 650 million gulden, quoted at 315; aggravated by French counterfeit notes, the circulation was at 846 million, quoted at 469, by 1810. Despite establishing a *Finanzkommission* in 1806, where Archduke Charles (Erzherzog Karl) and Graf Chotek proposed the monetarist approach of withdrawing paper money, Finance Minister Karoly Graf Zichy only implemented a forced loan and an indirect tax surcharge. Inflation roared on, and by early 1811 Austria faced bankruptcy as the discount rose to 1,240 with 1,060 million gulden in circulation.

In February 1811 the new finance minister, Graf Wallis, issued a new *Finanzpatent*, which withdrew all *Bankozettel* and small coinage, replacing it with *Einlösungsscheine* (redemption notes) at a rate of 1 to 5, which cut interest rates from 5 to 2.5 percent. The *Einlösungsscheine* was quoted at 180, but, still unbacked, it continued to fluctuate wildly. By 1812 it had steadied to 139, but when a government pledge not to exceed 212 million gulden in circulation was broken by 45 million in 1813, the discount rate rose to 169 in October 1813, to 238 in April 1814, and to 408 in April 1815. Thereafter it moved between 300 and 360, with over 635 million in circulation. Inflation had been about nil until 1794, but thereafter it rose with the expansion of the *Bankozettel*, so that by 1801, prices had doubled from 1790. Between 1801 and 1804 inflation trebled the cost of living. After the drastic deflation

of the 1811 *Einlösungsscheine* change, inflation picked up again, before falling back in 1812.

The military was administered by the Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council), whose presidency was a politically contentious post that was held by Archduke Charles from 1801 to 1804. After the war against Turkey ended in 1791, military expenditure was reduced to 16.4 million gulden but then rose steadily to reach a nominal 87 million in 1801, before falling back sharply to 34.5 million in 1804. The 1809 war took the expenditure to 253.2 million, but it fell to 30.4 million *Einlösungsscheine* in 1811, rising again to 150 million annually for the campaigns of 1813–1814.

Aside from the mercantilist provinces of the Austrian Netherlands and Lombardy, the Habsburg dominions' economy was based on agriculture, which had flourished and modernized in the eighteenth century with state subsidies. Only in Bohemia, Lower Austria, and the mining centers (especially Styria) was there significant industry, mostly primary processing of agricultural and mining output or the production of military materials and Bohemian glass. The Empire was surrounded by a tariff wall on over 200 finished goods, but internal free trade meant that no licenses for factories were granted in Hungary to preserve the western undertakings. From 1809 until 1813 Austria was forced into Napoleon's Continental System, removing its tariffs against France.

Catholicism was the dominant religion, but freedom of worship had been guaranteed since the 1781 Edict of Toleration. Serbs, Romanians, and Ruthenes were Orthodox Christians, while the Protestants were mostly in Bohemia and the *Vorlande*, with outposts in Hungary and the *Siebenburgen* Saxon towns. German was the language of state administration, except in the Austrian Netherlands, Italy, and Hungary (which used Latin); Galicia was bilingual, Polish and Ukrainian.

Emperor Joseph II (reigned 1765–1790) had abolished the death penalty, but it was reintroduced for the most serious offenses when the criminal laws were codified in 1803, although minor penalties were reduced and crimes were separated from civil misdemeanors. The General Civil Code standardized the civil law in 1811. Trained staff in patrimonial courts, based in local manors or towns, administered justice, and above them, the Oberste Justizstelle coordinated the western lands' state courts and the chanceries in the east.

Below the nobles came the town burghers, who practiced trades and participated in local administration. The land was cultivated by peasants. Many peasants were free in the western lands, but most were unfree, which allowed them civil freedom and property rights but with obligations to their landlords. The peasants paid most of the state land taxes, and unfree peasants also paid taxes to their

lords in the form of cash or robot (free labor). Peasants also had to quarter and supply military units, for which they received little recompense. After 1783 every parish had to support its poor. Elementary education was compulsory, but it was based on practical subjects and religious instruction by inadequately paid teachers. Francis expanded secondary education, which was primarily designed for state servants, but only four universities existed, in Vienna, Pest, Prague, and Liège.

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*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Colloredo, Franz Graf von; Continental System; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Francis I, Emperor; Germany, Campaign in; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Lunéville, Treaty of; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Poland, Partitions of; Pressburg, Treaty of; Reichenbach, Convention of; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Stadion-Warthausen, Johann Philipp Graf; Third Coalition, War of the; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Vienna, Congress of

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## Austrian Army

Taking some part in every major war of the period, aside from the campaigns of 1806 and 1807 and the campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, the Kaiserlich-königliche Österreichische Armee (Imperial and Royal Austrian Army) was the most determined foe of the French but would fight alongside them in Russia in 1812. Its reputation for its capabilities, leadership, and battlefield performance is as mixed as the nationalities that served under its flags. Victorious at Neerwinden, Würzburg, Stockach, second Caldiero, Aspern-Essling, and Leipzig, it would impress Napoleon in the closely fought defeats of Marengo and Wagram before emerging triumphant in 1815. Although there was organizational and equipment reform throughout the period, the army's fundamental tactical deployment remained largely unchanged as it pursued its role as

the sole force that unified the Habsburg dominions. This position created a defensive outlook and a cautious approach to losses among its generals, many of whom clearly understood the French total war philosophy but knew that their own circumstances meant that they could not take the same risks.

The Austrian military was administered by the bureaucratic Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council) in Vienna. A civilian-military body, it also was the center of campaign planning, and so its president (often appointed because he was a supporter of the foreign minister) held considerable power, for the Hofkriegsrat appointed each army's senior command personnel. However, its failure to arrange proper supply systems for the armies greatly limited their operational capabilities. In 1801 as its newly appointed president, Archduke Charles reformed its organization, establishing three departments. The Military Department was responsible for overall management, artillery, engineering, and the Military Frontier; the Political-Administrative Department handled recruitment and remounts, equipment, logistics, salary, and medical services; while the Justice Department dealt with disciplinary matters.

At the start of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1792, the Austrian Army was already in some difficulty after suffering heavy losses in the 1788–1791 war against Turkey. On paper, its strength was almost 300,000 men, formed into seventy-seven infantry regiments (although this included seventeen *Grenzer* regiments and three garrison regiments), thirty-two cavalry regiments, three artillery regiments, and small technical units of pioneers (field laborers who built field fortifications and light bridges, and felled trees and other obstacles), sappers, engineers, and pontooniers. In 1798 the *Grenzer*, who served on the frontier with the Ottoman Empire, were separated into the seventeen National-Grenz regiments, while the fourth battalions of the twelve Hungarian regiments were concentrated into four new regiments and surplus hussar squadrons formed an additional two regiments. After the changes of 1801, necessitated by dramatic cuts in the military budget (expenditures fell from 87 million gulden in 1801 to 35 million in 1804), the organization stabilized at sixty-three infantry regiments (including two garrison regiments), a *Jäger* regiment, eight cuirassier regiments, six regiments each of dragoons and *chevaulégers*, twelve hussar and three uhlan (lancer) regiments, plus four artillery regiments together with the technical units of pioneers, pontooniers, engineers, sappers, and miners. In 1808 the *Jäger* were broken up to form the cadres of nine *Jäger* battalions, and following the 1809 war, eight infantry regiments were disbanded, although four were reraised in 1814 together with an extra uhlan and *chevauléger* regiment. Clear differences remained: Hungarian infantry regiments wore distinctive blue trousers with



In ferocious fighting, Austrian grenadiers attempt to storm the fortified granary in the village of Essling during the campaign of 1809 on the Danube. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

decoration on the trousers and on their jacket sleeves, while the other regiments, known as German whatever their origin, wore white breeches and black gaiters without the elaborate decoration. The Hungarians formed the hussar regiments, Galicians (mostly Poles) formed the uhlans, and men from the western areas formed the heavier cavalry. Bohemians and Moravians dominated the artillery and technical services.

Drawn from dominions spread from modern Belgium to western Ukraine with large Irish and Alsatian contingents, the army was heterogeneous in character. The troops came from a system of selective conscription and voluntary enlistment. The Hereditary and Bohemian Lands (western territories) and Galicia were subject to conscription, while the eastern Hungarian lands supplied troops on a voluntary quota basis. The Tyrol maintained its own militia, but it also supplied one regiment and men for the Jäger units by voluntary enlistment. Military service remained unpopular across the Empire, so neither the conscription system, with its many exemptions, nor voluntary enlistment, which sometimes included an element of sub-

terfuge, usually involving alcohol, was adequate. However, the title of Holy Roman Emperor held by the Habsburg monarch enabled the Austrians to recruit from many smaller German states, which supplied up to one-third of many regiments' strength until 1806, and this recruitment was a key source of educated men to become noncommissioned officers. Terms of service for conscripts were for twenty-five years (effectively for life for most), but volunteers usually signed up for a term of three or six years.

Much of Austria's light infantry was drawn from the *Militärgrenze* (Military Frontier), which protected the southern flank of the empire. In return for land, its inhabitants—a mix of Croats, Serbs, Germans, Szeckler, and Romanians—guarded the area in peacetime and in wartime provided two battalions for field service from each "Regiment" (an administrative unit, not a tactical formation). These seventeen regiments were augmented by a Tschaikisten Battalion, riverboatmen, who patrolled the Balkan rivers in shallow-draft vessels and supported the pontooniers in wartime. The *Grenzer* were deployed as light troops and, beginning in 1769, were also given basic

training in formal linear warfare, forming a hybrid similar to the French *légère* (light infantry) battalions. Various *Freiwillige* (volunteer) units augmented the *Grenzer* during the 1790s, many being briefly formed into the battalions of the 15th Light Infantry between 1798 and 1801. The shortage of light troops led to the Infantry Régiment 64 being broken up and expanded into the nine Jäger battalions in 1808, with additional *Freiwillige* battalions being formed in 1813.

The officer corps was even more multinational, with many European nationalities being represented. Like modern armies, the Austrian Army drew the bulk of its officers from volunteers and brighter enlisted men, who were appointed as Kadetts, although it was still possible for the wealthier to buy junior commissions. About a hundred officers a year came from the two military academies, the Theresianum at Wiener Neustadt and the Ingenieurschule in Vienna. Junior officers were appointed by the regimental command, nominally in the name of its *Inhaber* (honorary colonel), although *Stabsoffiziere* (senior regimental officers) were appointed through the Hofkriegsrat in the name of the emperor.

The senior command had been radically altered in 1759 with the wide extension of the authority of the chief of staff, whose responsibilities now covered all aspects of operations, notably planning and intelligence gathering. He became the general's chief adviser in planning and operations. The arrangement was designed to give the commander in chief more time to consider the strategic situation. The small peacetime staff comprised thirty officers, and in 1801 the world's first peacetime chief of staff, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Peter Freiherr von Duka, was appointed as planning powers were removed from the Hofkriegsrat. The role of the wartime chief of staff was further reformed until, in 1813, Johann Joseph Graf Radetzky von Radetz took up the modern role of directing the operational heads of department. In wartime the staff was expanded with junior officers, and some would form the staffs of the senior formation commanders to help them understand what headquarters planned.

The bravery of ordinary soldiers was rewarded either by a bounty or, beginning in 1781, gold and silver medals. Following the victory at Kolin in 1757, Empress Maria Theresa instituted the Order of Maria Theresa for bravery by officers (extended to the ordinary ranks from 1799). Twenty years' steady service or additional acts of bravery would also bring ennoblement of officers to the rank of Freiherr (landless nobility), and it was from these men that the bulk of the generals were drawn. The importance of the chief of staff did, however, allow some notional command by several archdukes.

In all the campaigns, the Army was divided up and allocated to the various theaters. Its command would then deploy senior commanders with staff support to each column (of the main army, often called a division) or *korps* (a force operating separately). The component brigades (led by *Generalmajors*) were fairly constant in their organization and would be allocated to the same armies where possible across the period. Just as the politicians directed the campaign goals, so the army headquarters issued multiple full copies of their plans to the commanders in the field. This gave them a grasp of the overall concept of operations but created other problems: such documents could fall into enemy hands (as happened at Rivoli), or the issuance of instructions could be delayed (as happened at Austerlitz). The considerably larger army of 1809 required a planning change, and in his draft organization of 1 March 1809 chief of staff *Generalmajor* Anton Mayer Freiherr von Heldensfeld divided the army up into eleven *korps*, with their commanders and staff. These were then grouped into the three armies. These forces were, however, adjusted as the war began in April to suit operational requirements. In 1813 a similar process occurred, although the forces were called *Armee-Abteilungen* (army subdivisions).

The Austrian Army that took the field in 1792 was a product of the reforms that had followed the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), although the process had already begun after the disastrous defeats of the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Maintenance of the army in peacetime was expensive, taking up fully 45 percent of the Empire's revenues, so it was constantly underfunded and lacked enough trained troops (the infantry regiment's third battalions being maintained only on a cadre basis). Following the Seven Years' War, the Army had been thoroughly overhauled by *Feldmarschall* Franz Moritz Graf Lacy's drill and uniform regulations of 1767–1769. They emphasized precise drill and linear maneuvers while expressing a strategic preference for operating on secure lines of communication from fortress depots.

The line infantry regiments consisted of three battalions (aside from Hungarian regiments, which had four until 1798). Each infantry regiment had two grenadier companies, which were formed into elite battalions. Beginning in 1796, these battalions formed reserves, either for immediate battlefield use or to exploit breakthroughs in the enemy lines. The infantry fought in three ranks, although the 1769 regulations provided for the third rank to form small platoons, which could be employed to extend a two-man-deep line, flank guards, or hit squads, which would be successfully employed against French skirmishers in the 1790s. Archduke Charles's 1796 *Observationspunkte* (military notes for his senior commanders) insisted that "regular, trained and ordered infantry, advancing in closed

ranks at the quick step, supported by guns, cannot be held up by skirmishers. . . . It should close with the enemy as rapidly and orderly as possible to drive them back and decide the action quickly. This is the method that saves lives; firing and skirmishing results in casualties and decides nothing.” No more than a third of the regular infantry were to be employed in broken terrain or clearing villages, so this was usually a task for *Grenzer* and volunteer units.

The cavalry was classified into two main groups: The *Schlachtenkavallerie* (battle cavalry, namely, cuirassiers and dragoons) and the *Leichte Kavallerie* (light cavalry, namely, the German *chevaulegers*, Hungarian hussars, and Galician uhlands). The latter were considered among the best in Europe and were employed mostly in scouting or screening missions, although the mass armies of the later wars increasingly required them to fight as formed battle units.

The artillery, based around the light and standardized system established in 1753 by Fürst Liechtenstein, was overhauled in 1808–1809. Previously, it had deployed its lighter guns as battalion support weapons (usually two 3-pounders per battalion, although a single 6-pounder would sometimes replace them in Germany), and the rest as a reserve, a mix of 6- and 12-pounder guns and 7-pounder howitzers plus the more mobile cavalry pieces: 6-pounder guns and 7-pounder howitzers, whose crews rode on the famous *Würst* seat on the trail. During the early wars and in the campaigns of 1813–1814, 18-pounder guns and 10-pounder howitzers were also deployed in the field. Rockets were added to the inventory in 1810 but only saw action at the siege of Hüningen in 1815. All enlisted men in the artillery were selected by strict standards, which included the ability to read and write. The artillery had regimental schools and also the unique Bombardier Korps school, where the best recruits were trained in advanced technical and military skills. The noncommissioned gun captains and many officers were drawn from their ranks, which formed the quickest route for an enlisted soldier to achieve senior rank.

Reform had been an ongoing process. The war with Turkey had led to the reform proposals by the Nostitz-Rieneck Commission of 1795 (known as the Unterberger commission after 1798). The Commission overhauled and standardized weaponry and equipment, notably in the adoption of the French 1777 musket and the new helmet for infantry and cavalry. Defeat in the War of the Second Coalition brought an incomplete period of change under Archduke Charles. Commissions were established to reform the infantry (under Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich) and cavalry (under Phillip Graf Grünne), although their proposals to abandon or simplify some drill would not be formally introduced until 1806–1807. The term of service was reduced in 1802 to prevent potential

conscripts from fleeing their homes: The infantry period was reduced to ten years, the cavalry to twelve, and the artillery to fourteen, although it was 1808 before the change was fully introduced, and in 1814 service in all arms was set at fourteen years.

The second reform period, 1806–1809, consolidated the plans of the first period. The greater density of troops on the battlefield and Austria’s loss of cavalry superiority led to the regulations formalizing the use of the Mass, a battalion in a closed-up column, which could be formed more quickly than a square. However, it was vulnerable to artillery fire, so the more popular formation was the division Mass. Formally a two-company variant of the battalion Mass, it was actually a return to the formations of the Turkish wars of a century earlier, when troops formed six deep (one company behind another) with the three masses placed *en echiquier* (chessboard style). Skirmisher training was also prescribed for the most intelligent men, who formed the third rank of the infantry line. In 1807 Charles issued a new *Dienstreglement* (service regulation), which humanized discipline but had to appeal to the common soldier’s sense of honor, as it was impossible to invoke nationalism within the multiethnic empire. To improve officer education, Charles began publication of the *Beiträge zum praktischen Unterricht im Felde* (Contributions to Practical Training in the Field) booklets and, for the generals, *Grundsätze der höheren Kriegskunst* (Principles of the Higher Art of Warfare).

For home defense, the eastern nobles were obliged to supply the manpower for Hungarian and Croatian *insurrectio* (untrained militia) battalions, which would prove largely ineffectual in combat in 1809. Stirrings of Germanic nationalism did prompt the war party and Archduke John to press for a similar institution in the western areas. In June 1808 the *Landwehr* (home defense militia) was established, intended to relieve regular troops from garrison and communications-protection duties. From these, *Freiwillige* battalions were raised in Vienna, Austria proper, Bohemia, and Moravia from men prepared to join the field armies. While they provided well-motivated and equipped battalions, their counterparts in the *Landwehr*, who wore grey smocks and large-brimmed hats over civilian clothing and were equipped with surplus weapons, performed badly when necessity required them to be drawn upon, notably at Wagram, where 15,000 were engaged. Charles had also planned reserve battalions in the conscription areas, made up of new recruits, who would receive basic training before being sent on furlough until war began—an idea copied by the Prussian *Krümpfer* system. Although nothing was done initially, after the 1809 war the infantry regiments used this system to train men, while standing strength remained at the level agreed at the Treaty of Schönbrunn. In 1813 the

troops were called in and formed a 4th and a few 5th battalions, designated as *Landwehr*, which by late 1813 enabled the Austrians to field the largest Allied contingent, numbering about 550,000 troops.

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*See also* Austria; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; John, Archduke; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Austrian Campaign

*See* Fifth Coalition, War of the



# B

## **Badajoz, First Siege of (26 January–11 March 1811)**

Situated on the southern bank of the river Guadiana, the fortified Spanish border town of Badajoz controlled the main southern route between Spain and Portugal. It was well fortified with the town on one side of the river and the powerful Fort San Cristobal—with eight rectangular bastions, each rising to about 30 feet above the ditch, and strong stone walls—on the other. The defenses were further strengthened by four outlying outworks, including the Picurina lunette and the Pardaleras fort facing the southern part of the city.

Badajoz was the object of two sieges in 1811: by the French under Marshal Nicolas Soult against the Spanish garrison between 26 January and 11 March, and by the British under General Sir William Beresford from 7 May to 12 May—interrupted by the need to drive off a relief force at Albuera—and resumed from 5 May until 19 June.

On 26 January 1811 Soult, with 6,000 men, arrived from Olivença and encircled the town, deploying his cavalry on the north side of the city and his infantry on the south. After French engineers determined that an attack from the south offered the best chance of success, with Pardaleras as the first object, Soult began digging trenches on the night of the twenty-eighth, with the first parallel begun on the night of the thirtieth. General Rafael Menacho, with a total of 5,000 troops at his disposal, launched a sortie on the following day, and although his troops took temporary possession of the French trenches, they failed to disrupt the enemy's operations, and on 2 February the first battery was in position. The Spanish made another sortie on 3 February, which entered the first parallel before being thrown back by the fortuitous arrival of French reinforcements under General Gazán.

Spanish fortunes improved on the fifth by the appearance of 5,000 men under Lieutenant General Gabriel Mendizabal, but Soult defeated them at Gebora before continuing with the siege. On 4 March Menacho sent forth yet

another sortie, which inflicted serious damage on the trenches and equipment but left Menacho dead, to be replaced by Brigadier General José Imaz. The Spanish made no further efforts at disrupting Soult's activity.

By 8 March the French had established a battery 60 yards from the fortress walls, and by the tenth the French had made a breach 70 yards wide. Soult, aware that a relief force was en route, became anxious to complete his work and demanded surrender. Aware that help was on the way in the form of an Anglo-Portuguese force under Beresford, Imaz called a council, the majority of whose members he found to be ill-disposed toward continued resistance. Notwithstanding his personal determination to carry on, Imaz capitulated on the afternoon of the tenth, his nearly 8,000 men marching out the following day. The Spanish had lost almost 2,000 killed and wounded, and another 1,000 sick were left behind in the city's hospitals. Soult had suffered 2,000 casualties, but he discovered rations sufficient to feed 8,000 men for more than a month, 150 pieces of artillery, 80,000 pounds of powder, 300,000 rounds of musket ammunition, and bridging equipment. A garrison of 5,000 troops under General Armand Phillipon was left to defend this vital stronghold.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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## **Badajoz, Second Siege of (5 May–19 June 1811)**

In the wake of the French defeat at Barrosa on 5 March, Viscount Wellington sent Sir William Beresford to capture the fortress town of Badajoz, held by General Armand

Phillipon and 5,000 French troops, in order to secure the defense of the northern Portuguese frontier. In light of news of the Allied victory at Barrosa, Marshal Nicolas Soult withdrew to Seville, leaving Marshal Adolphe Mortier with 11,000 troops to occupy Extremadura. By 22 March Beresford, situated about 40 miles from Badajoz, moved against Mortier at Campo Mayor, which he took on the twenty-sixth, before proceeding against Badajoz. By 20 April he had encircled the town and was temporarily joined by Wellington, who had ridden south to supervise operations. After providing Beresford with instructions, Wellington then returned north to join his army.

Beresford, finding he possessed no heavy artillery, took possession of the ordnance from the fortress at nearby Elvas, though many of these pieces were hopelessly obsolete; their brass barrels easily overheated, rapidly rendering them useless for purposes of prolonged firing. Siege works were begun on 5 May, with trenches being opened on the eighth. However, the stony ground in front of San Cristobal refused to yield to picks and shovels, and on the tenth Phillipon sortied from the town in an unsuccessful attempt to disrupt Beresford's operations. When news arrived on the twelfth that Soult was approaching with a relief column, Beresford was forced to abandon the siege in order to drive off the French, which he did at Albuera, 14 miles to the south, on the sixteenth. Meanwhile, Phillipon, in Beresford's absence, had sallied out and destroyed the abandoned siege works.

Following Beresford's victory over Soult at Albuera, the British were able to resume the siege on the nineteenth. Moreover, as a result of the British victory at Fuentes de Oñoro (3–5 May) and the fall of the Portuguese border fortress of Almeida, Wellington was able to reinforce Beresford with two additional divisions, bringing total Allied forces up to 22,000 men, now under Wellington's personal command. Nevertheless, with his operations hampered by insufficient numbers of engineers and guns—and with much of the artillery proving of inadequate caliber—he made but little headway, a circumstance further complicated by the fact that the attack was not concentrated on the weakest point of the enemy's defenses.

Wellington's first object was to capture the fort of San Cristobal, which stood on the opposite side of the river. On 6 June, after the besiegers had made a breach in the walls of the fort, an assault was launched. It failed—at a cost of 92 killed and wounded out of 180 attackers—principally because the breach was too high up the wall for scaling ladders to be used. After further bombardment enlarged the breach, another attempt at escalade was made, with 200 men on 9 June. This assault also failed, leaving most of the officers leading the attack lying dead and wounded among the rubble of the glacis. In all, the British

suffered 140 casualties—about 70 percent of their attacking force.

On 10 June, learning that marshals Marmont and Soult were approaching, Wellington decided to abandon the siege. The guns and ammunition were withdrawn on the twelfth, with the blockade continuing another four days. Soult and Marmont entered Badajoz on the nineteenth. The siege of Badajoz—the first experience of its kind for Wellington—demonstrated his inadequate grasp of this essential element of warfare in the Peninsula. His next attempt to take the city, though successful, would prove even costlier.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Almeida, Sieges of; Badajoz, First Siege of; Barrosa, Battle of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Badajoz, Third Siege of (16 March–6 April 1812)**

With Ciudad Rodrigo in his hands, the Duke of Wellington moved south to lay siege once more to Badajoz, by far the strongest French-held fortress on the Portuguese border. Once again Wellington deceived the French by leaving a thin screen of cavalry behind while his main army marched south without being detected.

Badajoz, capital of Extremadura, was a much more formidable proposition than Ciudad Rodrigo and had been besieged twice before by the British, in May and June 1811. This time Wellington hoped to be more successful. Its fortifications formed an enclosure of nine bastions connected by walls ranging in height from 20 to 46 feet, and it had a castle that acted as a citadel. The town was also covered by several outworks, the fort of San Cristobal, a smaller fortification called the lunette Werle, and the Tête du Pont, a fortified bridgehead, all on the right bank of the Guadiana and linked to the town by a Roman bridge. On the left bank were the lunettes Picurina, Pardaleras, and San Roque, all strong outworks covering the southern approaches to the town. Inside the town the French garrison consisted of around 5,000 men of all ranks, including a detachment of the crack German Hesse-Darmstadt Regi-

ment. Commanding these troops was the governor of the town, Armand Phillipon, who was to prove a brave and resourceful adversary.

Wellington decided to attack Badajoz by breaching its walls on the southern side at the Santa Maria and Trinidad bastions, and on 16 March 1812, 3,000 British troops broke ground about 1,000 yards from Picurina. The weather was atrocious, with high winds and cold, heavy rain, and for the first week or so the weather was as bad as any of the men digging could remember. Each day saw the unmasking of a new battery, but the French themselves were not idle, constructing all manner of defensive works to make the forthcoming assault all the more dangerous. One of the most effective works constructed by the French was a dam built at the lunette San Roque. This dam across the Rivellas had created a false lake or inundation in front of the British trenches, which meant that their attack would have to be made across the front of the French guns. This would inhibit them in their approach and was to cause the stormers many problems. Attempts were made to blow it up, but none were successful. On the night of 25 March, 500 men of the 3rd and Light Divisions stormed Fort Picurina, and next morning work got underway constructing batteries inside it.

Throughout the rest of March and until 5 April the British guns blasted away attempting to breach the Santa Maria and Trinidad bastions. They were reported practicable at sunset on the fifth, but even as he inspected them through his telescope Wellington was informed that approaching French armies were just a few days away. He knew that to take the fortress by storm would cost him hundreds of casualties, but time was running out so he gave orders that Badajoz was to be stormed on 6 April.

Wellington timed the assault to begin shortly before 10:00 P.M. Thomas Picton's 3rd Division was to cross the Rivellas and take the castle by escalade (scaling); the 4th Division, under Major General Charles Colville, was to storm the breach in the Trinidad bastion; the Light Division was to storm the Santa Maria bastion, and finally, Lieutenant General James Leith's 5th Division was to take Fort Pardaleras and continue on to storm the San Vicente bastion by escalade. A detachment under James Wilson of the 48th Division, meanwhile, was to take the lunette San Roque. It will be noted that the attacks by the 3rd and 5th Divisions were intended to be just diversionary; the breaches were the main points of attack. Yet as we shall see, these two escalades were to prove the decisive factors in the storming of Badajoz.

First into action was the detachment under Wilson attacking the San Roque. After a brief fight the fort was taken with little resistance from the French. Shortly afterward the main attack began. The "Forlorn Hope" (an advance

storming party meant to draw the enemy's first fire ahead of the main assault) went first, followed by the storming parties who dashed forward to the edge of the ditch, placed their ladders in position, and descended. More British troops stormed forward, and soon the ditch was filled with men crowding together. Suddenly a bright flame shot up, exposing the British to the French who had been watching and waiting for the ditch to fill up before lighting the fuses that would explode the mines beneath it.

Some British troops who survived the first rush forward said afterward that it was like a volcano. The columns were blown to pieces by the mines and by the incredible fire of grapeshot and musketry that was poured into the ditch from the ramparts. Hundreds of men were swept away in an instant. By now both the 4th and Light Divisions were mixed together, both divisions desperately trying to fight their way through the breaches.

But in spite of the notably brave attempts by the British to mount the breaches, no impression could be made, and the French, gaining in confidence, came forward, jeering and inviting the British to "come into Badajoz." Not a single British soldier had entered the town even though over forty rushes had been made at the breaches. The situation was critical. The dead lay in ever-increasing heaps, many of them burning, while the wounded crawled and staggered around in the darkness seeking shelter. As the frustrated and despairing troops were driven back, the desperate British attacks began to fade, leaving behind nearly 2,000 of Wellington's best men smashed upon the defenses.

The attack on the castle by Picton's 3rd Division had been raging with equal ferocity. Picton, in fact, had been wounded early in the attack and command passed to Major General James Kempt. The British troops had first to cross the Rivellas, which was done by either wading through the water or by crossing the dam.

When the enraged British troops finally got to the castle walls, they quickly placed the ladders and mounted. At the top they were met by French defenders armed with bayonets, muskets, and pikes; the defenders simply pushed the ladders from the walls to send the British crashing down among the crowds of soldiers waiting below. However, just as the French began to sense victory, Colonel Henry Ridge, of the 5th Regiment, seized one of the ladders and placed it against the castle where the wall was lower and where an embrasure afforded the men some protection. Ridge called out to his men to follow him, and soon the ladder was crowded from top to bottom—so quickly, in fact, that before the French could push it away the weight had become too great and held the ladder firmly in place against the wall. Ridge pressed on with his sword guarding his head and with the bayonets of those behind

him thrust upward to protect him. In spite of the odds, he soon stood on the castle ramparts.

The British troops rushed up the ladders to support him, and at last the tide seemed to turn in their favor. More British troops came up to consolidate the position, and soon the castle was in British hands. Ridge, the first man to enter the town, was shot dead soon afterward as he led his men through the gloom of the castle, which Phillipon had hoped would provide a last place of refuge if the British attacks on the breaches were successful. Now that hope had gone, and with it went all hope of holding the town.

At the San Vicente bastion the 5th Division had also escalated the high walls, the men climbing the walls in the face of stiff opposition. Once inside, they made for the breaches with bugles sounding the advance, and when they were answered by those of the 3rd Division, all French resistance at the breaches collapsed.

It was now about 2:00 A.M. on 7 April, and Badajoz was finally in British hands. Phillipon managed to escape across the Guadiana to the fort of San Cristobal, where he and his staff surrendered a few hours later.

In all, the siege and capture of Badajoz cost Wellington some 5,000 men, of whom 3,000 had become casualties during the assault itself, including five generals: Picton, Kempt, Major General Barnard Ford Bowes, Brigadier General William Maundy Harvey, and Colville, who were wounded. The 4th and Light Divisions suffered 1,000 casualties, all of whom were struck down in a small area just 100 yards long in front of the breaches.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Badajoz, First Siege of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Siege Warfare; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince (1765–1812)

Peter Bagration, a prominent Russian military commander, descended from the Bagration royal dynasty of Georgia. He was raised in the remote town of Kizlyar, in Daghestan, and received a basic education at garrison school. He joined the Russian Army in 1782 and participated in a number of campaigns in the northern Caucasus and in the Crimea in 1782–1791. He served under the famous field marshal Alexander Suvorov at Ochakov in 1788, in Poland in 1793–1794, and in Italy and Switzerland in 1799. Commanding the advance and rear guards of the Russian forces, he distinguished himself at the battles of Tidone, the Trebbia, and Novi in Italy, as well as during the crossing of the St. Gotthard Pass and the storming of the Devil's Bridge in the Alps in September 1799. In 1800–1804, he served as commandant of the imperial residence at Pavlovsk.

In 1805 Bagration commanded the rear guard of the Austro-Russian army and fought with determination at Lambach and Amstetten. At Schöngraben (Hollabrünn) on 16 November 1805, he commanded 7,000 men against 30,000 French under marshals Murat and Lannes. Losing two-thirds of his force, Bagration halted the French for over eighteen hours and let the main Allied forces escape to safety. At the Battle of Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, he commanded the right wing of the Allied army and successfully contained superior French forces. After the battle he covered the Russian army's retreat to Hungary. In 1807 Bagration commanded the Russian advance and rear guard and distinguished himself at the battles of Eylau, Heilsberg, and Friedland. During the Russo-Swedish War of 1808, he commanded the 21st Division and successfully occupied southwestern Finland. In the spring of 1809 he led the famous march across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia and precipitated the coup d'état in Stockholm.

The same year he was appointed commander in chief of the Army of Moldavia against the Turks. He immediately launched an offensive, capturing the fortresses of Macin, Constanta, and Girsov and reaching Cavarna and Bazardjik. On 16 September 1809 he defeated the Turks at Rassevat, and on 22 September he besieged Silistra, forcing the Grand Vizier, Yussuf, to halt his invasion of Serbia and



General Prince Bagration, a distinguished Russian officer, served in the wars against the Swedes and Turks, as well as the French. He died of wounds received at the Battle of Borodino in 1812. (George Dawe [1781–1929]/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

Wallachia. Bagration fought to draw a superior Turkish army at Tataritsa on 22 October, repulsed the Turkish advance to Silistra, and succeeded in taking Ismail and Braila. In March 1810 he resigned after a disagreement with the tsar on overall strategy, and for over a year (March 1810–August 1811) he traveled in Europe and Russia arranging his private affairs.

In 1812 Bagration commanded the 2nd Western Army and successfully eluded Napoleon's enveloping maneuvers, achieving victories at Mir and Romanovo. He outmaneuvered Marshal Davout at Mogilev and joined General Barclay de Tolly at Smolensk. On 7 September he commanded troops on the Russian left flank at Borodino, and he fiercely defended the *flèches* (arrow-shaped earthworks or redoubts deliberately left open at the rear) against the main French attacks on that day. However, he was seriously wounded by a shell splinter in his left leg and died of complications on 24 September at Simy in Vladimir *gubernia* (province). He was buried in the local church, but in 1839 his remains were transferred to the Great Redoubt on the Borodino battlefield.

Bagration's character was remarkably complex. On the one hand, he was kind, courteous, taciturn, and restrained. He was idolized by the troops, who called him Bog-rati-on (God of the Army). On the other hand, he was a man of uncontrolled, ambitious, and violent temper who ex-

pressed his feelings in a passionate manner and frequently made unjust and malicious statements. In 1812 he played a controversial role by supporting a group of officers demanding the resignation of the minister of war, Barclay de Tolly, and an immediate offensive against Napoleon. This strategy would have been catastrophic to the Russian armies at the opening stages of the campaign. Bagration was a brilliant tactician and was an extremely effective commander at corps level. However, he lacked military education and often could not comprehend grand strategy.

He was married to Catherine Skavronskaya, but the marriage proved unhappy. Skavronskaya, known also as Princess Bagration, left her husband in 1801 and lived abroad for the rest of her life. Nicknamed "Naked Angel," she was involved with Klemens Graf Metternich and Tsar Alexander I and played an important role at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amstetten, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Borodino, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Hollabrunn, Action at; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Mogilev, Action at; Novi, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; St. Gotthard Pass, Actions at the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Trebbia, Battle of the; Vienna, Congress of

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## **Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at (19 July 1808)**

Bailén was the scene of a major French defeat at the start of the Peninsular War. Sent to occupy Cádiz in May 1808, a French army under General Pierre Dupont advanced as far as Córdoba, but it then heard of the approach of a much larger force of Spanish regulars under General Francisco de Castaños and fell back to Andújar. Unwilling



General Dupont surrenders his army to the Spanish at Bailén, an event that broke the myth of Napoleonic invincibility. (Print after Maurice Orange from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

to mount a frontal attack on Dupont, the Spanish commander then resolved on a risky attempt at encirclement, sending the divisions of General Teodoro Reding and the Marqués de Coupigny eastward along the southern bank of the river Guadalquivir in order to get behind the French at Bailén. There followed a comedy of errors: The Spanish encircling force cut the road to Madrid, only to retreat back across the river, while the division sent to clear the road by Dupont—that of General Dominique Vedel—wrongly assumed they had moved northeast to occupy the passes of the Sierra Morena and set off in hot pursuit, leaving Reding and Coupigny free to reoccupy Bailén. Uncertain as to what was happening in his rear, on the evening of 18 July Dupont decided to evacuate Andújar and join Vedel. Marching through the night, he reached a range of low hills that ran to the west of Bailén near dawn the next day, only to be suddenly fired upon by Spanish pickets. With the way blocked, Dupont could only deploy for battle. Possessed as he was of some 10,000 men, he should easily have been able to break through: The Spanish had themselves been taken by surprise and were deployed in an improvised line that was everywhere over-

looked by the French positions. But in the event he panicked. Brought up piecemeal, his troops, who were in any case mostly of limited quality, were easily repulsed, and by late afternoon the French were in disarray. Dupont himself was wounded, some 2,000 other men were down, and the survivors were exhausted, demoralized, and tortured by heat and thirst. To the west, meanwhile, Castaños's other two divisions had advanced from Andújar and were now closing in for the kill. In consequence, not even the coming of Vedel could save the day; when that general at last came up, having taken twelve hours to cover the 20 miles that separated him from Dupont, his superior had already requested an armistice.

In the negotiations that followed, it was finally agreed that Vedel's column should lay down its arms along with that of Dupont, but that in exchange the 17,000 men involved in the capitulation should all be repatriated to France. (These terms were not honored: Apart from Dupont and a few other officers, the prisoners were eventually sent to the island of Cabrera, where most of them died of starvation.) All this, of course, was a major humiliation for Napoleon, opponents of his rule being every-

where much encouraged. But for the Allies it was a double-edged sword: Much overconfidence was engendered in the Spanish camp, while the exaggerated expectations encouraged in London later created great problems for the Anglo-Spanish alliance.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Cabrera; Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Peninsular War; Prisoners of War; Spanish Army

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### Balcombe, Betsy (1802–1871)

Of all the women in Napoleon's life, Betsy Balcombe was surely one of the most interesting. When Napoleon arrived on St. Helena in 1815 to begin his exile, his eventual living quarters, a house known as Longwood, were not ready. Napoleon was lodged in a house in Jamestown, but he immediately grew to dislike being in a crowded town. On the way back from a visit to inspect Longwood on his first full day on the island, he stopped to visit William Balcombe and his family, which included Balcombe's daughter Betsy.

The two men got along well, and Balcombe offered his own home, known as the Briars, to Napoleon. The former Emperor graciously declined the offer but did agree to stay in a summer home on the grounds. It was nicely situated with trees, a fishpond, and walking paths. The British quickly provided additional structures to serve as an eating hall and study, and Napoleon settled in. He spent his days working on his memoirs and getting exercise, and evenings were often spent socializing with the Balcombe family.

Betsy Balcombe was fourteen years old and something of a tomboy. She and Napoleon developed an excellent relationship, with Napoleon serving as something of an uncle to the girl. They would tease each other constantly, and Betsy would ask questions that others might not have dared to ask. Napoleon gave her virtually free access to him, even allowing her to interrupt meetings (much to the annoyance of some of his staff). The two would play games, talk about his career, and generally just enjoy each other's company.

As nice as his stay at the Briars was, it soon came to an end when the British forced Napoleon to move to Longwood on 10 December 1815. Though their parting was sorrowful, Napoleon and Betsy continued their relationship, with Napoleon even escorting her to a ball. During

her visits to Longwood Betsy could observe first hand the petty politics and restrictions enforced by Sir Hudson Lowe. Lowe, the governor of the island, in turn became suspicious of the Balcombes, whom he forced to leave the island in 1818.

In time, Betsy married and became Lucia Elizabeth Abell. She wrote her memoirs of her time with Napoleon, and these memoirs give us one of the most poignant images of Napoleon available. They are certainly among the most important to emerge from Napoleon's exile on St. Helena.

Betsy eventually met Napoleon's brother Joseph and came to the attention of Napoleon III, who gave her land in Algiers. She died in London at the age of sixty-nine. Her memoirs, long out of print, have recently been republished.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Lowe, Sir Hudson; St. Helena

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### Ballesteros, Francisco

*See* López Ballesteros, Francisco

### Balloons, Observation

A French technological development used by both the military and civilians. The smaller, hydrogen-filled balloons were used fairly unsuccessfully by French army spotters during the 1790s, while civilians mainly used the larger, hot-air version.

The first balloons were flown in 1783: a hot-air balloon by the brothers Joseph-Michel and Jacques-Etienne Montgolfier and a hydrogen-filled balloon by Jacques Charles. The hydrogen-filled version was developed for military use by General Jean Baptiste Meusnier and then by the chemist Guyton de Morveau, whose first message-carrying balloon was launched during the siege of Condé in 1793. Jean Coutelle and Nicolas Conté developed a way to manufacture hydrogen, separating it from water in a brick oven.

A balloon base was established at Meudon, where experiments continued into 1794 and the *Première Compagnie d'Aerostiers Militaire* (First Military Balloon Company) was created with twenty-seven former artisans. Four balloons were built, each with a 10-meter silk envelope, sealed with varnish, and carrying underneath, in a small wooden gondola, two men who used lights and flags to

relay information or dropped messages. The *Empreuveur* balloon flew in March to an altitude of 450 meters, from where observers could see terrain detail as far away as 10 kilometers and troops as far away as 22 kilometers. However, the round balloons could not be steered and so had to be tethered. Filling the envelope would take up to fifty hours, so balloons had to be transported fully inflated.

The first military observations were made aboard the *Entreprenant* at Mauberge in June 1794, providing information about Austrian deployments from an altitude of 350 meters, and flew during the French victory at Fleurus on 26 June. At Meudon, a second balloon company was formed. Cylindrical balloons with 5-meter-tall envelopes, which were less prone to spin, were developed, and twenty would join the French armies during the War of the First Coalition. A balloon was sent on the Egyptian expedition in 1798, but it was lost at the Battle of the Nile. Asked to report on the balloon service, the French general Jean-Baptiste Jourdan opposed their further use because they were difficult to move and could not be effective in battle, observations being especially poor in turbulent air. The Directory disbanded the companies and closed Meudon in 1799.

One more observation balloon was constructed during Governor Lazare Carnot's defense of Antwerp in 1814, but proposals for free-flying balloons, included in the painting, *The Project for the Invasion of England*, never came to fruition. The first cross-Channel flight was flown in a hydrogen balloon in 1785 by Jean-Pierre Blanchard and John Jefferies. Jordaki Kurapento made the first emergency parachute jump from a balloon in 1807. One balloon with its 1.05-meter-tall gondola (probably the *Entreprenant*), which was captured by the Austrians at Würzburg in 1796, survives in the Vienna Army Museum.

David Hollins

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; Fleurus, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Nile, Battle of the; Würzburg, Battle of  
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## Bank Crises (1811)

Twenty years of war and the Anglo-French trade war led to financial crises in the United Kingdom, France, and Aus-

tria. Britain was forced to adopt paper money as currency; Austria declared bankruptcy; France's Treasury increasingly relied on short-term loans; and the Continental System collapsed.

The United Kingdom's trade had declined severely since 1806: Exports fell from £61 million in 1810 to £39.5 million in 1811. Gold was flooding out to pay for the Peninsular War, reaching £10 million by 1810, and as the national debt approached £800 million, confidence ebbed. British 3 Percent Consolidated Debt bonds (government bonds), which paid a fixed annual £3 in interest in perpetuity until withdrawn, so the actual value changed to reflect the returns expected by buyers, fell from a steady £68 to £64.2 in 1811, and the income tax rate rose to 19 percent. Despite a credit system and a huge trade-based capacity to borrow, the United Kingdom could not obtain enough gold specie and resorted to making paper banknotes into convertible currency on 10 May 1811, further stoking inflation. As finished goods remained in warehouses, unemployment rose, and September 1810 saw a wave of company bankruptcies. The consequent economic depression, which lasted until 1812, led to the Luddite movement in 1811.

Napoleon's Continental System had broken French commerce by 1811. The franc rose in value, but exports fell from 456 million francs in 1806 to around 350 million in the 1809–1811 period, as raw materials could not be imported and the wars damaged internal and European demand. Widespread bankruptcies brought a costly expansion of the public works program to 154 million francs in 1811, while inflation in foodstuffs raged at 30 percent. Despite a tax on tobacco in 1811, the government deficit rose from 155 million francs in 1810 to 200 million in 1811. In May 1811, the French 5 Percent Rentes (the French equivalent of British Consolidated Debt bonds) were attacked by speculators, forcing them below Napoleon's designated floor of 80. Only expensive market intervention by the financial chief, Nicolas François, comte Mollien, and a new floor of 78 prevented a collapse. Lacking both a sophisticated credit system and the trade to finance it, the Napoleonic government was forced to raise short-term loans from the Bank of France. In 1811 Napoleon told Mollien: "If I am declaring a new war, it is for some great political interest, but also in the interest of my finances, and precisely because they look weak" (Mollien 1898, 3:69). Anglo-French tensions were eased in November 1811 by greatly increased licensed trade, which effectively broke the Continental System, but the 1810–1812 depression damaged Napoleon's support among the middle classes. By 1811 Austria's paper currency was almost worthless, with over 1 billion gulden in circulation and rampant inflation. On 15 March finance minister Joseph

Freiherr Wallis produced the *Finanzpatent* (Finance Order), which withdrew all the *Bankozettel* (paper money issued to help finance the army when the government ran out of coinage) and small coinage, replacing them with *Einlösungsscheine* (redemption bonds) at a rate of one new for five old at the same face value. It was a drastically deflationary measure, but it halved the interest on state loans to 2.5 percent.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austria; Continental System; France; Great Britain; Peninsular War

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### Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas (1761–1818)

Also known by his Russian name, Mikhail Bogdanovich Barclay de Tolly, governor-general of Finland, Russia's minister of war, field marshal, and prince, led Russian armies against Napoleon, gaining great distinction. He was born of a Scottish immigrant family in Livonia, a historic region of Latvia and Estonia on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea contested by Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia. Educated in Russian military schools, Barclay rose through the ranks of the Russian Army, fighting against the Turks in 1788–1789 and against the Swedes and Poles in 1790 and 1794, respectively. His distinguished service earned him the ranks of colonel in 1798 and then major general in 1799. During the Napoleonic Wars, Barclay led Russian forces at the Battle of Pultusk in December 1806 and at the Battle of Eylau in February 1807, fighting under General Levin Bennigsen, for which he was promoted to lieutenant general. He campaigned against the Swedes in Finland in 1808 and captured the town of Umea in northern Sweden after marching across the Gulf of Bothnia in 1809.

As a reward for his services he was appointed by Tsar Alexander I to serve as governor-general of Finland from June 1809 to February 1810, and he headed the Senate of the government in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. He represented the tsar in Finland and received his instructions from him, allowing Finland to be controlled by Russian interests. Barclay replaced Georg Magnus Sprengtporten, who had served as governor-general from 1 December 1808 to 17 June 1809, for the tsar believed Barclay de Tolly could successfully defend Finland against other European rivals. His successful political administration in Finland led the tsar to appoint him Russia's



General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly. The large-scale military reforms he introduced in the Russian Army prior to the French invasion of 1812 did much to improve the effectiveness of Tsar Alexander's forces. (George Dawe [1781–1929]/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

minister of war in 1810. He was succeeded in Finland as governor-general by Fabian Steinheil, who governed from 1810 to 1824.

Serving as Russia's minister of war, Barclay de Tolly oversaw the defense of Russia against Napoleon's invasion in June 1812, and he continued in this post until the following year. As Napoleon invaded Russia, Barclay de Tolly took to the field once again in command of one of the Russian armies, fighting at Ostrovno and Smolensk. Barclay accepted a military position supporting Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, who commanded the army retreating before Napoleon's advance. He acted under great stress, since the majority of the senior officers opposed his strategy and the public called for his removal. Barclay distinguished himself at the Battle of Borodino on 7 September and aided in the Russian strategic withdrawal to save the remaining forces. However, he was later forced to leave the army in October 1812. Following the Russian withdrawal from the bloodbath at Borodino, Napoleon was allowed to enter Moscow on 14 September, but Kutuzov's forces later

defeated the French at Maloyaroslavets, and the long retreat from Moscow during the winter of 1812 all but destroyed the Grande Armée.

Barclay de Tolly returned to the army and fought in the 1813 campaign in Germany, receiving the post of commander in chief of the Russian forces following the Battle of Bautzen on 21 May. Bautzen had resulted in a French victory over combined Russian and Prussian forces, and the tsar sought a new military leader in Barclay following Kutuzov's death on 28 March. It was a great honor for him to have been chosen, since, owing to his Scottish ancestry, he was viewed as a foreigner. He commanded Russian forces at the battles of Dresden (26–27 August), Kulm (29–30 August), and at Leipzig (16–19 October), where the Allies defeated Napoleon and forced him to retreat back to France. He became a count in the wake of the Battle of Leipzig and pursued Napoleon's army to Paris during the campaign of 1814.

Barclay de Tolly was promoted to the rank of field marshal, and his achievements were publicly acclaimed in Russia. He returned to Russia following the signature of the Treaty of Paris in 1814, but he was called to service once again as commander in chief of Russian forces in 1815 following Napoleon's escape from Elba. The Russian army was not engaged before Waterloo brought the campaign to an end in June of that year. Following the peace, the tsar bestowed the title of prince on Barclay de Tolly, who then retired to Insternburg.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Bautzen, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Borodino, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Finland; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kulm, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Leipzig, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Ostrovno, Battle of; Paris, First Treaty of; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Smolensk, Battle of

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**Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas,  
vicomte de (1755–1829)**

A Provençal nobleman, Paul Barras rose to become a prominent Revolutionary and one of the most powerful

members of the Directory, contributing to the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte's military career.

Barras was born on 30 June 1755 at Fox Amphoux in Var; his family had an ancient pedigree, tracing its history to the thirteenth century. In 1771 young Barras joined the regiment of Languedoc, and rising to the rank of captain, he transferred to Pondicherry in 1776. After four years in India, Barras participated in colonial expeditions in North America from 1781 to 1784. Returning to Paris, he was unable to find a lucrative position and became disillusioned with the government. Despite his nobility he became a committed republican and joined the Jacobin Club. In July 1789 he took part in the events leading to the fall of the Bastille. Over the next three years, Barras honed his skills in the politics of the new order, was elected deputy from Var to the National Convention in September 1792, and voted for the king's death at the trial of Louis XVI. In 1793–1794 he served as a representative on mission to various regions and with the Army of Italy and distinguished himself at Toulon, where he met young artillery captain Napoleon Bonaparte. Barras ensured that Bonaparte received recognition for his contribution to the fall of Toulon, and he was promoted to the rank of *général de brigade* on 24 December. Barras used high-handed methods to punish the rebels in Toulon and approved summary executions of hundreds of officials and ordinary citizens.

Returning to Paris, Barras opposed the excesses committed by the Revolutionary government of Maximilien Robespierre and played one of the leading roles in the Thermidorian coup d'état of 27 July 1794. After Robespierre and his colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety were executed, Barras served on the Committee of General Security and was elected president of the National Convention in February 1795. In October 1795 he was appointed commander of the Army of the Interior and, together with Bonaparte, he defended the new regime against an attempted royalist insurrection on 13 Vendémiaire (5 October 1795). He helped disband the Convention, helped draft the new constitution, and manipulated the election process in his favor. In November 1795 he became one of the original members of the Directory and served as its president three times (1 November 1796–30 January 1797; 27 November 1797–25 February 1798; 25 February 1799–26 May 1799). Barras emerged as one of the most powerful members of the Directory and became notorious for excessive corruption and luxurious living. He engineered the coup of 18 Fructidor (4 September 1797) that removed his opponents from the Directory and made him the most important figure in the republican government. To secure his positions, he was also elected to the Council of Five Hundred (April 1798) and the Council of Ancients (April 1799).

Throughout his career Barras had many mistresses and female confidants. One of them was the charming and warmhearted Josephine de Beauharnais, who often acted as his hostess and had been his mistress and financial adviser. Their physical relationship soon ended, but they remained solid friends. He helped Josephine marry Bonaparte in March 1796, an event that led to rumors that Bonaparte had received command of the Army of Italy as a wedding present from Barras.

Barras was a second-rate statesman, failing to address the economic and social problems of the fledging Republic. He promoted an aggressive foreign policy that supported establishing sister republics on the French borders and alienated the European monarchies. By 1799 the Directory had become ineffective and corrupt, and its foreign policy resulted in the creation of the Second Coalition. After France survived imminent defeat at the hands of advancing Allied forces, Barras's colleague in the Directory, Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès, conspired with Napoleon to stage the coup of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). Barras was forced to resign and was placed under house arrest at his estate; his political career was in ruins and would never be resurrected. In 1801 Barras was exposed as having been involved in several conspiracies and was exiled to Brussels until 1805. Although he lived in luxurious comfort from the funds he had amassed during the period of the Directory, he resented his forced retirement. Because of his negative reputation, he never again gained favor at court. However, Louis XVIII granted Barras permission to live at his estate at Chaillot. He died there on 29 January 1829 and was buried at the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. His four-volume *Mémoires* were published in 1895–1896.

Barras had a very complex personality. Before he became too deeply involved, he ensured that he would personally profit from the Revolution. He was corrupt, unscrupulous, self-indulgent, and ambitious. He often pursued an excessively ostentatious lifestyle with extravagant entertainment. All the while, he combined brazen and dissolute behavior with an appealing personal charm, which helped him gain his influential positions.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Convention, The; Council of Ancients; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Josephine, Empress; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Second Coalition, War of the; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of

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### Barrosa, Battle of (5 March 1811)

In an attempt to relieve the French siege of Cádiz, 14,000 Anglo-Spanish troops met and defeated 7,000 French 20 miles southeast of Cádiz at the Battle of Barrosa (Barosa). The battle took its name from La Torre Barrosa, a watchtower on the seacoast south of the battlefield, and is also known as the Battle of Chiclana by the Spanish. Although it was an Allied victory, it did little to relieve the beleaguered forces in Cádiz.

The French siege of Cádiz had continued since February 1810, but in December of that year, it appeared to the besieged Allies that the French lines were weakening when Marshal Nicolas Soult withdrew one-third of his men from the siege in order to reinforce his attack on Badajoz. In late January 1811 adverse weather frustrated the first Anglo-Spanish plan for a seaborne sortie from Cádiz combined with a Spanish attack on the French rear from Algeciras. Subsequently, the British commander at Cádiz, Lieutenant General Thomas Graham, planned to sail from Cádiz to land a relief force behind the French lines at Tarifa. However, severe weather forced Graham to sail past Tarifa, and on 22 February the British disembarked at the Spanish town of Algeciras, across the bay from Gibraltar.

Graham, strengthened by troops from the garrison at Gibraltar, then marched to Tarifa, where he was joined on the twenty-sixth by 8,000 men under the Spanish general Manuel Lapeña, who had also sailed from Cádiz. The force also included four squadrons of Spanish cavalry under the British colonel Samuel Whittingham and 1,600 Spanish irregulars. The majority of the troops were Spanish, and Lapeña superseded Graham in command. The force of 14,000 men spent the next week marching northwest and arrived at Marshal Claude Victor's rear on the morning of 5 March after a fifteen-hour march. Spanish troops led the approaching column and Graham's force followed in the rear. Aware of their approach, Victor had sent one division under General Eugène Villatte to block the road coming from Cádiz at the Río de San Petri to prevent the Spanish



from breaking through. His two remaining divisions marched from the village of Chiclana, north of the Allied position, to attack the Anglo-Spanish right flank.

The field was dominated by a single piece of key terrain, the Cerro de Puerco, also called Barossa Hill, which rose 160 feet above the pine-forested plain below and was only 3 miles from the Spanish lines outside Cádiz. As day broke, Lapeña found the hill unoccupied and ascended it. Discovering that Villatte's division blocked the road from Cádiz, Lapeña ordered an attack down the hill onto Villatte's rear. The Spanish troops in front of Villatte simultaneously attacked out of Cádiz, forcing the French to withdraw to the north and opening communication with the garrison at Cádiz. Meanwhile, Graham occupied Cerro de Puerco, but Lapeña ordered him to join the victorious Spanish troops in the plain. Unaware of the French approaching from the north, Graham left only five Spanish battalions and one British battalion on the hill and marched to join Lapeña.

Victor then ordered his two divisions in the north to seize the mostly abandoned hill. Learning of the approach of 7,000 Frenchmen, the panicked Spanish fled toward Cádiz. Graham only discovered the French attack as General François Ruffin's division took the hill behind him. Rather than joining the Spanish retreat to Cádiz, Graham ordered an attack to retake the Cerro de Puerco. Before Graham could begin his assault, the French managed to position eight guns in action on the crest of the hill. As the British advanced up the hill, they were exposed to a murderous fire; however, attacking in echelon, Graham managed to turn the French left flank and took the Cerro de Puerco. During the battle, Ruffin was mortally wounded and captured.

While a portion of his force took the hill, the remainder of Graham's men attacked the second French division, under General Anne Gilbert Leval, which was still approaching from the north. Reacting to inaccurate intelligence of approaching British cavalry, Leval's division had formed squares and was caught unprepared for the British artillery that emerged first from the woods. The British guns caused great damage, but the French nevertheless recovered and had some initial success, having 2,700 men to about 700 British. As more of Graham's men advanced out of the woods and organized, they pushed Leval back, defeating his division and causing them to retreat with Ruffin's division. The British were too exhausted from marching and fighting to pursue for very far, allowing Victor to gather his two divisions together and withdraw back to Chiclana. The British action took a total of about ninety minutes and took place without the help of Lapeña, who remained firmly on the plain between the Cerro de Puerco and Cádiz.

Of 7,000 engaged, the French lost 2,062 killed, wounded, and captured. They also lost six cannon and one eagle, taken from the 87th Line. The British lost 1,238 out of 5,200 in the action. Furious at the Spanish conduct, Graham retired on Cádiz and left Lapeña on the plain to make his own way over the Río de San Petri and back to Cádiz. Lapeña was excused by a Spanish court-martial and was decorated by the Regency Council, although he was forced to turn over his command. The council also offered a dukedom to Graham, who refused it and left to join Viscount Wellington in Portugal. The victory was incomplete since Victor's army remained intact while the Allies moved back inside the siege lines. Had Lapeña acted to assist Graham, the Allies might have been able to retake Andalusia. Instead, Soult returned from Badajoz and the siege of Cádiz continued until August 1812.

Jason Musteen

*See also* Badajoz, First Siege of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Cádiz, Siege of; Graham, Sir Thomas; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of (27 February 1814)

The Army of Bohemia, mostly Austrians under the command of Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, defeated the forces of Marshal Nicolas Oudinot at Bar-sur-Aube during the Allied invasion of France in 1814. Napoleon himself, having defeated the Allies at Montereau on 17 February, forcing them to retreat toward Troyes beyond the river Aube, had turned north to the valley of the Marne to try to impede the renewed drive toward Paris by the Army of Silesia (mostly Prussians) under Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher; the marshals he left behind were ordered to make it appear as though he was still with them. Schwarzenberg tested that assumption by advancing upon Bar-sur-Aube (in part because Alexander I and Frederick William III of Prussia wanted him to do so), and on the twenty-sixth Napoleon ordered Oudinot to follow Schwarzenberg to the town, near Troyes.

When it was learned that Napoleon was preparing to attack the Army of Silesia, Schwarzenberg took the opportunity to strike first at Oudinot with a Russian corps under General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein and a Bavarian corps under General Karl Freiherr von Wrede. Although

Oudinot enjoyed a measure of numerical superiority at the outset, many of his troops were cut off from the main theater of the battle by their deployment astride the Aube and were therefore unable to participate, much of the French artillery being stuck on the wrong side of the river. Not only was Oudinot forced to retreat over the Aube, but he continued retreating for the next few days, pursued by the Allies and leaving Schwarzenberg in an advantageous position, able to concentrate his forces at Troyes as well as to take possession of the river crossings of the Seine.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Montereau, Battle of; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Wittgenstein, Ludwig Adolph Peter Christianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von  
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### Basle, Treaties of (5 April, 22 July 1795)

The Treaties of Basle (Basel), concluded between France and Prussia (5 April 1795) and between France and Spain (22 July 1795), were crucial diplomatic gains against the First Coalition fighting France during the Revolutionary Wars.

The First Coalition against France was established when Britain, Holland, Piedmont, and Spain joined Austria and Prussia in response to the execution of Louis XVI on 20 January 1793, a Revolutionary decree giving all peoples their liberty, the September Massacres of 1792, and France's contravention of the international Treaty of Westphalia (1648) by opening the Scheldt estuary. France declared war on Prussia and Austria on 20 August 1792, on Holland and Britain on 1 February 1793, and on Spain on 7 March 1793.

The French Revolutionary forces suffered defeats in their initial battles, but their perseverance turned the tide of war by 1794. The levée en masse of August 1793 mobilized France's massive human resources, and the new recruits brought eagerness, fresh tactics, and unabated patriotism that decided the outcome of many battles in 1793–1794.

The first victim of this extraordinary political upheaval was Prussia. After gradually rising to great heights after 1417, Prussia had geographically expanded tenfold by 1795. Despite its eminence following the Seven Years' War,

Prussia had stagnated because of its military absolutism, a government-controlled economy, a highly bureaucratized administration, and economic control of rural areas by the privileged and powerful nobility. Its army was considered the best in Europe, but it suffered several defeats against Revolutionary France. By late 1794 the Prussian king, Frederick William III, realized he could no longer support the war, and he began secret negotiations with the French. The Prussians withdrew from the conflict by signing the Treaty of Basle in Switzerland on 5 April 1795. The treaty included both public and secret articles. The French were obliged to withdraw their troops from Prussian territory on the east side of the Rhine. Although the treaty denied France territory in Belgium, Prussia kept Obergelden and Cleves, and then granted peace to Mainz, Saxony, the Bavarian Palatinate, and the Hessian states. Northern Germany became neutral under Prussia's protection. Britain, which had subsidized Prussia, was obliged to release its Hessian forces or face an attack on Hanover, its possession.

According to the secret articles of the treaty, France would retain the territory it had already conquered. A secret agreement allowed France the west bank of the Rhine in exchange for financial compensation to Prussia for the lost land. These funds would be raised by the secularization of the land belonging to the ecclesiastical German princes, who were not notified of this development. The demarcation line differentiated between those German states at war with France and those that agreed to the treaty, a distinction that would remain in effect until a peace was made with Austria. The other members of the First Coalition were surprised by Prussia's betrayal and thereafter scorned Prussia, whom they considered cowardly. However, the ulterior motive behind Frederick William's signing of the treaty was a desire to concentrate on expanding Prussia's territory through the Second Partition of Poland in 1795.

Another blow to the First Coalition occurred when Spain signed the second Treaty of Basle with France on 22 July 1795. At that time Spain was a very weak imperial power, stretched beyond its capabilities. Spain was ruled by the ineffective King Charles IV, who in 1792 had placed his government in the hands of his corrupt and unpopular chief minister, Manuel de Godoy.

In 1793, as France descended into a period of radicalism that threatened Europe's monarchies, Portugal, Spain, and Britain signed treaties of mutual assistance. Portugal contributed 6,000 troops to Spain's attack on France. However, the French, with reformed and modernized armies, counterattacked in 1794 and took San Sebastian, Bilbao, and Figueras, forcing the Allies to withdraw. French troops then laid siege to Pamplona in the summer of 1795. Consequently, Spain signed the Treaty of Basle

and thereafter allied itself with France. These negotiations were accomplished without any consultation with Portugal or the other members of the coalition; all felt completely betrayed.

The Treaties of Basle stipulated that Spain would cede Santo Domingo (the eastern half of the island of Hispaniola) to France. France, however, was in no position either to send troops or to colonize the territory. Spanish troops had to relinquish control of the ports, towns, and other areas they occupied. One of the chief advantages for France was the acquisition of an ally, for in 1796 Spain signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso, allying itself with its erstwhile enemy against Britain, its former ally.

Ultimately the Treaties of Basle were a diplomatic triumph for Revolutionary France, for in time they allowed it to defeat the weakened coalition and gain Holland, Nice, Savoy, Belgium, and the German territories west of the Rhine.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Charles IV, King; First Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Levée en Masse; Poland, Partitions of; Prussia; Pyrenean Campaign; San Ildefonso, Treaty of; Santo Domingo; Spain

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## Basque Roads, Attack on (11–14 April 1809)

The attack by the Royal Navy on vessels at Basque Roads on the west coast of France in 1809 was a successful attempt to counter French moves against British interests in the West Indies and to prevent the French from reinforcing their colony of Martinique.

In 1808 the French learned of an intended British expedition to the West Indies. To oppose this, Rear Admiral Jean-Baptiste Willaumez was ordered to sail from Brest at the first sign that the British blockade had been relaxed. He

was to relieve the blockade at Lorient, release the fleet of eight ships under Commodore Aimable Gilles Troudes, and sail to Basque Roads, where he was to combine his forces with a further three ships of the line, several frigates, and the troopship *Calcutta*. The fleet was to sail to the West Indies with the purpose of disrupting British trade and supporting the garrison of Martinique.

On 21 February 1809 the blockading ships of Admiral James Gambier were forced by storms to withdraw from their position off Ushant. This gave Willaumez the opportunity to slip out of port and sail south. The maneuver was observed by the *Revenge*, which followed the French south toward Lorient, where Commodore Sir John Beresford lay off the port with three ships. On 23 February, Beresford pursued the French, who discovered they were being driven toward another British force under Rear Admiral Sir Robert Stopford. Faced with this superior force, Willaumez took his fleet into Basque Roads.

Meanwhile, three French 40-gun frigates had left Lorient under Commodore Pierre Roch Jurien and sailed to join Willaumez, anchoring under the shore batteries. Stopford's four ships of the line engaged the enemy frigates and shore batteries, setting two frigates on fire and driving the other aground. All three French ships were wrecked. Meanwhile, Willaumez's force had lost one ship, driven onto a shoal in Basque Roads, but had joined the squadron there of three 74-gun ships of the line and two 40-gun frigates. A heavy boom was placed across the passage into the anchorage. Willaumez was bottled up, but the Admiralty was concerned that the French might yet slip out and reach the West Indies, and so the decision was made to destroy the enemy fleet.

On 19 March, Gambier was told that twelve transports and five bomb vessels (special ships carrying mortars for shore bombardment) were being prepared for what was to be an extremely hazardous operation. Captain Lord Cochrane of the *Impérieuse* was appointed to lead the attack. He had the reputation of being a daring and energetic officer and could conveniently be blamed if the attack proved a disaster. On the French side, however, Willaumez had been removed from command for failing to do battle with Beresford's inferior force off Lorient.

Under Cochrane's supervision, eight of the British transports plus the old frigate *Mediator* were being fitted out as fire ships, with barrels of tar and other combustible materials arranged on their decks, while two further transports and a captured French coaster were converted into explosion vessels, being packed with gunpowder, shells, and grenades. Meanwhile, twelve further fire ships had arrived on 10 April together with the bomb vessel *Aetna*. A number of smaller craft were also fitted out to fire Congreve rockets.

The British force, under Gambier, consisted of the 120-gun *Caledonia*, two 80-gun ships, eight 74-gun ships, one 44-gun heavy frigate, four other frigates, three sloops, seven gun brigs, three smaller craft, twelve fire ships, and the bomb vessel *Aetna*. The French force, under Rear Admiral Zacharie Jacques Allemand, was composed of an inner line made up of the ships *Elbe* (40 guns), *Tourville* (74), *Aquilon* (74), *Jemmappes* (74), *Patriote* (74), and *Tonnère* (74); a center line, of the ships *Calcutta* (troopship), *Cassard* (74), *Regulus* (74), *Océan* (120), *Ville de Varsovie* (80), and *Foudroyant* (80); and an outer line, of the ships *Pallas* (40), *Hortense* (40), and *Indienne* (40). He also had the support of shore batteries manned by 2,000 troops. Allemand anchored his ships in three lines north to south with a 2-mile boom of anchor cables protecting the approach to Basque Roads.

At 8:30 P.M. on the night of 11 April, some British fire ships sailed for the enemy. At 9:30 P.M., Cochrane ordered the fuses lit, and these ships exploded, destroying the boom. Other fire ships were now able to sail through the debris, but now the plan began to go wrong. Several of the fire ships were ignited too soon, many either running aground before reaching the anchorage or sailing harmlessly up the center of the channel. However, the few such ships that reached the French caused much confusion, combined with shells from the *Aetna*, the Congreve rockets, and broadsides from other British vessels. Some of the French ships broke free of the line to escape the fire ships. The *Regulus* got clear of one, only to collide with the *Tourville*. *Hortense* escaped one fire ship and fired upon another, only to hit other French warships. *Océan* ran aground and was then hit by a fire ship that her crew, however, managed to fend off, but she was then rammed by the *Tonnere* and the *Patriote*.

Dawn revealed a scene of devastation within the French fleet. Cochrane asked Gambier for reinforcements to complete the destruction of the enemy, but the latter only ordered the bomb vessels to shell the French, much to Cochrane's frustration. Only the *Foudroyant* and *Cassard* were still afloat—the other vessels were all aground—but even these two ships eventually ran aground. Four of the French ships were eventually refloated, only to run aground again at the entrance to the anchorage. Cochrane took the *Impérieuse* inshore and by 2:00 P.M. on 12 April was engaged with the *Calcutta*, the *Aquilon*, and the *Ville de Varsovie*. This prompted Gambier to send support, forcing the three French vessels to strike. Two other ships, the *Tonnère* and the *Calcutta*, both caught fire and exploded. Cochrane moved closer with the gun brigs, despite repeated orders from Gambier to retire. On 14 April, after a final attack by the *Aetna* and gun brigs, four of the French ships managed to escape

upriver, while two others grounded attempting the same maneuver.

The French government treated this disaster harshly. The French commanders were tried by court-martial; two were imprisoned, and Captain Jean Baptiste Lafon of the *Calcutta* was condemned and shot. On the British side, there was much criticism of Gambier for not having supported Cochrane more vigorously. However, the French plan to attack the West Indies had been thwarted.

Paul Chamberlain

See also Congreve Rockets; Martinique; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Bassano, Battle of (8 September 1796)

At the Battle of Bassano the main body of General Bonaparte's Armée d'Italie routed two Austrian divisions under *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser, whose defeat forced him to give up his second attempt to relieve Mantua from blockade. The Austrian commander in chief did, however, succeed in escaping the French pursuit and successfully led the remnants of his troops behind the fortress walls.

At the beginning of September 1796 Würmser entrusted *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr Davidovich (with about 14,000 men) with the defense of Trent, the southern door to Tyrol, and left the city with the divisions of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Philipp Freiherr Sebottendorf and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vitius von Quasdanovich (about 9,500). The former constituted the vanguard; the latter followed at a day's march. Würmser's plan was to move south down the valley of the Brenta River (also called Val Sugana) and—with the support of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Mészáros's division (10,000), already in Bassano—make for Mantua via Bassano, Vicenza, and Legnago. The Austrian commander certainly knew that Bonaparte was on the move up the Adige valley to Tyrol in an attempt to link up with General Jean Moreau in Germany. He believed, however, that Davidovich's force was strong enough to check the

French in the defiles south of Trent. At any rate—so Würmser believed—the threat from Mantua would make Bonaparte desist from his effort.

Bonaparte, however, took an unexpected and unconventional strategic course. Rejecting the obvious choice of retracing his steps down the Adige valley, he decided instead to attack Davidovich before Rovereto on 4 September. On the following day, the French seized Trent. Without allowing his troops any rest, Bonaparte sent General Charles-Henri Vaubois's division northward to watch Davidovich. Meanwhile, he rushed the divisions of generals André Masséna and Pierre Augereau (about 20,000 men) down the Brenta valley in pursuit of Würmser. Marching fast, the French rapidly closed with the tail of the Austrian column. On the morning of the seventh, Augereau's leading troops under General François Lanusse fell on Quosdanovich's rear guard (2,800) in the gorges of Primolano, taking hundreds of prisoners. Though informed that Bonaparte was now on his heels, Würmser did not renounce his original plan. He had already sent Mészáros to Vicenza and Montebello, and he prepared to leave Bassano with his remaining divisions. A rear guard under Quosdanovich and *Generalmajor* Adam Bajalich (3,800) was left to cover the approaches to Bassano on both banks of the Brenta, about a mile upstream.

On 8 September at dawn, Masséna's division, with Lannes's demi-brigade in the lead, advanced down the western bank, pushing the enemy back to the bridge at Bassano. On the opposite bank, Augereau easily drove the defenders from their position and entered the town. Retreating in disorder through the streets, the Austrian infantry ran into their artillery and train. Many units got scattered, producing a large body of stragglers. Würmser, with the remnants of Sebottendorf's division, fled to Vicenza. Quosdanovich, however, was cut off from the main army and retreated to the east. According to their own sources, at very low cost to themselves the French at Bassano took 5,000 prisoners (3,000 being a more likely figure), thirty-five guns, two bridging trains, and hundreds of wagons.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Lannes, Jean; Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Batavian Republic

*See* Netherlands, The

## Bathurst, Henry Bathurst, Third Earl (1762–1834)

The third Earl Bathurst was a member of British governments almost continuously for fifty years, coming into office with William Pitt in 1783 and going out with the Duke of Wellington in 1830. From 1807 to 1827 he played a leading role in the war against Napoleon, in foreign policy, and in the administration of the British Empire.

After holding various minor posts under Pitt, in 1807 he became president of the Board of Trade in the Duke of Portland's cabinet. For the next five years he was responsible for the Orders in Council by which the British countered the Continental System and helped pay for the war. When Napoleon tried to force Britain to accept his domination of Europe by banning British imports and ships that had visited a British port, the British, who commanded the seas after the Battle of Trafalgar, responded by declaring enemy ports under blockade, requiring neutral ships to stop at a British port, pay duty, and buy a license for protection against search by the Royal Navy before proceeding. British trade also continued on ships sailing under flags of convenience with falsified papers and by smuggling.

The U.S. government strongly protested this imposition as a violation of its sovereignty. In the economic downturn after 1810, when Napoleon's Empire was most secure, his prohibitions most enforced, and when the United States retaliated with an embargo on British goods, British merchants also clamored for the repeal of the Orders in Council. Almost simultaneously with the ministry conceding this in June 1812, the United States declared war on Britain and attacked Canada.

Just weeks earlier Bathurst had become secretary of state for war and the colonies in the administration of Lord Liverpool, formed after the assassination of Spencer Perceval. His main occupation was the management of the campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, in North America, and in Belgium in 1815. He, Liverpool, and foreign secretary Lord Castlereagh between them also practically decided the country's foreign policy during the next ten years, and during Castlereagh's frequent long absences on the Continent in 1814 and 1815, Bathurst ran the Foreign Office. As the civilian war minister he was the frequent brunt of Wellington's criticisms for the shortage of troops, munitions and supplies, and funds. But the duke also showed his gratitude for Bathurst's support for his victories in the

Peninsula and at Waterloo, and the two became close when the duke joined the cabinet at the end of 1818.

After 1815 Bathurst turned his attention more to the colonies. He was practically the founder of the nineteenth-century Colonial Office, serving longer than any other colonial secretary. Many of the young men he appointed in the early 1820s were still there when the War Department was separated from the Colonial Office in 1854.

Bathurst resigned when George Canning succeeded Liverpool as prime minister in 1827 but returned as lord president of the council and general adviser to Wellington between 1828 and 1830, when he retired. He was opposed to the first Reform Act, but as he did with Catholic emancipation and other changes that he had instinctively disliked, he followed Wellington in finally allowing it to pass.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Blockade; Canning, George; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Catholic Emancipation; Continental System; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Orders in Council; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Trafalgar, Battle of; War of 1812; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Bautzen, Battle of (20–21 May 1813)**

Fought in Saxony on the eastern bank of the Spree River, near the Bohemian border, then in the Austrian Empire. A Prusso-Russian army of 96,000 men under the Russian general Peter Graf Wittgenstein faced 115,000 men under Napoleon on the first day, joined by 84,000 men under Marshal Michel Ney on the second day. The Allies intended to use a prepared position to offset Napoleon's numerical superiority, hoping to fight him to a standstill. Then, by moving up reserves, the Allies hoped to force Napoleon back onto the Bohemian frontier, where he would have to surrender. Napoleon still sought the decisive victory that had eluded him earlier that month at Lützen, hoping that a flanking attack by Ney would achieve victory. After two days of hard fighting, the Allies fell back, beaten but intact.

Napoleon's forces on the first day included the Imperial Guard and the corps of Henri Bertrand, Auguste Marmont, Jacques Macdonald, and Nicolas Oudinot, as well as Marie-Victor Latour-Maubourg's cavalry. The Allied army consisted of the corps of generals Mikhail Miloradovich, Gorchakov, Mikhail Barclay de Tolly, and Grand Duke Constantine (Russians), and generals Friedrich von Kleist, Johann von Yorck, and Gebhard von Blücher (Prussians).

The Allied position was on the eastern bank of the Spree with the town of Bautzen forming the anchor point.

Earthworks had been constructed along much of the front, and a series of lakes secured their right flank.

Anticipating news of Ney's approach, Napoleon waited until noon on 20 May before ordering Oudinot to commence his attack on the heights south of Bautzen. He sent Macdonald and Marmont against Bautzen itself and ordered Bertrand to advance on the heights of Burk. The Imperial Guard remained in reserve. Yorck covered the heights of Burk. Prince Eugen of Württemberg was to his south. Colonel von Wolff's brigade occupied Bautzen. General Engelhardt's brigade was south of the town, with General St. Priest's division covering up to Doberschau. Cavalry covered the Allied left.

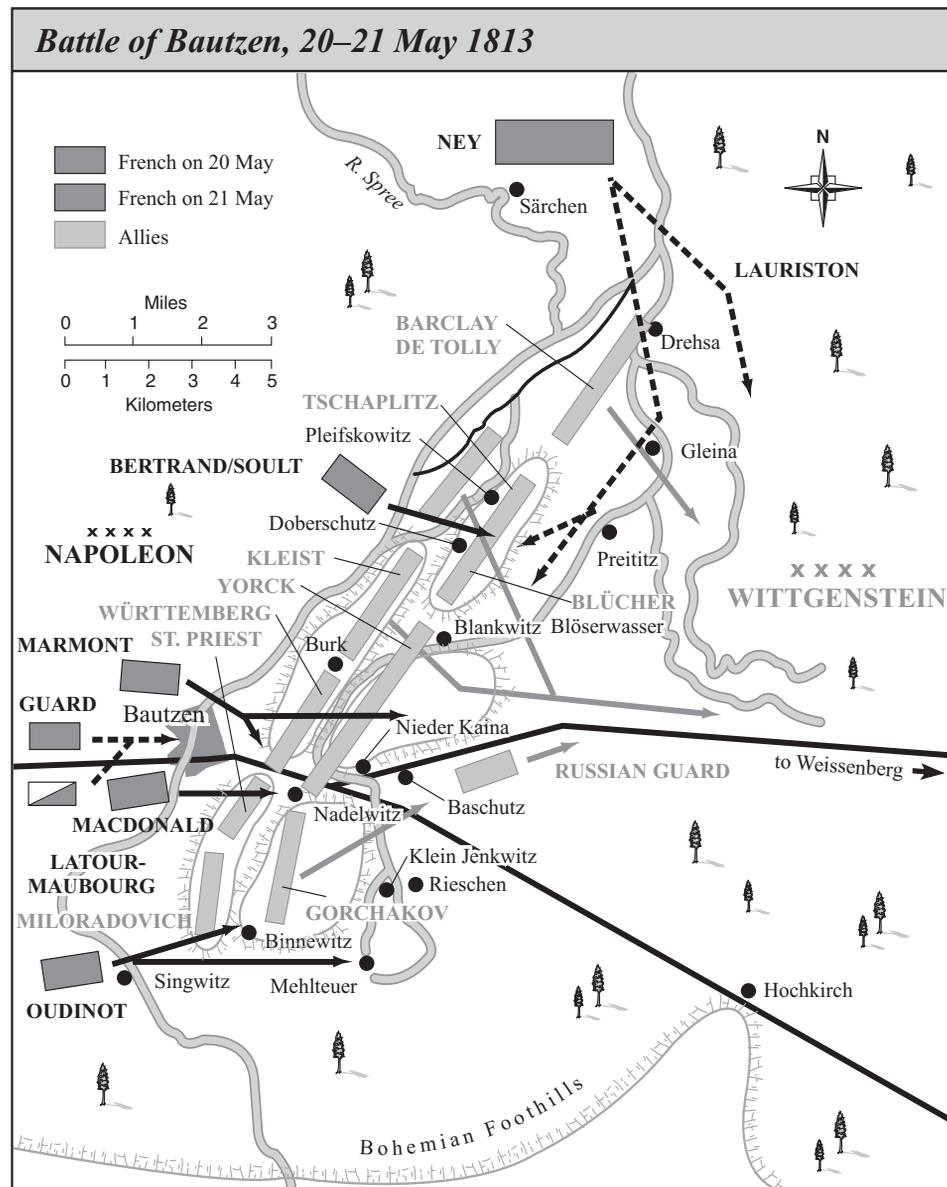
The objective of Napoleon's attack was to draw attention away from Ney's planned flanking move and to tie down the Allied forces to his front while Ney executed this maneuver. Oudinot's attack drew in Allied reserves. Macdonald then commenced his assault on Bautzen, but he became bogged down in the face of strong resistance and only made further progress once Marmont's attack from the north of Bautzen, which started at 1:00 P.M., had cleared the way. By 4:00 P.M., once the French had crossed the Spree in force, using both fords and temporary bridges, the Allies were forced to withdraw, and Eugen retired to the ridge between Auritz and Jenkwitz by 6:00 P.M.

Marshal Nicolas Soult's forces (Bertrand's and Latour-Maubourg's divisions) made little headway against Yorck, despite his superiority in numbers. At 3:00 P.M. he ordered the divisions of General von Franquemont and General Charles Morand to advance against Gottlobsberg, Nieder-Gurig, and Briesing. Gottlobsberg was first to fall, then at 6:00 P.M., Nieder-Gurig fell. The Allies did not contest Briesing, so the French were able to move as far forward as Plieskowitz that afternoon. By 7:00 P.M. the entire Allied front line being in French hands, Kleist fell back.

Most Allied senior commanders considered the advance of General Guillaume de Latrille, comte de Lorencez's division from Oudinot's corps on the far left to be Napoleon's main thrust, so Gorchakov was ordered to counterattack there and did so between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M. Lorencez was forced to retire to Denkwitz. Ney engaged General Tschaplitz's vanguard at Klix, forcing the Russians to retire across the Spree.

By the end of the day, Napoleon had achieved most of his objectives. He had tied down the Allies frontally and drawn in much of their reserves. Although the Allies had made Napoleon pay a price to cross the Spree, they had not been able to launch the planned counterattack.

The next day's fighting commenced at daybreak with a Russian assault along the line from Falkenberg to the Thromberg that drove back Oudinot's vanguard. At 6:00 A.M. Oudinot counterattacked, with Lorencez advancing on



Adapted from Lawford 1977, 43.

the village of Mehltheuer and General Michel-Marie Pacthod on the village of Daranitz, with Lieutenant General von Raglovich's Bavarians in reserve. Macdonald moved up in support. Facing superior numbers, the Russians withdrew, giving Macdonald's artillery the opportunity to deploy on the heights between Daranitz and Rabitz. By 10:00 A.M. the French artillery had gained the upper hand, and their infantry now closed in for the assault. In the next hour, the entire Allied left retired.

Oudinot's determination convinced Tsar Alexander that he was facing the main French assault here, so he ordered in further reinforcements, although this was against Wittgenstein's wishes. This counterattack forced the French back, making Oudinot's position critical. Napoleon ignored

his requests for reinforcements, telling him to hold on until 3:00 P.M., when he was certain of victory. Oudinot did so.

Napoleon's center held its positions against determined Allied support. Marmont deployed his men to the east of Bautzen and awaited events. At 9:00 A.M. he moved to the right to be able to support Soult and Ney.

Hearing the sounds of battle on the morning of 21 May, Ney sought clarification of his orders from Napoleon before continuing his march. This delay cost Napoleon his one chance of a decisive victory in this campaign. Napoleon had failed to inform Ney fully of his intentions. At 6:00 A.M., General Nicolas-Joseph Maison's division of General Jacques Lauriston's corps crossed the Spree at Klix. Tschaplitz did his best to delay the French advance but fell

back when his flanks were threatened. The Allies now became aware of the threat posed to the right and attempted to extricate themselves from the trap, fighting a withdrawal action. Ney waited for reinforcements before pressing on.

Barclay de Tolly abandoned Preititz, thereby endangering Blücher's line of retreat, but a local counterattack gained sufficient time for the Prussians to begin falling back. Ney then sent in fresh troops, regaining Preititz. Once Napoleon heard the sounds of fighting at Preititz, he knew Ney had arrived, so he sent in the Imperial Guard to take the heights west of Kreckwitz. Blücher was attacked from three sides and fell back around 3:00 P.M., as did Yorck. Covered by their cavalry, the Allies then quit the field of battle. Napoleon lost around 25,000 men, and the Allies around 11,000.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Lützen, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wittgenstein, Ludwig Adolph Peter Christianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Bavaria

The dynastic lands of the Wittelsbachs became the Kingdom of Bavaria and the nucleus for the Confederation of the Rhine. Bavaria allied with Napoleon and began a series of French-inspired reforms that created a constitutional monarchy that would last until 1918.

Bavaria began the revolutionary period as an electorate of the Holy Roman Empire. It included the Electorate of Bavaria, the Rhineland Palatinate, and the Upper Palatinate as well as the duchies of Berg, Jullich, and Zweibrücken. The traditional friendship of the Wittelsbachs with France left the elector, Charles Theodore, providing only grudging support to the Holy Roman Empire's participation in the War of the First Coalition. Maximilian Joseph I (1756–1825), Duke of Zweibrücken, became elector of Bavaria (as Maximilian

IV Joseph) and elector palatine in 1799. He sympathized with French ideas, as did his newly appointed prime minister, Maximilian Joseph Graf von Montgelas. Both hoped to establish Bavaria as an independent state by consolidating its lands and modernizing its government. The country was not yet strong enough to shift allegiance and thus fought with Austria in the War of the Second Coalition. Shortly after the Treaty of Lunéville, Maximilian signed a separate peace with France (24 August 1801), giving up territory west of the Rhine for the promise of contiguous lands in the south. This allowed Montgelas to begin restructuring the administration and reorganizing the army. Napoleon fulfilled his promise of additional territory with the Imperial Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) of 1803, by which Bavaria gained Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, Passau, and fifteen other imperial cities. The War of the Third Coalition saw Bavaria fighting on the French side. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Bavaria received the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Ansbach, thus becoming the third most powerful German state in Europe.

As a result of the elector's loyalty to the French, Napoleon encouraged him to become King Maximilian I of Bavaria (1 January 1806). In addition, Napoleon's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, married Maximilian's eldest daughter, Princess Auguste-Amelie (14 January). In exchange, Napoleon demanded that Bavaria become the central member of his newly formed Confederation of the Rhine (12 July), recognizing France as protector of the south German states while furnishing 30,000 of the 63,000 troops of the confederation. This obligation ended Maximilian's dream of an independent state and brought conscription to Bavaria. True to its obligation, the Bavarian Army fought at the side of the French in the Austerlitz campaign (1805), against Prussia (1806–1807), against Austria (1809), in the invasion of Russia (1812), and in the spring campaign of 1813.

King Maximilian and Montgelas continued their program of reform. In 1804 they dissolved the Bavarian Estates and established a central bureaucracy. They also restricted the powers of the church and began secularizing ecclesiastical states. The king sanctioned new administrative departments (1806) and granted the first written constitution for a German state. It provided for a single-chamber legislature, an end to aristocratic privilege, equality before the law, and abolition of serfdom. In addition, the government promulgated a French-style legal code (1810).

The Treaty of Ried (8 October 1813), concluded shortly before the Battle of Leipzig, brought Bavaria into the camp of the Austrians. The Allies allowed Maximilian to retain his crown, but the Congress of Vienna dispersed his kingdom and forced Bavaria into a German Confederation, thus ending any hopes of independent statehood.

*Doug Harmon*



*See also* Bavarian Army; Confederation of the Rhine; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Leipzig, Battle of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Maximilian I, King; Pressburg, Treaty of; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Vienna, Congress of

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## Bavarian Army

After patterning its army on the French model, Bavaria became an important French ally. Later, as the largest military contingent in the Confederation of the Rhine, the Bavarian Army participated in all of Napoleon's major campaigns, contributing significantly to the victory at Wagram in 1809. Based on its new military power, Bavaria remained a kingdom after Napoleon's abdication.

As part of the Holy Roman Empire, Bavaria fought as a member of the First Coalition. Four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, serving with the Army of the Upper Rhine, laid siege to Mainz (1793) and shared in the victories at Friedelsheim, Battenberg, Herzheim, Monsheim, and Zell (1794). Later, they garrisoned Mainz until the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). Maximilian Joseph I, Bavaria's new elector (as Maximilian IV Joseph), reluctantly yielded to Austrian pressure to join the War of the Second Coalition. Bavaria's two brigades, composed of thirteen infantry battalions and one cavalry regiment, suffered defeat with the Austrians at Hohenlinden (13 December 1800) and provided the rear guard that protected the Allied retreat. Maximilian signed a separate peace, allying Bavaria with France (24 August 1801), and began reforming his army along French lines.

Before the Second Coalition, Maximilian abolished the purchasing of commissions and adopted a new Bavarian blue uniform with the distinctive Raupenhelm helmet. From this time on, Napoleon's Bavarian troops would be identified by the tall black leather helmet, named after its high peak crested with a black tuft of wool or bearskin resembling a caterpillar. After the war, the elector introduced general conscription, reduced the number of offenses subject to corporal punishment, and began promoting officers based on merit. General Bernhard Deroy redesigned the army to include smaller battalions and new skirmish units.

In 1805, 25,000 Bavarians, commanded by General Karl Philipp Freiherr von Wrede, served with the corps under Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte and protected the left flank of Napoleon's army during the Battle of Austerlitz.

Napoleon rewarded their efforts by making Bavaria a kingdom, but he also required Maximilian to provide 30,000 troops to the newly formed Confederation of the Rhine (12 July 1806). During the Prussian campaign (1806–1807), the Bavarians fielded three divisions under generals DeRoy, Wrede, and Ysenberg. Their siege operations captured the towns of Plassenburg, Grossglogau, Breslau, Brieg, Kosel, Glatz, and Neisse.

During the War of the Fifth Coalition against Austria (1809), the Bavarians formed VII Corps of the Grande Armée under Marshal Françoise Lefebvre. Their three divisions, with Napoleon commanding, defeated the Austrians at Abensberg (20 April), and Wrede's division participated in the final attack, which broke the Austrian line and forced Archduke Charles's retreat (6 July). During the campaign, several Bavarian units opposed the uprising of Andreas Hofer in the Tyrol.

For the Russian campaign, VI Corps, commanded by Marshal Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr, comprised two Bavarian divisions, totaling 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. Guarding the northern flank of the army, they won a minor victory at Polotsk (18 August). General Maximilian von Preysing's cavalry division served with the advance guard under Eugène de Beauharnais and suffered heavy losses at Borodino. Only 20 percent of the Bavarian troops returned from Russia.

A reconstituted Bavarian army fought with the French VI Corps during the Allied invasion of Saxony in 1813. Shortly before the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October), however, Maximilian joined the Allies in exchange for recognition of his title. Two infantry divisions and three cavalry brigades suffered heavy losses attempting to block Napoleon's retreat at Hanau (29–31 October). During the invasion of France in 1814, the Bavarians besieged several French cities and participated in the battles of Brienne, Bar-sur-Aube, and Arcis-sur-Aube.

*Doug Harmon*

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bavaria; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Borodino, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Confederation of the Rhine; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Gouvion, St. Cyr, Laurent; Hanau, Battle of; Hofer, Andreas; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Holy Roman Empire; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Leipzig, Battle of; Polotsk, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Wagram, Battle of; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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### Bayonne, Conference at (16 April–20 July 1808)

The conference—sometimes called the “ambuscade”—at Bayonne marked a crucial moment in Napoleonic diplomacy and led directly to the outbreak of the Peninsular War of 1808–1814. In brief, the first months of 1808 saw Napoleon resolve on the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. Ever since the Battle of Trafalgar, the Emperor had been increasingly dissatisfied with the regime of King Charles IV of Spain, for a number of reasons. As an ally Spain was woefully inadequate in both military and naval terms, even though its great American empire suggested that it should in fact have been a very valuable subordinate. Still worse, it was also unreliable: The court—and, indeed, the wider body politic—was split into warring factions centered on the figures of the royal favorite, Manuel de Godoy, and the heir to the throne, Prince Ferdinand, and the former had for some time been showing signs of wanting to throw off the French yoke.

According to some accounts, all this had made Napoleon determine on action as early as the summer of 1807 or even the autumn of 1806, but this is not the case. Although he did resolve to invade Portugal, and on this pretext sent a large army into Spain, at the beginning of 1808 he was still keeping his options open, and that despite the explosion of open warfare in the Spanish court thanks to Charles’s discovery that Ferdinand had been secretly scheming to obtain a Bonaparte bride so as to guard himself against any attempt to exclude him from the succession. At first the Emperor was not averse to this scheme, and he even discussed the possibility with his brother Lucien, whose daughter Charlotte was a potential match for Ferdinand. But Lucien would have none of it, which left Napoleon with only two options if he was to extend French influence in Spain. In brief, either he should overthrow Charles and replace him with Ferdinand, or he should overthrow the entire Bourbon dynasty and replace it by a branch of the Bonaparte family.

Of the two alternatives, there was no doubt which appealed more to Napoleon, but even now he was not fixed in his mind as to which he should do. But one way or another the only way forward was through the use of force, and in

late January the French forces in northern Spain were therefore ordered to seize the Spanish border fortresses. Nor was this the end of the matter: A month later they were marching on Madrid. Knowing that this was the end, Godoy frantically tried to organize resistance, but the supporters of Ferdinand realized that this might mean the overthrow of the entire Bourbon dynasty rather than just—as they fondly imagined—of Charles and Godoy.

In consequence, on 17 March they organized a military coup at the royal residence of Aranjuez in a desperate bid to put Ferdinand on the throne before the French arrived. In this they succeeded—Charles was forced to abdicate and Godoy was imprisoned—but desperate efforts to secure the recognition of the French troops that had now arrived in Madrid under Marshal Joachim Murat drew a blank. Nor was this surprising: The Aranjuez affair seems to have convinced Napoleon that Ferdinand would never be a reliable ally, and on 27 March he wrote to his brother Louis asking him if he would care to accept the throne of Spain.

In the meantime, there still remained the question of how to finalize the overthrow of the Bourbons, and to this end Napoleon set himself up as mediator and invited the entire Spanish royal family to meet with him at the Chateau de Marrac outside Bayonne. There followed a series of unedifying scenes whose chief outcome was that both Charles and Ferdinand—now King Ferdinand VII—abdicated the throne in favor of Napoleon. By 5 May all seemed settled, but news now arrived that Louis Bonaparte would not exchange Holland for Spain, and the Emperor therefore resolved to call on the services of his brother Joseph, who was at that point King of Naples. As Napoleon must have guessed he would, the pliant and easygoing Joseph made no difficulties about the move, and in the meantime preparations were made for his installation in Madrid. Thus, Ferdinand’s abdication was proclaimed (thereby triggering the Spanish insurrection), and large numbers of prominent Spaniards were invited to attend a constitutional assembly at Bayonne, while Napoleon personally promised to right all Spain’s ills and to give her a wise and benevolent ruler.

With Spain in revolt, however, only 100 deputies ever assembled at Bayonne, and they found that they could do little more than accept the *faits accomplis* presented them by Napoleon in the form of Joseph Bonaparte on the one hand and a typically Napoleonic constitution on the other. On 8 June, too, they welcomed the arrival of their new monarch from Naples. For another month king and Emperor lingered in Bayonne, discussing strategy and finalizing the details of French rule, but on 7 July they went their separate ways: Joseph headed for Madrid, and Napoleon set out for Paris. Although they did not yet know it, both were on the road to ruin.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Charles IV, King; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Madrid Uprising; Murat, Joachim; Peninsular War; Spain

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### Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de (1781–1824)

Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, French prince, and general, Eugène de Beauharnais was the son of Napoleon's first wife, Josephine, and her first husband, the vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais, a general in the French Army who was guillotined during the Reign of Terror.

One of the reasons Josephine married Napoleon was to have a male guardian for Eugène. Napoleon was very fond of Eugène and proud of his military record. He tutored him in the military arts from a young age, and they remained very close even after Napoleon divorced Josephine in 1809. Eugène participated in many Napoleonic campaigns and made every effort to emulate him. In 1797, when he was only sixteen years old, Eugène joined Bonaparte in Milan and served as his aide-de-camp for the remainder of the Italian campaign. In 1798 he accompanied Bonaparte on the Egyptian campaign and was wounded during the siege of Acre (1799). He was present at Saint-Cloud during the coup of Brumaire, and in June 1800 he participated in the Battle of Marengo. In 1802 Eugène was promoted to the rank of colonel in the Consular Guard. The Consulate years were probably the happiest period of Eugène's life. He owned a small house near Malmaison, where he entertained friends at bachelor parties. In 1801 his sister Hortense married Louis Bonaparte, who became the king of Holland in 1806.

After Napoleon became Emperor, he named Eugène Prince and Arch-Chancellor of the State and the Empire, which gave him entry to the Grand Council of the Legion of Honor, the Senate, and the Council of State. In March 1805 Napoleon transformed the Republic of Italy into the Kingdom of Italy, himself becoming its king. On 7 June 1805 he appointed Eugène as the viceroy of the new kingdom in Milan. At its peak, the northern Italian state covered an area of 35,000 square miles and possessed 6.7 million inhabitants, about one-third of the peninsula's population.

In 1805 Napoleon faced the Third Coalition. The Kingdom of Italy constituted a secondary military theater in that war. Eugène played a role in organizing the Army of Italy, which was led by Marshal André Masséna. In October



Eugène de Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson. As well as being a skillful commander, he served from 1805 as viceroy of the new Kingdom of Italy, in which capacity he carried out liberal constitutional reforms. (Drawing by Henri Scheffer from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

the latter faced the Austrian army in an indecisive Battle at Caldiero on the Adige River. In the Peace of Pressburg (December 1805) the Austrians ceded the Veneto to the Kingdom of Italy. In May 1808 the kingdom received the Marche, which had belonged to the Papal States. On 14 January 1806 Eugène married Auguste-Amélie, the seventeen-year-old daughter of the king of Bavaria, Maximilian I. Napoleon arranged that marriage in order to cement his alliance with Bavaria. The Emperor formally adopted Eugène, thereby placing him in line for the Italian throne. Eugène was also endowed with the title Prince of Venice. The couple had five children, four daughters and one son. They preferred to stay in their palace in Monza, outside Milan, rather than their palace in the city itself. Eugène had a good taste for the fine arts. In Milan he did his best to animate the court's life and to patronize the arts. The viceroy's painter-in-chief was Andrea Appiani. The Palazzo of Brera became the Royal Palace of Science and Art, and a new Conservatory of Music was opened in

Milan. Eugène ordered the artist Joseph Bossi to restore Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*.

As viceroy, Eugène was in charge of executing Napoleon's orders and implementing the daily administration of the Kingdom of Italy. Napoleon maintained tight control over his stepson, who was merely twenty-three years old when he rose to power and had no political experience. In July 1810 the Emperor wrote to the viceroy: "Even if Milan is on fire, you must let Milan burn and wait for orders from me" (Beauharnais 1858–1860, 6:368–369). Before leaving Milan, Napoleon provided Eugène with a personal staff and instructed him on how to govern the Italian state. He stressed the need to gain the support of the Italians: "Show respect for them. . . . Learn to speak good Italian. . . . Admire what they admire." "The less you talk [in Council] the better; you are not well educated." "Learn to listen. . . . silence is often as impressive as knowledge." "See your ministers twice a week." "See that your orders are carried out; especially with regard to the army" (Napoléon I 1858–1870, 10:488–489).

Among all Napoleon's relatives who ruled over satellite states, Eugène was the most obedient to the French Emperor and remained faithful to him until the collapse of the Kingdom of Italy in 1814. He worked hard, ran the daily administration, presided over the Council of Ministers, sent frequent reports to Napoleon, and did his best to fulfill imperial orders. His main concern, however, remained the military. In late December 1805 Eugène replaced Masséna as the chief commander of the Army of Italy. The viceroy continued to build the army and assured the smooth operation of annual conscription. He enlarged and improved fortifications and toured his kingdom often to check the troops and the navy in the ports of Venice and Ancona.

The continental blockade weighed heavily on the Kingdom of Italy. A commercial treaty between France and the kingdom favored the former. In August 1810 Napoleon wrote to Eugène, explaining that Italy ought to be grateful to France for the benefits bestowed upon it and not begrudge the commercial advantages accruing to France as a result of the Continental System. Eugène was aware of the adverse effects of Napoleon's economic policies on the kingdom's economy, but unlike Louis Bonaparte in Holland or Joachim Murat in Naples, he never had the courage or the temperament to oppose Napoleon's economic programs. Neither did he resist the heavy taxation and the conscription that added to the resentment many Italians felt toward the French regime.

Eugène played an important role in the 1809 war against Austria. As the commander in chief of the Army of Italy, he served as an independent commander for the first time. His beginning was not auspicious: The Austrian

forces under Archduke John beat Eugène's troops at the Battle of Sacile (16 April). Soon, however, the situation turned around since Austrian forces were forced to retreat from Italian soil after Habsburg defeats on the Danube. Pursuing the retreating army, Eugène, with the help of Marshal Jacques Macdonald, defeated the Austrians on the Piave (8 May). Five weeks later, Eugène beat John again at Raab (14 June) in Hungary, restoring Napoleon's confidence in him. In late June 1809 Napoleon ordered Eugène to join the Grande Armée in Austria. Eugène and his troops played an important role in the victory at Wagram. Soon afterward, Eugène helped suppress the Tyrolean revolt led by Andreas Hofer. Following the war with Austria, the Kingdom of Italy lost Istria to the newly created Illyrian Provinces. In June 1810, however, it reached its largest territorial expansion with the annexation of South Tyrol, which belonged to Bavaria.

In December 1809 Eugène, along with the rest of Napoleon's family, was called to Paris to hear about Napoleon's decision to divorce Josephine. The viceroy also attended the Emperor's marriage to the Austrian archduchess Marie Louise in Paris (1 April 1810) and the birth of Napoleon's son (March 1811).

In the Russian campaign Eugène commanded IV Corps of the Grande Armée, which consisted of French and Italian troops. His men participated in the battles of Smolensk and Borodino. He distinguished himself during the retreat from Moscow, when he won the bloody Battle of Maloyaroslavets (25 October 1812), gaining much praise from Napoleon. The Italian Royal Guard was, however, almost entirely destroyed in that battle. At Smolensk Eugène's troops rescued Marshal Michel Ney and the rear guard. The IV Corps suffered enormous casualties in the Russian campaign. Of the 27,000 troops from the Kingdom of Italy, only 1,000 returned home. After Murat abandoned the remnants of the army and returned to Naples, Eugène assumed command and led the retreat from Posen to the Elbe. He then held the line until Napoleon appeared in April 1813 with a new army.

After the Russian fiasco Eugène returned to Italy, raising a new army. While Napoleon fought in Germany and France, the viceroy was in charge of defending Illyria and the Kingdom of Italy against the Austrians. He failed to do so, however, facing a larger Austrian army. Moreover, unlike in the 1809 campaign, Eugène received no help from Napoleon, who was himself hard-pressed in Germany. By the end of September 1813 the Austrian army under *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Freiherr von Hiller, aided by local uprisings, occupied Illyria. Eugène's position was further weakened by the defection of his father-in-law, Maximilian, to the anti-French coalition (7 October). He withdrew to the Adige River in early November. Maximilian, who

wished to see his daughter as the queen of Italy, urged Eugène to desert Napoleon and receive the crown of Italy from the Allies.

Eugène rejected this advice. His position on the Adige became untenable once Murat, who led a Neapolitan army, defected to the Allies (January 1814). In early February Eugène retreated from the Adige, and on 8 February he won a victory over *Feldmarschall* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde in the Battle of the Mincio River, the largest battle of the 1813–1814 campaign in Italy, but he suffered heavy losses and could not follow up on his victory. Eugène held up against the Austrian and the Neapolitan forces for two more months, until news arrived that Napoleon had abdicated at Fontainebleau (11 April 1814). On 16 April Eugène and Bellegarde signed the armistice of Schiarino-Rizzino. It required French troops to withdraw from Italy to France and allowed Italian forces to continue to occupy positions and fortresses in the Kingdom of Italy not yet occupied by the Allied armies. The cities of Osoppo, Palmanova, Venice, and Legnano and their fortresses were entrusted to the Austrian army.

Eugène, who stayed in Mantua, still hoped to survive the fall of Napoleon and become the ruler of an independent northern Italian state. These hopes were dashed on 20 April when a popular uprising, instigated by Milanese nobles, broke out in Milan, forcing the Senate to dissolve and lynching the unpopular finance minister Giuseppe Prina. Soon the Austrians occupied Milan and restored order. On 26 April Eugène issued a proclamation of farewell from Mantua, conceding control of his army to Bellegarde. The next day he departed for Munich at the invitation of Maximilian. In 1815, during the Hundred Days, Eugène failed to rally to Napoleon since it posed a risk to his family. He lived out his life as Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince of Eichstädt, titles he received from his father-in-law. He died on 20 February 1824 at the age of forty-two.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Bonaparte, Louis; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Continental System; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Hofer, Andreas; Italian Army; Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); Italy, Kingdom of; John, Archduke; Josephine, Empress; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Masséna, André; Maximilian I, King; Middle East Campaign; Mincio River, Battle of the; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Papal States; Pressburg, Treaty of; Raab, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Sacile, Battle of; Smolensk, Battle of; Terror, The; Third Coalition, War of the; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Wagram, Battle of

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## Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770–1827)

Ludwig van Beethoven is regarded as one of the first composers of the Romantic period of the early nineteenth century and as one of the great composers of Western civilization. Beethoven's life reflected his music, for he was a man who challenged the old order of feudalism and aristocracy and wished a new era of freedom to be ushered in. His music, which bridged the Classical style of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the Romanticism of his successors, captured the spirit of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period of revolution and war that defined European history.

Beethoven was born on 16 December 1770 in the city of Bonn, in what is now Germany. His father, Johann van Beethoven, was a court musician to the elector of Cologne. Beethoven was a musical prodigy, and his early training was undertaken by his father. Between 1779 and 1783 Beethoven received further musical training under different teachers. In 1784 he became a court organist for the elector of Cologne. To further sharpen his musical abilities, in 1790 it was arranged that Beethoven was to study in Vienna under Mozart. However, because of Mozart's death in 1791, Beethoven studied under Joseph Haydn and other prominent composers of the day. Beethoven worked under notable patrons from Viennese society, such as Prince Karl Lichnowski and Archduke Rudolph. Despite a degenerative hearing loss, which began around 1797, Beethoven produced hundreds of musical pieces, which include nine symphonies, seven concertos, seventeen string quartets, thirty-two piano sonatas, ten sonatas for violin and piano, five sonatas for cello and piano, one opera, and two masses. When he died on 16 March 1827, thousands throughout Vienna mourned him.

Beethoven's political convictions were highly influenced by the Enlightenment, which taught him to despise tyranny and despotism. Like the philosophers of his day, he was a deist who believed in a supreme being, attesting to the fact that out of his entire musical repertory, he composed only two masses. When the French Revolution broke out, Beethoven was concerned about the growing censorship and repression exercised by the Austrian government.

Despite the fact that they were his only patrons, Beethoven loathed all princes and the aristocracy, particularly because he resented his dependence on them for his livelihood. Because of his talent, however, all Viennese society tolerated his attitudes and eccentricities.

Like many of his generation, Beethoven was caught up in the cult of Napoleon, a man from obscure origins who rose from the position of corporal in the French Army to become the Emperor of France and who dominated Europe for a generation. Much of Beethoven's music reflected the warfare of the early nineteenth century, including his overture "Wellington's Victory." His attitude toward Napoleon ranged from admiration to disgust. Beethoven's Third Symphony, originally dedicated to Napoleon, instead was renamed the *Eroica* after Napoleon crowned himself Emperor. Beethoven was angered at having been betrayed by the man who was to have been the savior of Europe, reputedly exclaiming, "So he is a man after all!"

Dino E. Buenviaje

*See also* Haydn, Joseph; Romanticism

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## Belgium, Campaign in (1792)

The Austrian Netherlands, as Belgium and Luxembourg were known in 1792, had long been a heavily fortified region contested in successive wars between France and its enemies throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Soon after the start of the French Revolution in 1789, the Belgian subjects of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, angered by a series of imperial reform programs and excited by the Revolution in neighboring France, rebelled against him. The leaders of this revolt declared independence from Austria as the "United States of Belgium" in January 1790, but Austrian troops soon restored order.

Relations between France and Austria deteriorated as the French Revolution progressed and the French monarchy's authority crumbled. Within Revolutionary France, rumors of an Austrian intervention to rescue Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI could seem credible because of the fortifications and garrisons in the Austrian Netherlands, which were within striking distance of Paris. Following the French royal family's bungled flight to Varennes in 1791 and the revelation of secret negotiations between Louis and Joseph, an Austrian invasion from the Belgian border seemed even more likely to many Parisians. Meanwhile groups of émigré nobles were fleeing from France into

Austrian and German territories, militating for armed intervention against the French Revolutionaries. In December 1791 Prince Kaunitz of Austria threatened that imperial troops in Belgium would react immediately should French armies invade to take action against these émigrés.

In this climate of fear of internal plots and foreign invasion, deputies in the French Legislative Assembly debated how best to protect the Revolutionary government, then declared war on 20 April 1792. The Revolutionary government almost immediately launched an invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, and this front quickly became the most important theater of war. The duke of Brunswick assembled an Austro-Prussian army in the Austrian Netherlands for an invasion of France. The Brunswick Manifesto that the duke issued on 25 July made clear his intentions "to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France" and to restore Louis to power (Mason and Rizzo 1999, 167–170). Brunswick's troops soon advanced from the Austrian Netherlands, seizing Longwy and Verdun. The French forces that faced the Austro-Prussian invasion suffered from problems of morale and disorganization. Yet the French armies under generals François Kellermann and Charles Dumouriez united and stood their ground at Valmy on 20 September, halting Brunswick's invading army and saving the French Revolution.

Dumouriez believed that the Revolutionary war would be won in the Austrian Netherlands, not in France. Following Valmy, a new French army under Dumouriez invaded the Austrian Netherlands and threatened the fortified town of Mons. On 6 November Dumouriez's troops assaulted an entrenched Austrian army under the command of Albert of Saxe-Teschen at the village of Jemappes, near Mons. The French infantry, supported by artillery, successfully stormed the Austrian positions and forced the defenders to retreat. The victory at Jemappes paved the way for French troops to sweep across the Austrian Netherlands, but an Austrian counteroffensive would push French forces out of Belgium again in 1793.

Brian Sandberg

*See also* Brunswick Manifesto; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; Emigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Jemappes, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe "the Elder"; Louis XVI, King; Valmy, Battle of

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### Belle Isle, Battle of (17 June 1795)

A minor naval encounter in the Bay of Biscay between mismatched British and French squadrons. At the end of May 1795 Vice Admiral William Cornwallis, with a squadron of five line-of-battle ships (one 100 and four 74s), two frigates (32 and 38 guns), and a brig sailed from the Channel Fleet anchorage at Spithead to cruise off Ushant. On 8 June he chased a squadron near Belle Isle, in the Bay of Biscay, under Rear Admiral Jean Gaspar Vence, escorting a large convoy. After capturing several vessels in the convoy, Cornwallis ended his pursuit, leaving the French to seek shelter in Palais Road, which was closely watched by the British squadron. When news of the action reached Brest, the French believed Vence to be under blockade, which he was not, and proceeded on 12 June to rescue him with a squadron under Vice Admiral Louis Villaret de Joyeuse, which linked up with Vence on the fifteenth near Ile Groix. Their combined strength stood at one line-of-battle ship of 120 guns, eleven 74s, two 50s, four 40s, four 36s, and several smaller vessels—a force far superior to Cornwallis's. The French sighted Cornwallis, bound for Belle Isle, on the following day.

Apparently believing himself confronted merely by Vence and the convoy, Cornwallis approached his vastly superior opponent until, around 11:00 A.M., he realized his predicament. He then immediately hauled to windward at full sail while forming in line ahead. The French pursued all day, in two divisions until evening, when they formed into three. Shifting winds favored the French, and although some of the British crews cast overboard a portion of their equipment in order to lighten their respective loads, by dawn on the seventeenth the French were close at hand. One French division, already parallel to Cornwallis's rear, was composed of three ships of the line and five frigates, the center division consisted of five ships of the line and four frigates, and the lee division had four ships of the line, five frigates, and four smaller vessels.

Action commenced around 9:00 A.M. when the leading French line-of-battle ship and a frigate fired on the *Mars* (74), which by 9:30 stood at the rear of Cornwallis's line, preceded by the *Triumph* (74), the *Royal Sovereign* (100), the *Bellerophon* (74), and the *Brunswick* (74). By midday the whole British line was in action, employing its stern guns where possible and making improvised ports for further guns. The second ship in the French van could not engage the rear of the British line until about 1:00 P.M. and after several hours the *Mars* began to lag behind. Cornwallis ordered her to alter course so as to sail clear of the enemy's lee division, while he, in the *Royal Sovereign*, followed by the *Triumph*, came round from the line to rake the bows of the closest pursuing French ships. This action

saved the *Mars* and allowed Cornwallis to re-form his line in order to bring effective fire to bear on the French. The four leading ships of the French van abandoned their attempt to capture the *Mars* and hauled to the wind. Intermittent firing continued until about 6:00 P.M., and half an hour later the French broke off the chase.

“Cornwallis's retreat,” as this action is also known, was skillfully executed, and only two of his ships, the *Mars* and the *Triumph*, received much damage, of which the former had only twelve wounded. In all probability Cornwallis's squadron was saved from capture by a ruse executed by the frigate *Phaeton* (38) on the morning of the battle. Detached well ahead of the squadron, she had hauled up flags to signal an imaginary force that she pretended was composed of line-of-battle ships. This was carried on until around 6:00 P.M. when, by coincidence, several small vessels appeared from the direction the French assumed the British reinforcement would appear. The French then broke off, and thus Cornwallis, with only five line-of-battle ships, intelligent tactics, and an element of trickery, escaped without loss from twelve ships of the line and an even greater number of frigates, reaching Plymouth in safety.

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* Cornwallis, William; First Coalition, War of the  
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### Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf (1756–1845)

Bellegarde, a Saxon noble, transferred to Austrian service and became a noted cavalry commander. A key military adviser to Austria's foreign minister, Johann Freiherr von Thugut, and an able administrator, he readied Austrian forces for the campaign of 1813. In the field he was a capable and brave commander, albeit cautious and unimaginative, while leading Austrian armies from 1799 until 1815.

Born in Dresden, Bellegarde was a lieutenant in the Saxon infantry before transferring to the Austrian cavalry in 1772. Promoted to *Rittmeister* (captain) with the Zweibrücken Dragoons, he distinguished himself in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779) before leading cavalry as an *Oberst* (colonel) against Belgian rebels in 1788–1791. In 1792 he was promoted to *Generalmajor*

under *Feldzeugmeister* Fürst Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, leading the attack that cleared the French from the Mormal Forest during the siege of Quesnoi in August 1793 and participating in Fürst Johannes Liechtenstein's famous charge at Avesnes. Distinguished at Wattignies while leading the right wing, in May 1794 he commanded Archduke Charles's advance guard at Tournai, where his courage and tactical skill won him the Knight's Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa. Also an able military theorist, he joined *Feldzeugmeister* Franz de Croix Graf Clerfayt's staff before promotion to *Feldmarschalleutnant* (lieutenant general) took him back to Vienna as a member of Thugut's military advisory staff. He was posted to Archduke Charles's staff in 1796, officially as his *Adlatus* (military adviser) but made responsible for representing Vienna's wishes. His influence waned after he pressured Charles into the costly Battle of Neresheim in early August. In 1799 he devised Vienna's plan for the Second Coalition, fulfilling his own ambition for army command. Leading the Austrian army in the Tyrol, he descended into Italy to defeat General Jean Moreau at Casina Grossa on 20 June 1799, and he fought at Novi in August. After the Russians abandoned the coalition, he returned to the Tyrol until promoted to *General der Kavallerie* when he replaced *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Melas after the Battle of Marengo. His courage and determination enabled him to mount a steady but unsuccessful defense against General Guillaume Brune around Valeggio when war resumed in December 1800.

Bellegarde remained in Italy as general commandant in Venetia until Charles took over in September 1805. At the Second Battle of Caldiero (29–31 October), he commanded the center and won the Commander Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa for his determined leadership. As commander of I Korps in 1809, he led the northern Austrian advance into Bavaria, taking Regensburg. Displaying both personal bravery and prudence at Aspern and Wagram, he won promotion to *Feldmarschall* and became president of the Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council) in 1810. After forming the Observation Korps in Galicia in 1812, he was widely viewed as having accomplished the impossible to raise Austria's forces to war readiness in 1813. In November he replaced *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Freiherr von Hiller as commander in Italy, although he did not press the French forces hard before the armistice in April 1814.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); Liechtenstein, Johannes Joseph Fürst zu; Marengo, Battle of; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Moreau,

Jean Victor; Neresheim, Battle of; Novi, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Tournai, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Wattignies, Battle of

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### Benavente, Action at (29 December 1808)

This minor cavalry action took place during Lieutenant General Sir John Moore's retreat to Corunna during the Peninsular War. French cavalry were following up the British retreat over the river Esla at Benavente. Lord Henry Paget deployed his cavalry to attack. In the ensuing engagement the French cavalry were forced back over the river, and General Charles Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was among those captured. The success at Benavente allowed Moore to continue his retreat toward Astorga.

During the retreat of Moore's British army from Sahagún, the cavalry was very active in protecting the rear guard. On 29 December 1808 the bridge on the Esla had been partially destroyed by troops of the Light Division at Benavente, and Paget was protecting the withdrawal with his cavalry force. The French cavalry, unable to cross the Esla at Benavente, searched for and discovered a ford. This cavalry force was composed of around 600 men from the Chasseurs à Cheval de la Garde Impériale and a small number of Mamelukes led by Lefebvre-Desnouëttes. The initial force of British cavalry facing them amounted to around 100 hussars under the command of Colonel Loftus Otway. This force began a sporadic carbine fire on the enemy. The British were shortly thereafter reinforced by some cavalry from the King's German Legion—Hanoverians serving in the British Army.

Brigadier General Charles Stewart now arrived on the field and took command of all the cavalry engaged. He charged the French and broke through the first line. However, the second line pushed Stewart's force back toward the outskirts of Benavente, where, however, Stewart knew Paget was waiting with further reserves. Paget had placed the 10th Hussars under cover of the town. The French followed up their victory and did not suspect that there were fresh British cavalry in the area. Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was therefore very surprised when his tiring horsemen were assailed by new forces to their front. The chasseurs were unable to withstand the charge and fell back toward the Esla. The 10th Hussars were now supported by the rest of the

British cavalry and pursued the enemy. On the banks of the Esla the French were forced to turn to fight, but they were unable to do so effectively because of a combination of blown horses and disorganization. A furious melee broke out, with both sides losing about fifty men. However, nearly eighty Frenchmen were captured including Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, who had suffered three saber cuts in the fighting.

This defeat was made worse for the French by the fact that it was witnessed by Napoleon, who had positioned himself on heights near to the Esla in order to view the progress of his Guard cavalry. After the engagement, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was invited to dine with Moore. The British continued their retreat the next day toward Astorga, having blunted the French pursuit for a short time.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Corunna, Retreat to; Hanoverian Army; Imperial Guard (French); Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Charles; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of

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**Benckendorf, Alexander Khristoforovich  
(Constantine Alexander Karl Wilhelm) Graf  
(1781–1844)**

General and aide-de-camp to Tsar Alexander I. Benckendorf descended from a Prussian noble family from Brandenburg that settled in Lifland in the late sixteenth century. His father served in the Russian Army, becoming general of infantry and military governor of Riga. His mother, Freiherrin Anna Schilling von Kanschadt, was a close friend of Tsarina Maria Fedorovna, consort of Tsar Paul I. Benckendorf was educated in a Jesuit boarding school and began service in the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment in 1798. He became *flügel-adjutant* to Paul on 11 January 1799. He participated in operations in the Caucasus in 1803–1804 and briefly served on the island of Corfu in 1804.

In 1806–1807 Benckendorf served as a duty officer to General P. A. Tolstoy and received promotion to colonel on 25 February 1807. He distinguished himself at the Battle of Eylau and took part in negotiations at Tilsit. In 1807–1809 he served in the Russian embassy in Paris. In 1809 he volunteered for service in the Danubian Principalities and commanded cavalry detachments against the Turks. Benckendorf fought at Braila and Silistra and distinguished himself at Ruse in 1811, receiving the Order of St.

George. During the 1812 campaign, he commanded the advance guard in the corps of generals Ferdinand Winze-gorode and Paul Golenischev-Kutuzov. He fought at Velizh, Zvenigorod, and Spassk and in other minor actions. He was promoted to major general on 28 September 1812 with seniority dating from 8 August 1812. He briefly served as commandant of Moscow in October 1812.

During the 1813 campaign in Germany, Benckendorf commanded cavalry detachments and fought at Tempel-burg (for which he received the Order of St. George, 3rd class), Furstenwald, Leipzig, and Luttich, receiving a golden sword for courage from the British Prince Regent. In 1814 he distinguished himself at Craonne, Laon, and St. Dizier. He was appointed commander of the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Uhlan Division on 10 September 1814. Two years later, he became commander of the 2nd Dragoon Division (21 April 1816). He was appointed head of the Independent Guard Corps on 30 March 1819 and was promoted to ad-jutant general on 3 August 1819.

Benckendorf became very close to Tsars Alexander I and Nicholas I, who in turn showered him with promotions and awards. In 1821 he was promoted to lieutenant general (2 October) and took command of the 1st Cuirassier Division. On 6 August 1826 he was appointed head of the Gendarmerie Corps and the 3rd Section of His Imperial Majesty's Personal Chancellery. In the same year, he also became a senator in addition to his other duties. Benckendorf was one of the closest associates of Nicholas. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 and was promoted to general of cavalry on 3 May 1829. Two years later, he became a member of the State Council and the cabinet. In 1832, he was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire. He died aboard the ship *Hercules* returning from Amsterdam to Revel on 23 September 1844.

Benckendorf was one of the most decorated officers in the Russian Army. He received almost every Russian award, including the Orders of St. Andrew with diamonds, of St. Vladimir (1st class), of St. Alexander of Neva with diamonds, of St. Anna with diamonds, of St. George (3rd class), of St. Stanislaus and of Catherine, as well as a medal "For 35 Years of Distinguished Service." He was also awarded nine foreign orders: the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagles with diamonds and the Pour le Mérite, the Swedish Orders of the North Star and of the Sword, the Austrian Order of St. Stephan, the Bavarian Order of Humbert, the Saxon Order of the White Hawk, and the Polish Order of the White Eagle.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Craonne, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign;

Russo-Turkish War; St. Dizier, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Winzgorode, Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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### Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron (1745–1826)

A prominent Russian military commander, Bennigsen was born to a Hanoverian noble family in Brunswick, where his father was a colonel in the Imperial Guard. His family also owned estates at Banteln in Hanover. Because of his father's connections at the Hanoverian court, Bennigsen began his service at the age of ten as a page. Four years later he was commissioned as an ensign in the guard and, in 1763, as a captain, he participated in the final campaign of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). A year later, after the death of his father and his own marriage to the Baroness Steimberg, he retired to his estates at Banteln, disillusioned with military service and widely regarded as an unpromising officer. Bennigsen apparently squandered his inheritance, and after his wife's untimely death, he briefly reentered Hanoverian service before deciding to seek a career in Russia. He was accepted into the Russian service with the rank of premier major and assigned to the Vyatka Musketeer Regiment in 1773.

During the Russo-Turkish War, Bennigsen served in the Narva Musketeer Regiment and was noticed by generals Peter Rumyantsev and Nikolai Saltykov. In January 1779 he became a lieutenant colonel in the Kiev Light Cavalry Regiment. In 1787 he was appointed commander of the Izumsk Light Cavalry Regiment and fought at Ochakov and Bender, receiving promotion to brigadier in 1788. In 1792–1794 Bennigsen took part in the operations against the Polish insurgents, was promoted to major general on 9 July 1794, and was awarded the Order of St. George (3rd class) on 26 September. In 1795 he commanded a brigade at Vasilkov. After returning to St. Petersburg, he formed a close association with Valerian Zubov, the brother of the empress's last favorite. In 1796 he took part in the Persian campaign along the Caspian Sea and fought at Derbent.

After the accession to the throne of Tsar Paul I, Bennigsen was named commander of the Rostov Dragoon Regiment (14 December 1796) and was promoted to lieutenant general (25 February 1798). However, he was dis-



General Levin Bennigsen, a German-born officer in Russian service, held field commands at many prominent battles, including Eylau, Friedland, Borodino, and Leipzig. (George Dawe [1781–1929]/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

missed from service on 11 October 1798 during Paul's purge of high-ranking military officers. He participated in the conspiracy to overthrow Paul and, according to the memoirs of the participants, was chosen to lead the coup d'état because of his reputation for audacity and courage. Despite his role in the conspiracy, Bennigsen's career did not suffer under Alexander I. He was appointed military governor of Vilna and inspector of the Lithuanian Inspection on 23 July 1801. Bennigsen was then promoted to general of cavalry on 23 June 1802, with seniority dating from 4 December 1799.

During the War of the Third Coalition Bennigsen commanded a reserve corps of some 48,000 men arranged between Taurrogen and Grodno. In 1806 he was directed to take up quarters in Silesia and assist the Prussians against the French. After the Prussian defeat, Bennigsen withdrew to Poland, where he fought the French army at Golymin and Pultusk. He claimed these battles as decisive Russian victories, received the Order of St. George (2nd class) on 8 January 1807, and was appointed commander in chief of the Russian army on 13 January 1807. He launched an offensive in January 1807 and fought the French army at Eylau (for which he received the Order of St. Andrew the First Called), Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and

Friedland, where his poor tactics resulted in Russian defeats with heavy losses. Displeased with his actions, Alexander discharged Bennigsen on 9 July 1807.

Bennigsen remained in exile until 1812, when he was ordered to join the Imperial Retinue (8 May 1812). He was considered for the post of commander in chief in August 1812 but was rejected in favor of Mikhail Kutuzov. Instead, he was appointed the chief of staff of the united Russian armies and bickered with Kutuzov for command throughout the campaign. After Borodino, he advised against abandoning Moscow to the French. He distinguished himself at Tarutino, where he was wounded in the leg. However, in late 1812, he was finally dismissed because of his ongoing disagreements with Kutuzov.

Bennigsen returned to the army in early 1813 and received command of the (Russian) Army of Poland. He later fought at Lützen, Bautzen, and Leipzig and besieged Torgau and Magdeburg; for his actions, he was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire on 10 January 1814. He then commanded the Russian troops besieging Hamburg and was decorated with the Order of St. George (1st class) on 3 August 1814 for his conduct. He commanded the 2nd Army in 1815–1817 but was criticized for poor administration and was forced to retire on 15 May 1818. He spent the next eight years at Hanover. He was awarded almost all the highest Russian awards, including the Orders of St. Andrew with diamonds, of St. Vladimir (1st class), of St. Alexander of Neva, of St. Anna (1st class), of St. George (1st class), and a golden sword with diamonds for courage. In addition, he had six foreign decorations: the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle, the Hanoverian Order of Guelf, the Dutch Order of the Elephant, the French Legion of Honor, the Swedish Order of the Sword, and the Austrian Order of Maria Theresa.

Bennigsen was an overrated general. A brave officer, he showed no tactical or strategic abilities in the 1806–1807 and 1813 campaigns. Despite his claims to victories, the battles of Pultusk and Eylau were draws at best. At Heilsberg he lost consciousness and other senior Russian commanders conducted the battle. At Friedland, he chose disadvantageous positions that led to heavy Russian casualties. Bennigsen was a very ambitious officer and an able courtier, who easily navigated in court politics. His three-volume work *Mémoires du général Bennigsen*, published in Paris in 1907–1908, contains fascinating details on the Russian operations in 1806–1813 but often embellishes the facts.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bautzen, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Golymin, Battle of; Hamburg, Defense of; Heilsberg, Battle of;

Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Third Coalition, War of the; Torgau, Siege of

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## Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832)

Jeremy Bentham was an English philosopher and legal reformer. He is popularly known as the founder of Utilitarianism, a philosophical doctrine based on the principle of “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” Bentham’s influence during his lifetime was limited, in part by the slow publication of his works, many of which did not circulate in print until after his death. That is especially so for his writings on the French Revolution.

It is generally agreed that Bentham’s thought was influenced by French thinkers, including Jean Le Rond d’Alembert; Voltaire, whose works Bentham read as a youth at the insistence of his French tutor; and, in particular, Claude-Adrien Helvétius. Later, the French Revolution held Bentham’s interest, as it did that of many British thinkers. In it Bentham saw, at first, an opening for legislative and judicial reform based on Utilitarian principles. To effect that impact, Bentham aimed to establish contacts within France, most notably with the comte de Mirabeau and the Abbé Morellet. At one point or another, Bentham was also in contact with Bon Albert Briois de Beaumez, Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, Jean Antoine Gauvain Gallois, Jean Philippe Garran de Coulon, François de La Rochefoucauld, and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand. That the French Revolution also had an impact upon the direction of Bentham’s thought seems certain, but the extent and nature of that influence is unclear and has been the subject of much scholarly debate.

Bentham had written a good deal before 1789, including *A Fragment on Government* (1776), his critique of Sir William Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the standard account of English common law. Bentham published *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* in 1789, the same year in which he defended the French National Assembly.

The French Revolution also spurred Bentham to write about the notion of representation, in a pamphlet written as an open letter to the comte de Mirabeau and in *Considérations d’un Anglois sur la composition des États-Généraux y compris réponses aux questions pro-*

*posées aux Notables &c.* 1788, where he argued for universal manhood suffrage, on the basis of utility. Bentham's manuscripts include "Observations on the Draughts of Declarations-of-Rights Presented to the Committee of the Constitution of the National Assembly of France" and "Project of a Constitutional Code for France." In 1790, Bentham sent to Paris 100 copies of his pamphlet *Draught of a New Plan for the organisation of the Judicial Establishment in France*. In 1791 Bentham published *Panopticon, or The Inspection House*, selections of which he sent to members of the National Assembly; at the same time, he offered to build and manage a prison in Paris. That proposal met with some enthusiasm but little action.

By the time the French National Assembly made Bentham an honorary French citizen, on 26 August 1792, he had come increasingly to distance himself from the Revolution. For instance, in 1793 Bentham printed "Jeremy Bentham to the National Convention of France," an essay that encouraged the French to grant independence to their colonies. In 1795 he composed "Nonsense upon Stilts," his biting critique of the Constitution of Year III and especially its Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. "Nonsense upon Stilts," like so much else that Bentham wrote on French affairs, was not published until many years after its composition.

Bentham scholars disagree about how best to interpret his writings on the French Revolution. In a now-classic account, Elie Halévy saw them as ad hoc statements. More recently the trend is to see Bentham's French Revolutionary writings as steps in his transformation as a reform thinker.

Mark G. Spencer

See also Constitutions (French); Convention, The; French Revolution

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### **Beresford, Sir William Carr (1768–1854)**

Appointed to reorganize the Portuguese armed forces in 1809, Beresford commanded the Allied forces at the Battle of Albuera in 1811 and remained commander in chief and marshal general of all the Portuguese armies until 1820.

Beresford was born on 2 October 1768, the illegitimate son of the Marquis of Waterford. His younger brother became Rear Admiral Sir John Poo Beresford. He attended a French military academy in Strasbourg and was commissioned into the 6th Foot at the age of seventeen, serving with his regiment in Canada where he lost the use of an eye in a shooting accident in 1786. In 1789 he purchased a lieutenancy in the 16th Foot. He saw active service with Sir John Moore and Admiral Alexander Hood in Italy and at the siege of Toulon, respectively. In 1794 he was made colonel of a regiment newly raised by his father and in 1795, at the age of twenty-seven, he was made colonel of the 88th Foot, the Connaught Rangers. In 1800 he served under Brigadier General Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) in India, whence he accompanied his regiment to Egypt to join Sir Ralph Abercromby's army, which had been sent to expel the remnants of Bonaparte's forces from Egypt. Remaining in Alexandria until 1803, Beresford was promoted to the rank of brigadier. In 1805 he took part in Sir David Baird's capture of the Cape of Good Hope and was appointed to command the expeditionary force that was sent with Commodore Home Riggs Popham to seize Buenos Aires. After capturing the city in June 1806, Beresford acted as governor for two months before surrendering to a superior Spanish force. After escaping from captivity, Beresford returned to London, where he was appointed to command the force being assembled for action against Madeira.

On 24 December 1807 Beresford, in command of an army of 3,500 men, occupied the island of Madeira, which was annexed as a crown colony. As first, and only, British governor of Madeira, Beresford got his first experience of commanding Portuguese troops. He taught himself Portuguese and embarked on an energetic program of reform, which was cut short in March 1808 when the island was handed back to the Portuguese Crown.

Returning to London in August 1808 Beresford was attached to the staff of Sir Harry Burrard and was appointed one of the commissioners to oversee the implementation of the Convention of Cintra. After the departure of the French, Beresford became commandant of Lisbon. After Moore's arrival there, Beresford was sent to negotiate with the bishop of Oporto and then to put the fortress of Almeida into a state of defense. He commanded one brigade of Moore's army in Spain, and it was his troops who covered the embarkation of the army at Corunna after the death of its commander. Beresford emerged from the fiasco of Moore's campaign with a higher reputation, and in March 1809, newly promoted to lieutenant general, he was appointed to take command of the new Portuguese army that was being formed.

Beresford proved to be a highly successful organizer and was a strict disciplinarian. After only three months in command he was able to field an army of 19,000 men for the campaign against Marshal Nicolas Soult in northern Portugal. He eventually commanded a Portuguese army that grew to number 60,000 men, organized along British lines and commanded by a corps of seconded British officers that eventually numbered 100. Portuguese officers were recruited and promoted on merit, and strict military discipline was enforced. Beresford followed the Portuguese practice of dividing the army between front line units and militia, or *segunda linha*, formations. It was the militia that manned the Lines of Torres Vedras. Beresford also made use of the traditional Portuguese light infantry, the *Caçadores*. Beresford was supported in his work both by Wellesley, who became a close friend, and by the secretary to the Portuguese Council of Regency, Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz, who worked with Beresford to create a centralized commissariat for supplying the army. Beresford became, in effect, Wellesley's second in command and the officer who Wellesley intended should assume command of all the Allied forces should he be killed in action.

Beresford's forces took part in the campaign against Soult in northern Portugal in 1809 and played a major part in the Battle of Busaco, where they fought off the attempt by Marshal André Masséna's army to storm the mountain ridge outside Coimbra. After the battle Beresford was made a Knight of the Bath, and his success in these campaigns was rewarded in 1811 when he was made commander of all the Allied armies in the southern theater. Having laid siege to Badajoz, his main objective was to prevent Soult from raising the siege and invading Portugal. He fought a number of minor actions against the French, the principal being at Campo Mayor (Campo Maior), which culminated in the Battle of Albuera on 16 May 1811. Beresford's handling of the Allied armies at Albuera was later strongly criticized by the Peninsular War historian William Napier and became the subject of a lengthy pamphlet war that lingered on into the 1840s. Beresford was criticized for having dismissed General Robert Long, the commander of his cavalry, on the eve of the battle and for allegedly having issued orders for a retreat at the height of the battle—an accusation that Beresford always vigorously denied. Whatever the truth of these allegations, Beresford never lost the confidence of Wellington or of the Portuguese Prince Regent.

The Portuguese army fought at Salamanca, where Beresford was wounded, and in 1813 at Vitoria, where Portuguese and British troops were equal in number. In the campaign in the Pyrenees Beresford held commands at the battles of Nivelle and Toulouse, and he commanded the Allied forces that received the surrender of Bordeaux.

With the defeat of Napoleon, Beresford was raised to the peerage as Baron Beresford of Albuera and received the Portuguese titles of Conde de Trancoso and Marques de Campo Maior. With his army, he returned to Portugal, where he retained his appointment as commander in chief. In June 1815 Wellington asked for the Portuguese army to be sent to the Low Countries for the Waterloo campaign, and Beresford prepared his forces to go. However, he was refused permission to sail by the Regency Council. This refusal brought into the open a long-festering feud between the commander and the Regents. Beresford now sought the backing of the Prince Regent in Rio de Janeiro, returning to Portugal in 1816 with the new title of marshal general of all the Portuguese armies and with extensive new powers over the armed forces in Portugal. In 1817 he claimed to have uncovered a conspiracy to overthrow the monarchy, and after the execution of the leading conspirator, Gomes Freire de Andrade, in October 1817 Beresford was the most powerful man in Portugal. Units of his army, under General Carlos Lecor, were sent to Brazil for King João (John) VI's ultimately unsuccessful campaigns, and Beresford retained the king's confidence until he was ousted from his command by the outbreak of the Revolution of 1820.

Beresford returned to Portugal in 1824 and helped the king survive the Abrilada coup, after which he pressed without success to be allowed to return to Portugal as commander in chief or as British ambassador. When Wellington became prime minister in 1828, Beresford was appointed to the cabinet as master general of the ordnance and advised Wellington on Portuguese affairs. When Wellington left office in 1830 Beresford's public career was over. He helped the Marquis of Waterford maintain the Waterford influence in northern Ireland's politics, he pursued a vigorous pamphlet war against Napier and the Longs, and he married his first cousin, the Honorable Louisa Hope, in 1832 and settled at Bedgebury in Kent. He was made governor of Jersey, a ceremonial office he held until his death on 8 January 1854, at the age of eighty-six.

Beresford was greatly admired by some of the officers who served under him—notably Sir Benjamin d'Urban, his quartermaster general. He was more grudgingly admired by some Portuguese as an efficient organizer of the armed forces who gave Portugal, for the first and only time in its history, an army that could compete with the best in Europe. He was, moreover, trusted by the Duke of Wellington. However, Beresford was not a very likable man. He was notoriously ill mannered and greedy for titles and wealth. In 1823 he became Viscount Beresford. He acquired estates and pensions in Portugal, which he fought hard to retain. He took as his mistress the wife of the Visconde de Juromenha, who was his private envoy in Rio de Janeiro. He

had three children by her, but when her husband eventually died, she refused to marry the British general. Beresford was prodigiously strong (a popular print showed him lifting a Polish lancer bodily from the saddle at Albuera), but he was also a hypochondriac, habitually taking the waters whether for reasons of ill health or to recover from the breakdown he suffered after the Battle of Albuera.

Although never acquiring the heroic reputation of others of Wellington's general officers, Beresford played a far more important part in the Peninsular War than any other Allied general except Wellington himself. Beresford's role in creating a Portuguese army from nothing cannot be overestimated, while the successful conduct of his troops on every campaign from 1809 to 1814 made him one of the principal architects of Wellington's famous victories.

*Malyn Newitt*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Albuera, Battle of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Buenos Aires, Expedition to; Busaco, Battle of; Cape Colony, Second Expedition against; Cintra, Convention of; Corunna, Battle of; Hood, Alexander, Viscount; Masséna, André; Middle East Campaign; Moore, Sir John; Nivelles, Battle of the; Peninsular War; Portugal; Portuguese Army; Salamanca, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Toulon, Siege of; Toulouse, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## **Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the (21–29 November 1812)**

At the Berezina River, the Russians attempted to trap Napoleon's Grande Armée during the retreat from Moscow.

The Russian plan was for General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein, with 30,000 men, to push the forces covering the French northern flank toward their main body and for General Pavel Chichagov (34,000) to do the same to the forces covering the French southern flank. They were to unite near Borisov on the Berezina, cutting off Napoleon's retreat. General Mikhail Kutuzov (80,000) was to pursue the main French force from the east. After pinning the French, they would all attack.

Wittgenstein succeeded in pushing the corps of marshals Claude Victor and Nicolas Oudinot in the desired direction. General Karl Freiherr von Wrede's corps evaded the net by retiring east. Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg's corps protected the French southern flank but moved southwest to help General Jean, comte Reynier, enabling Chichagov to slip through and capture the important supply depot at Minsk on 16 November.

On hearing this, Napoleon became worried at being cut off at the Berezina. He dispatched messengers to Borisov, ordering the bridgehead to be held at all costs. He ordered Oudinot to counterattack at Borisov, and Victor to hold off Wittgenstein in the north. To expedite the march, he ordered the baggage train to be halved. Among the equipment jettisoned was the pontoon train. It is not clear if this was Napoleon's choice, but he tended to give priority to the preservation of the artillery.

On the twenty-first the French garrison lost control of the bridgehead after a 10-hour fight with Chichagov. Napoleon was now trapped. He ordered that the baggage be halved again and the freed-up horses from the baggage train be given to the artillery. The state papers and the standards were burned. On the twenty-third Oudinot pushed Chichagov out of Borisov but failed in an attempt to take the bridge. Chichagov withdrew to the west bank and destroyed the bridge. He then took up a defensive position extending from Brill opposite Studienka (8 miles upstream, northwest of Borisov), to Usha, 20 miles downstream from Borisov. The river is normally frozen in late November, but a thaw on the twentieth broke up the ice, making the river impossible to cross and bursting its banks. Oudinot sent scouts to find an unguarded crossing below Borisov, but to no avail.

On the twenty-third Brigadier General Jean-Baptiste Corbineau discovered a ford at Studienka, 3.5 feet deep but rising. Napoleon ordered generals François Chasseloup and Jean-Baptiste Eblé of the Engineer corps to build three bridges. Corbineau was to lead a force of 400 cavalry and light infantry to cross the river by raft or horseback to set up a covering position. Victor was ordered to hold off Wittgenstein about 6 miles northeast of Studienka, while Marshal Louis Davout held off Kutuzov coming from the town of Bobr. Eblé had managed to retain two field forges



Crossing of the Berezina. Fugitives of the Grande Armée and camp followers flee across the icy river with the Russians in close pursuit. (Print by F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

and eight wagons of equipment from the pontoon train. On the night of the twenty-fourth the men began tearing down houses to get timber to build trestles and planks. There were only sufficient resources for two bridges, only one of which would be suitable for vehicles.

Napoleon had ordered several diversions to the south. On the twenty-fifth a diversion 6 miles south of Borisov, by a mixed force plus a crowd of refugees, made such a noise as to give the impression of bridging preparations. Chichagov fell for the ruse and abandoned his positions opposite Studienka and Borisov to move south. Corbineau's small force drove off the Cossack patrols that made up Chichagov's rear guard. A battery of forty-four guns, placed on the east bank to cover the bridging site, silenced the two Russian guns left behind.

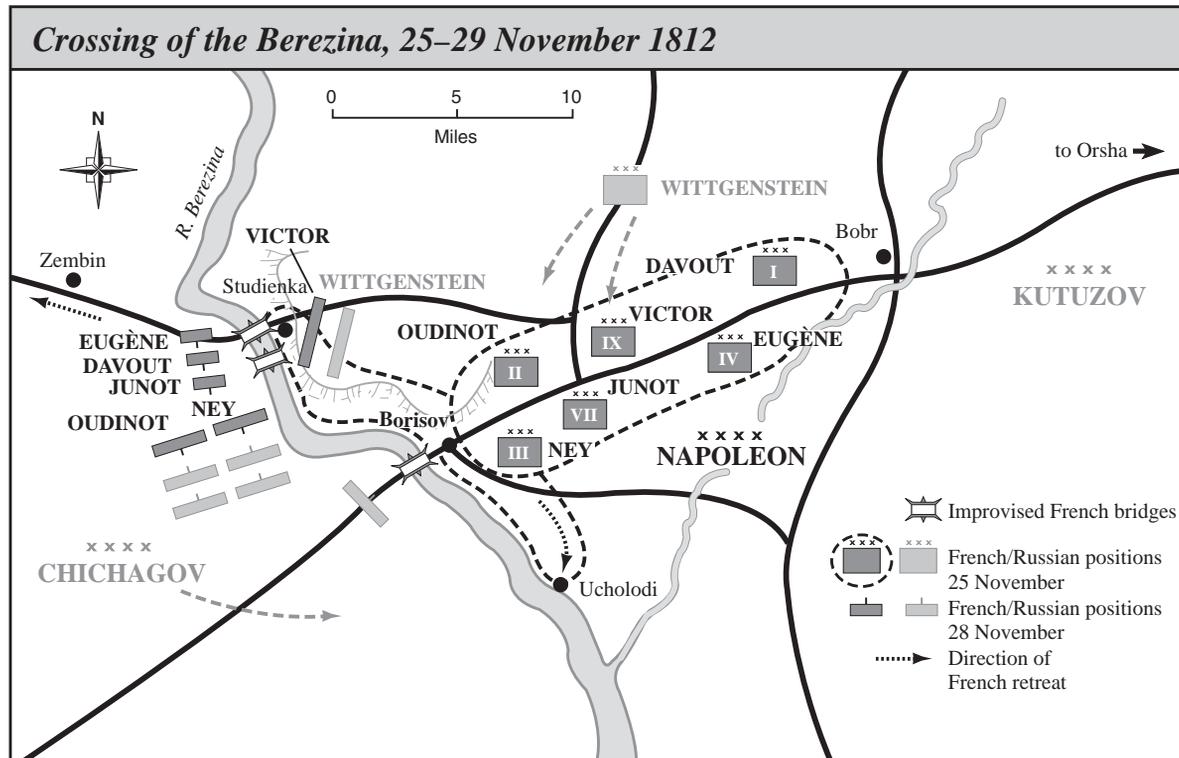
The engineers meanwhile worked throughout the night of 25–26 November to bridge the 80-yard span. Working up to their shoulders in icy water to drive in the trestles, they completed the smaller bridge at 1:00 P.M. on the twenty-sixth. Oudinot's corps crossed first, along with General comte J. P. Dumerç's cuirassier (heavy cavalry) division, followed by Marshal Michel Ney. The artillery followed later once the second bridge was finished at 3:00 P.M. Oudinot moved a few miles southwest to Stachov to cover the left

flank of the army. Ney deployed to his left. Oudinot's cavalry succeeded in seizing the causeway across the marshes near Zemin to the west, the route of the retreat.

The crossing continued on the twenty-seventh. Napoleon's headquarters transferred to the west bank, followed by the Imperial Guard. Meanwhile, Chichagov attacked Oudinot in force. The latter gave ground but stabilized the position. Wittgenstein pushed Victor's IX Corps into a 10-mile perimeter around Studienka and Borisov, but the defenders maintained cohesion, and Napoleon felt able to withdraw the Baden brigade across the river.

At 4:00 P.M., however, part of the vehicle bridge collapsed. The orderly crossing degenerated into a scramble for the remaining bridge, and many died. The bridge was repaired by evening, but its approaches were clogged with abandoned vehicles and corpses. The engineers cleared a passage for IV and I Corps during the evening.

During the night there was a gap in the traffic. Eblé urged the stragglers to cross, but few heeded him. Stupefied by cold and exhaustion, they preferred to stay by their fires. Victor ordered General comte Partonneaux's division to evacuate Borisov during the night of the twenty-seventh–twenty-eighth. After taking a wrong turn, they found themselves cut off, and 4,500 troops were forced to



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 840.

surrender. At dawn on the twenty-eighth Wittgenstein assaulted the weakened IX Corps, which struggled to hold Studienka. Napoleon sent the Baden brigade back to the east bank to stabilize the line.

Chichagov again attacked Oudinot's forces; Oudinot himself had been wounded. Ney took command of both II and III Corps. A charge by Dumerc's cuirassiers saved the day for the French. Nevertheless, Russian artillery fire on the mob at the bridgehead caused renewed panic, and many were pushed into the river. Napoleon formed a massive battery on the west bank, which enfiladed the Russians, forcing them back. Victor withdrew overnight. The last of the rear guard crossed at dawn the next day, after which Eblé fired the bridges. A howl of despair rose from the stranded mob, most of whom were soon to perish.

The French lost 20,000–30,000 combatants and twenty-five guns; 30,000 noncombatants were left behind. The Russians lost 10,000 killed and more wounded. Eblé died shortly after reaching Königsberg in East Prussia.

*Rohan Saravanamuttu*

*See also* Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich; Cossacks; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Imperial Guard (French); Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Russian Campaign; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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## Berg, Grand Duchy of

*See* Confederation of the Rhine

## Bergen, Battle of (19 September 1799)

Battle between an Allied army under the Russian general Ivan Ivanovich Hermann and Franco-Batavian troops near Bergen during the Anglo-Russian campaign of 1799 in North Holland. After a British invasion force landed on the coast south of Den Helder, the town (known by the same name) was taken and a defensive line was established at the Zijpe, an easily defensible polder in the north of North Holland. After an awkwardly executed attack from General

Brune's French and Batavians on 11 September and the arrival of Russians on the twelfth, the Duke of York decided to counterattack.

With 35,000 troops, York outnumbered Brune, who had no more than around 25,000 at the ready. As Brune had been a few days before, York was obliged to divide his forces into overextended columns so his forces could negotiate over straight, narrow dykes and roads in swampy polders or, in the case of his right flank, over sandy dunes and coastline. The army was divided into four columns. The column on the right wing, numbering some 9,000 Russians followed by a reserve of 2,500 British, was the strongest and would follow the North Sea coast to attack Bergen. Both center columns, one 5,000 and one 6,500 strong, would aim for minor settlements to pin down the Franco-Batavian forces. Finally, the left column, 9,000 strong and commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby, would follow the Zuyder Zee coastline to Hoorn.

Things started to go wrong from the outset. As a result of unclear orders from York, the times of the different attacks were not coordinated. Hermann's first engagement with the French advance guard was successful, and Kamp and Groet were taken, but darkness resulted in disorder in the Russian lines. Still, Schoorl was taken and the troops moved further up to Bergen against continuous French resistance. The French in the town were surprised, but they quickly positioned themselves for defense and Hermann had to wait for supporting artillery before he could attack. After heavy fighting, Bergen was eventually taken.

The Russian troops, however, were in a very bad state of discipline. Many were drunk, as before the battle they had been provided with double rations of spirits, and immediately after taking Bergen they had started pillaging. Hermann attempted to prepare for a French counterattack, but with limited success. A British brigade held in reserve was, moreover, occupied in fighting Batavian troops near Schoorl and was unable to reinforce Hermann.

Brune responded by sending General Vandamme with some 7,500 troops and sixteen guns to attack Bergen. Vandamme ordered some Batavian battalions to march around the village to cut off the Russian line of retreat, and when the village was surrounded, he attacked and defeated the Russians with the rest of his forces, mainly French. Many Russians were taken prisoner, including Hermann himself, who was caught in flight. Only a few Russians escaped, fleeing in disorder to the Zijpe and beyond. The right column having thus been destroyed, the supporting middle columns pulled back as well and the position of Abercromby, who had been successful on the extreme left and had taken Hoorn, became untenable. He abandoned the town and retreated, thereby reducing the net results of

the attack to naught. Total Anglo-Russian losses numbered around 7,000 killed and wounded, while the Franco-Batavians suffered 3,750 casualties.

This debacle did not end the struggle in North Holland, but it may well be contended that this defeat spelled the strategic failure of the campaign, as Brune gained time to reinforce and further prepare the defense of the Batavian Republic, thereby foiling an attempt to turn a modest foothold in North Holland into a genuine northern front.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; North Holland, Campaign in; Second Coalition, War of the; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Berlin Decrees (21 November 1806)

Napoleon's Berlin Decrees established his Continental System, which was primarily an effort to damage British commerce with the object of bankrupting Britain and forcing it to withdraw from the war with France. The impetus for the decrees came on 16 May 1806, when Britain established a naval blockade of French home ports and those in French-occupied Europe spanning the area from Brest to the Elbe River. On 21 November, the Berlin Decrees were issued in the Prussian capital. Napoleon declared in them that Britain and its imperial possessions were henceforth under a blockade. No ship sailing from Britain with a port of destination in Europe was allowed entry for the purposes of trade. The legislation also stipulated that all British ships and goods were subject to seizure as prizes.

The Berlin Decrees and the subsequent Milan Decrees, issued in late 1807 and expanding the scope of the Berlin Decrees, were an extension of actions against British trade that had been taken by the French Revolutionary government prior to Napoleonic rule. They created in effect a boycott of all British goods in continental Europe, rather than a blockade. The nature of these decrees was the result

of the fact that because of the superiority of the Royal Navy, France did not have a navy capable of effectively blockading Britain.

Napoleon pursued multiple aims through the Berlin Decrees, aims that extended beyond forcing Britain from the war. He believed that because Europe consumed up to one-third of British exports, the economic hardship that the legislation would produce on the Continent would galvanize Europe against Britain. The Emperor also wanted French industry to fill the void in European trade that the Berlin Decrees would create and thereby decrease European dependence on goods from overseas. In addition, he felt that eliminating the need for such foreign goods would isolate Britain from future continental affairs, as in Napoleon's view past British influence rested on trade. Finally, the Emperor believed that the Berlin Decrees, with their emphasis on freedom of the seas as a challenge to the British blockade, could attract the support of neutral powers and thus strengthen his political position in European politics.

The Berlin Decrees were not successful. Britain was not forced to sue for peace, primarily because the continental European powers violated the decrees. European consumers' dependence on British goods, as well as their preference for them, overrode the will of Napoleon. In addition, Europeans were not drawn to the French cause by the argument that Britain stood to blame for any economic problems resulting from the legislation. Rather, they held Napoleon, the originator of the Berlin Decrees, responsible. Ultimately, the hardship produced by the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System in general led Russia to withdraw from the system in 1810. Napoleon's attempt to coerce Russia to return to the stipulations contained in the decrees led to war in 1812 and dire consequences for the French Empire.

*Eric W. Osborne*

*See also* Blockade; Continental System; Milan Decrees; Orders in Council; Royal Navy

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### **Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules (1763–1844)**

Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte was a successful soldier in the republican period and was quickly promoted. In 1796 he defeated Archduke Charles of Austria at Ratisbon before being transferred to the French army in Italy. After holding a series of military and diplomatic posts, he was made a

marshal in 1804. He fought at Austerlitz with success, but in the 1806 campaign against Prussia, he was criticized for not appearing at either Jena or Auerstädt. At Wagram, Napoleon was once more unhappy with his conduct. In 1810 he was adopted by the king of Sweden as his heir, and from then on he drifted away from Napoleon. In 1813 he joined the Allies and commanded the Army of the North, fighting at Dennewitz and Leipzig. On the abdication of Napoleon he hoped to be made ruler of France, but he was to be disappointed. He then ruled Sweden until his death in 1844.

Bernadotte was born in Pau in Gascony. He was the son of a lawyer, and his father intended that Jean should follow the same profession. However, on the death of his father in 1780, Bernadotte joined the Régiment de Brassac. Within eight years he had attained the rank of sergeant major. In May 1789 Bernadotte's regiment was sent to Marseilles to help quell civilian unrest. During this posting he was instrumental in saving his commanding officer from a mob. As a reward he received a commission and joined the 36th Regiment, which was posted to the Army of the Rhine. He was made *chef de bataillon* in February 1794 and by April was commanding a brigade under General Kléber. He fought at Fleurus, where his troops carried out a spirited attack on an Austrian-held wood, and as a result he was promoted to the rank of general. By October he was commanding a division. In November he was made governor of Maastricht. In 1795 Bernadotte was constantly engaged in the campaigns along the Rhine. At the Battle of Kreuznach he was involved in some bitter street fighting. In 1796 he occupied Nuremberg and the university town of Altdorf. Here an incident occurred that was to test Bernadotte's temperament. The burghers of Altdorf claimed exemption from having to quarter the French troops. Bernadotte felt that this was a slur on the reputation of his men and threatened to burn down the city if they refused to provide provisions. In August his troops were near the city of Ratisbon (present-day Regensburg), when he was attacked by Archduke Charles. Despite being outnumbered, Bernadotte was able to fight a valiant rearguard action that allowed him to withdraw to Coblenz. It was now reported in Parisian newspapers that Bernadotte had looted Nuremberg. These reports stemmed from the threats that Bernadotte had made at Altdorf. He was furious and traveled to Paris to ask the Directory to take action. Dissatisfied with the actions his government took, Bernadotte threatened to resign.

At this point Bonaparte had requested reinforcements in Italy, and Bernadotte's division was given orders to cross the Alps. Despite the fact that Bernadotte's veteran division was sorely needed, there was tension between them and the rest of the Army of Italy. Bernadotte's men were seen as too close to the traditions of the old royalist army and were

dubbed “Les Messieurs” by the citizen-soldiers of the Army of Italy. Bernadotte himself was drawn into the conflict when the military governor of Milan, Colonel Dominique-Martin Dupuy, refused to obey Bernadotte’s orders. Bernadotte had him arrested, but the colonel was saved by the intervention of General Berthier, who would become Bonaparte’s nominal chief of staff. This clash was to lead to enmity between the future marshals. In March Bonaparte and Bernadotte met near Milan. The meeting was cordial, but there was tension between the two. Bernadotte realized, though, that at the moment Bonaparte had the ear of the Directory and that he had little choice but to obey his instructions.

On 10 March 1797 Napoleon opened a new offensive with Bernadotte leading the advance guard of the right wing. Bernadotte led the crossing of the Tagliamento River and was responsible for saving two men who had been swept away. He was now given the task of blockading or storming Gradisca. Bernadotte was furious with these orders as he suspected that whatever decision he took would be criticized. He carried the city by assault but was still censured by Napoleon for the unnecessary loss of life. Bernadotte was now sent back to Paris with Austrian trophies. This could have been interpreted as an honor, but Bernadotte suspected that it was mainly to get him out of the way.

Early in 1798 Bernadotte was made ambassador to Vienna. It was not a post he wanted, and he was unable to conceal his Republican values. Indeed, Bernadotte is supposed to have had a tattoo declaring “Death to Tyrants.” As a result, the embassy was stormed by a mob and the tricolor was burnt. Bernadotte was incensed by the inactivity of the Austrian government in this matter and left Vienna in April. He was asked to be ambassador to The Hague but he refused. While in Paris Bernadotte married Desirée Clary, who had been betrothed to Bonaparte. This event did little to create harmony between the two. In 1799 Paul Barras asked Bernadotte to take part in a coup against the Directory, but he took no action. In July he was made minister for war, but he was dismissed in September. When Bonaparte returned from Egypt, he asked Bernadotte to take part in the coup of Brumaire. Bernadotte refused but promised not to act against him. After Bonaparte was made First Consul, Bernadotte was made a councilor of state in January 1800 and was then given command of the Army of the West. This force was intended to deal with a threatened invasion by an Allied army. The invasion that actually took place was, however, little more than a raid, consisting of a landing of royalist émigrés in Quiberon Bay.

The Army of the West was now disbanded. Bernadotte angered Napoleon when in his farewell address to his troops he consistently stressed ideas of liberty, which

Bonaparte saw as criticism of his regime. Bonaparte now intended to send Bernadotte to the United States as ambassador. However, with the sale of Louisiana in 1803 and the outbreak of war with Britain in the same year, Bernadotte remained in France. For almost a year he received no official post. In 1804, though, he was made a marshal and governor of Hanover. By August 1805 he was in command of I Corps of the Grande Armée. Bernadotte played his part in the Ulm campaign, and at Austerlitz his corps, with that of Marshal Soult, launched the decisive assault. After the peace Bernadotte was made governor of Ansbach, and in June 1806 he was made prince de Ponte Corvo.

Problems were to follow in the campaign against Prussia, however. At the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt, Bernadotte did not commit his corps to either engagement. Many reasons have been given for this, varying from his dislike of Napoleon and the hope that he would be defeated and therefore discredited, to faulty staff work and difficult terrain. However, as a result, Bernadotte was severely criticized by Napoleon. Goaded by this criticism, Bernadotte launched a fierce pursuit of the Prussian forces. He stormed Halle and took part in the capitulation of the Prussians at Lübeck, as well as of a division of newly arrived Swedish troops hoping to relieve the city. In January 1807 Bernadotte’s corps was in East Prussia, but his troops were not present at the Battle of Eylau. Once more Napoleon was critical, but his absence could be explained by the fact that orders from Berthier had been intercepted. In June he was wounded at Spanden and obliged to relinquish command. With the onset of peace he was made governor of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen.

When war with Austria broke out in 1809 Bernadotte was given command of the Saxon corps. Many of the Saxon troops at the time were inadequately trained and equipped to fight, and Bernadotte resented being given what he believed was a second-rate formation. Despite this he gained the trust of his troops, and at the start of the campaign they performed well. Wagram proved the decisive battle of the campaign. Once more Bernadotte was a figure of controversy. On the first day of the fighting the Saxons suffered serious losses, and Bernadotte suggested that this was due to the fact that Berthier had not released reserves to support him. Overnight Bernadotte made the decision to withdraw from the village of Aderklaa. Napoleon was furious, as this village now had to be retaken before his main attack could begin. Bernadotte then compounded his error by issuing a proclamation praising the performance of the Saxon troops, as a result of which Napoleon had him removed from command. His next command was the Army of Antwerp, which had been created to ward off the threat of the British invasion of Walcheren Island.

Bernadotte's fortunes now changed dramatically. King Charles XIII of Sweden had no direct heirs, and his adopted son died in June 1810. The king favored a Danish prince, but this was not popular within Sweden. The king therefore asked Napoleon to suggest a member of his family or a marshal as a suitable successor. Bernadotte qualified on both counts. On 21 August, Bernadotte was elected Crown Prince of Sweden and renounced both his Catholic faith and French nationality and took the name Charles John. Napoleon believed that the new Swedish king would bring Sweden fully into the Continental System. This was not to be the case. As one of his first objectives, Bernadotte sought the annexation of Norway—a direct affront to Napoleon, since Norway was part of the kingdom of Denmark, an ally of France. As a consequence Napoleon occupied Swedish Pomerania. Bernadotte now focused his attention on Russia and on 5 April 1812 signed a treaty of alliance at St. Petersburg with Tsar Alexander I. When the invasion of Russia took place, Bernadotte met with Alexander in Finland. Once French defeat in Russia was inevitable Sweden and Britain signed a treaty in which the former agreed to send 30,000 troops to northern Germany, paid for by British subsidies. Bernadotte wrote to Napoleon attributing his actions to the French invasion of Swedish Pomerania.

By May 1813 the Swedish army had landed in Germany. However, Bernadotte was at loggerheads with his allies; he wanted to take immediate action to try and take Norway, but the tsar was still actively trying to persuade the king of Denmark to support the Allies. Bernadotte met the tsar at Trachenberg, where the former recommended a policy of engaging French forces commanded by the marshals, but not engaging Napoleon directly. Rather, Allied forces should withdraw from him. Bernadotte was also given command of the Army of the North. The fighting in early autumn seemed to vindicate this policy with the victory at Dennewitz on 6 September. Bernadotte was nonetheless criticized for his lack of aggression. It seems that he harbored thoughts of replacing Napoleon with himself as emperor and believed any engagement between his own forces and the French reduced the possibility of this taking place. However, he arrived with his forces to assure Allied victory at Leipzig.

After Leipzig the Army of the North marched north to engage Marshal Davout. Lübeck was captured on 5 December and in the Treaty of Kiel on 14 January 1814, Norway was ceded to Sweden. On 10 February the Army of the North reached Cologne. Bernadotte was at Liège when Napoleon abdicated, and despite the fact that he quickly traveled to Paris, he had little chance of securing his goal of becoming ruler of France because many saw him as a traitor to his native land. Bernadotte soon returned to Liège. Norway

declared independence, and he led the Swedish army in a bloodless campaign to overawe the Norwegian forces in May 1814. When Napoleon escaped from Elba, Bernadotte did not join the Allies, as he believed that Sweden had already fulfilled its commitment to the Allied cause. Bernadotte became King Charles XIV John on 7 February 1818. He was to rule until 1844 as a generally popular monarch.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Brumaire Coup of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dennewitz, Battle of; Directory, The; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Leipzig, Battle of; Louisiana Purchase; Marshalate; Norway; Quiberon, Expedition to; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Saxon Army; Second Coalition, War of the; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Sweden; Swedish Army; Third Coalition, War of the; Wagram, Battle of; Walcheren, Expedition to

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### **Berthier, Louis-Alexandre (1753–1815)**

Born at Versailles, Louis-Alexandre Berthier is best known for his role as one of Napoleon's marshals and as the Emperor's nominal chief of staff. Berthier, however, had a military career spanning over forty years, during which he also served in the comte de Rochambeau's expedition to the United States during the American War of Independence (1775–1783), and as an officer in both the Royal and Revolutionary Armies.

Louis-Alexandre was the son of Jean-Baptiste Berthier and his first wife, Marie-Françoise l’Huillier de la Serre. He was one of four children by his father’s first marriage. There was later a fifth from a second marriage. His father oversaw much of Alexandre’s early military career, much of it spent in his youth at the Hôtel de la Guerre, the French War Ministry, where Alexandre’s father served as a topographical engineer. Jean-Baptiste therefore oversaw much of his son’s attention to detail in drawing maps for the use of the ministry. By 1770, at the age of seventeen, he was a lieutenant. Outside of the young man’s work in the cartographic section at the Hôtel, his father made sure that Alexandre’s military education was rounded out by a number of field assignments. For instance, in 1772 he was attached to the Legion of Flanders. Likewise, he was present in 1775 at the army maneuvers of the Strasbourg garrison. He went on to write reports on these exercises that won him praise from his superiors.

On 2 July 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. Meanwhile, he continued gaining field experience by serving in Lambesc’s Lorraine Dragoons. In 1779 he was assigned to the Army of Normandy, then preparing for a planned cross-Channel descent on England. He gave up this opportunity in favor of attempting to gain a post on Rochambeau’s expedition to America. He achieved this transfer, and followed the second division of the expeditionary force. Eventually, he was attached to the Soissonais Regiment along with his brother Charles-Louis.

Berthier served with some distinction during the campaign in America, which culminated in the siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. After leaving America, the force to which Berthier was attached did not return to France; rather, it went first to the Caribbean and eventually to South America in order to aid France’s Spanish allies. During this portion of his American adventures, Berthier experienced a personal tragedy when his brother died in a duel. Berthier left a fairly complete journal of his experiences during this period of his life. Unfortunately, the section dealing with the siege of Yorktown in particular has been lost. He returned to France in 1783.

On his return, Berthier toured both Austria and Prussia. During his stint in Prussia, he met Frederick the Great and seems to have made a positive impression on the aging king, for he was invited to observe the maneuvers of the Prussian army at Breslau in Silesia in August 1783. While on this tour, Berthier also reconnoitered the battlefields of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). Next, he journeyed to the court of Emperor Joseph II of Austria.

On his return to France, Berthier resumed his staff work at Versailles. For the remainder of the decade, promotion came slowly to the young officer. In 1787 he received the designation of assistant quartermaster general,



Marshal Berthier, Napoleon’s chief of staff from the start of his first Italian campaign in 1796 until his first abdication in 1814. The operational efficiency of the Grande Armée owed much to his considerable administrative and organizational skills. (Drawing by Antoine Jean Gros from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 2)

but he was only promoted to major on 1 July 1788. During this year he was assigned to the position of chief of staff to the camp at Saint-Omer. At the same time, however, he received the Cross of the Royal Military Order of Saint-Louis. On 11 July 1789 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the same year, as a mark of gratitude for his service in the American War of Independence, Berthier received from the U.S. government the Eagle of the Society of the Cincinnati. Through 1788–1789 Berthier accompanied General Lambert, the inspector general of the Royal Army, on a tour of Flanders and Hainault. On 1 April 1791, at the age of thirty-seven, he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Like many other officers of the Royal Army in much the same situation, Berthier is thought to have seen his promotions to this point as coming at an agonizingly slow pace. Still, with the outbreak of the Revolution, he did not immediately join the Revolutionary cause. During the early years of the Revolution, Berthier seemed to approach

the unfolding events with a certain reservation. Some of its reforms he seems to have favored, so much so that he enlisted as a fusilier in the Versailles militia along with his brothers César and Leopold. The Versailles militia was patterned after the same organization in Paris, which was then commanded by the marquis de Lafayette. The Versailles militia fell under the command of the comte d'Estaing, another name more closely connected with the American War of Independence. On the election of d'Estaing to the command of the organization in September 1789, Berthier was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and held the post of chief of staff.

With the removal of the royal family from Versailles (5–6 October 1789), Berthier held responsibility for the protection of the royal properties and commanded the royal garrison stationed there as well. Like many other officers from the old Royal Army still in service, Berthier fell out of favor with the popular faction of the Revolution as politics began to radicalize. In the case of Berthier, the change was due, in particular, to the work of one Laurent Lecointre, who printed a number of attacks on Berthier's loyalty to the Revolution. Matters came to a head during the departure of the Flanders Regiment, now restyled the 19th Line. Soon after this event, Berthier resumed his staff work with the regular army. Through the autumn and winter 1790–1791, Berthier, still a colonel, worked at recruiting volunteers in Loiret and Seine-et-Oise. He likewise served as the chief of staff for the 17th Division, then concentrated around Paris.

With the declaration of war on Austria by the Legislative Assembly on 20 April 1792, Berthier's career turned in a much more active direction. He was again a chief of staff and serving under Rochambeau, now a Marshal of France. During 1792 they both served with the Army of the North on the Dutch border. Berthier continued in this post under the command of General Luckner when the former was made a *maréchal de camp*.

Berthier again ran afoul of the civil authorities at this time. He had written an open letter to the king on 27 June 1792, denouncing the attack on the king's person that had taken place on 20 June at the Tuileries. For this statement, he was relieved of his command after the overthrow of the monarchy on 10 August. The decree was passed on 21 August and went into effect on the very day of the Battle of Valmy—20 September. Berthier did appeal this decision, supported by generals Luckner, Custine, and Kellermann. All of this was to no avail until the spring of 1793.

At that time, the Committee of Public Safety presented Berthier with the chance to serve in the Vendée as a volunteer. He took the opportunity, though he was not formally reinstated in the Army of France. Serving as a volunteer, Berthier took part on 9 June 1793 in the Battle of

Saumur, where he was wounded and had two horses shot from under him. Shortly after these events, he returned to Paris, where he again fell under suspicion and was detained for a period. At this point, he retired to the estate of a brother-in-law at Précly-sur-Oise. In residence here, Berthier escaped the worst ravages of the Terror. The Thermidorian Reaction allowed him to emerge from this semi-retirement.

Berthier was officially reinstated as a *général de brigade* and chief of staff to the Armies of the Alps and Italy on 5 March 1795, again serving under the command of Kellermann. On 13 June of the same year, Berthier was promoted to *général de division*. On 2 March 1796 the Directory made Bonaparte commander of the Army of Italy. Berthier now became his chief of staff. The two met for the first time on 24 March at Antibes. The partnership thus begun would last for the next eighteen years.

During the famed Italian campaign of 1796, Bonaparte wrote reports citing Berthier very highly for his staff work and for his bravery. In the summer of 1797 Berthier's headquarters was set up at Milan. It was at this time that Berthier met Giuseppin Visconti, who became his mistress and remained so for the rest of his life, despite his later marriage. At the end of 1797 Bonaparte named Berthier commander of the Army of Italy while the former traveled on his way to Paris.

In early 1798 Berthier was ordered by Bonaparte to set up the Republic of Rome. Accordingly, Berthier entered the city on 15 February. On 19 May he left the port of Toulon with Bonaparte aboard the *L'Orient* on the expedition to Egypt. Berthier again served as chief of staff through both the Egyptian and the Syrian campaigns, returning to Paris with Bonaparte in October 1799.

With the coup of Brumaire, Bonaparte became First Consul, and at the same time he was preparing to engage Austria again. Berthier's part in this came with his appointment as both minister of war and commander of the Army of Reserve. In the early months of 1800, Berthier marched his forces across the Alps in preparation for this campaign, which culminated at the Battle of Marengo on 14 June 1800.

With the conclusion of the campaign of 1800, Berthier was next sent on a diplomatic mission to Madrid, where, on 1 October, he signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso, in which Spain gave Louisiana to France in return for Parma. Berthier was at Napoleon's side through most of the Emperor's reign. He served in the field with Napoleon at the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram. In most of the aforementioned battles, Berthier's abilities in staff work were a key ingredient to the success of the campaign, though in the campaign of 1809 Berthier was placed in command of the Imperial Guard, his first and

only field command. When the Austrians began an offensive on 9 April, Berthier received orders from the Emperor out of sequence and ordered some poor concentrations, including a countermarch by Marshal Davout's corps from Ingolstadt to Ratisbon. The problem was soon corrected with the arrival of Napoleon in the theater of campaign. Most scholars look to Berthier's mistake at this time as evidence that while he excelled as a chief of staff, he was not a very capable field commander. Through all of his services as chief of staff, and occasionally as a diplomat, Berthier was amply rewarded by the Emperor.

Among his honors was membership in the First Cohort of the Legion of Honor, instituted in 1804. Likewise, he was the first to receive the title of Marshal of the Empire in the same year. Later, Berthier became the first to receive the Grand Cordon of the Legion. Likewise, he was made Grand Master of the Hunt. In addition, he was prince souverain de Neuchâtel. While he never set foot in his Swiss principality, he did dedicate some time to the maintenance and care of his estate and its people as a sort of absentee prince. On the heels of the Austerlitz campaign against Austria and Russia, in 1805 he was made the duc de Valgrin. In spite of his mistakes at the outset of the campaign of 1809, Berthier redeemed himself with his usual excellent staff work, and was named prince de Wagram on 15 August of the same year.

In 1808, at the insistence of Napoleon, he married Marie-Elisabeth-Amélie-Françoise de Bavière, the Princess of Bavaria. Napoleon found Berthier's continuing affair with Visconti an embarrassment and hoped the marriage would make the marshal more mature in this respect. Berthier yielded to the pressure of his master and entered the nuptial compact. While the marriage was certainly coerced, it seems to have been happy, and it produced three children. In 1810 Berthier went to ask for the hand of Marie Louise for Napoleon, a mission at which he succeeded. He went on to represent the Emperor in the proxy marriage that followed in Vienna at the Augustkirche on 11 March 1810.

Returning to his military exploits, Berthier took part in the Russian campaign in 1812. At the outset, he was criticized by Napoleon for warning of the dangers of a campaign conducted over such great distances. Though Bonaparte could sometimes be quite scathing in his treatment of his chief of staff, Berthier never seems to have performed to less than the best of his ability for the Emperor. Thus, he entered Moscow with Napoleon on 14 September and began the retreat with him on 18 October.

Berthier remained with remnants of the Grande Armée after Napoleon abandoned it and set off for Paris. True to form, Berthier kept the Emperor informed as to the weight of the disaster through almost daily reports on the condition of the army. By this time, Berthier was feel-

ing the effects of both age and the rigors of campaign. He thus left the army at Posen on 1 February 1813 and arrived in Paris on the ninth, hoping to regain his health. By the middle of March, having regained his health in some measure, Berthier was at work coordinating the campaign in Germany.

He was very active in the campaign of that year, which included the Battle of Leipzig, as well as in the defense of France the following year. Furthermore, Berthier was among those present when Napoleon abdicated on 6 April 1814. Following the final instructions of the Emperor, on 11 April Berthier transmitted the news that the army would adhere to the new government. On the same day, he gave his personal allegiance to the president of the Senate. With the abdication of Napoleon, Berthier became the interim commander of the army. He left Fontainebleau on 17 April, and by the time Napoleon was departing for Elba, Berthier was already back in Paris, administering to the needs of the troops.

Among the functions he performed in this role was greeting the duc de Berry at the Barrière de Clichy in Paris and promising him the allegiance of the army. On 29 April he was among the dignitaries who met Louis XVIII at Compiègne. Likewise, on 2 May, he rode at the head of the officers who preceded the king into Paris. Thus, Berthier seemed to move from one master to another with great ease, and his capabilities were certainly recognized by the new government.

On 1 June 1814 Berthier was made captain of the 5th, or Wagram, Company of the king's bodyguard. He was also made a peer of France under the new regime. Furthermore, on 14 September he was made commander of the Royal Military Order of Saint-Louis. What seemed to be a comfortable end to the career of the former marshal was interrupted by the return of Napoleon from exile and the Hundred Days.

On the news of Napoleon's return, Berthier sent his family away from Paris to Bamberg. As a member of the king's bodyguard, Berthier was placed in the difficult position of choosing sides. He decided, initially, to follow the duty before him at the moment and went with the king when he abandoned Paris. He proceeded to instruct Marshal Macdonald, however, to tell the people of France that he would resign this post once the king had safely been escorted to Ghent and would then return to France.

The former marshal was as good as his word, for when Louis XVIII reached Ghent, Berthier resigned his post and went on to Bamberg, reaching the Bavarian province on 29 March. There he requested passports for his family to leave Bavaria and return to France. He made two requests of the prime minister on 2 and 5 April. Neither of these was answered. Finally, on the tenth, he and his wife both wrote

the king directly. These inquiries resulted in a reply in the negative on 13 April. Thus, Berthier was a virtual prisoner in Bamberg while the final act in the Napoleonic drama played itself out in Belgium. He was not to see the final end at Waterloo, however, for on 1 June 1815, he fell from a window in his residence at Bamberg.

At the time of his death, there were rumors that Berthier's demise might have been the result of suicide or assassination. The Bavarian government maintained that his death was accidental, though it is worth noting that Berthier was a member of the royal family only through marriage and not by blood and therefore was not immune from foul play. In 1884 his remains and those of his wife were transferred to their final resting place in the royal castle of Tegernsee.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Directory, The; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Louisiana Purchase; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Marshalate; Middle East Campaign; Russian Campaign; San Ildefonso, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Third Coalition, War of the; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the; Wagram, Battle of

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## Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte (1773–1844)

Henri-Gatien Bertrand was one of Napoleon's closest, most loyal followers and has even gained a reputation as

one of his key executives. He was present at many of the pivotal moments in the Emperor's life, including his exile to Elba and eventually St Helena.

Originally an engineer, Bertrand also saw action at many of the greatest battles of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, including those of the Egyptian campaign, as well as at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. After joining the Paris National Guard in 1792, Bertrand went on to enjoy a distinguished military career. He was promoted to *général de brigade* in 1800 and became Napoleon's aide-de-camp in 1804. He was further promoted to *général de division* in 1807.

He constructed the bridges over the Danube for the battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram and was heavily involved in the 1813 campaign in Germany. Although many sources ignore his contributions to France's war effort, one of his contemporaries, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne, paid tribute to his considerable military and engineering expertise during that year's campaigning. He wrote: “General Bertrand was ordered to construct a bridge which might form a communication between Hamburg and Haaburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, along a total distance of about two leagues. In the space of 83 days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure; its length being 2529 fathoms, exclusive of the lines of junction formed on the two islands” (Bourrienne 1903, 423).

In 1813 he was also appointed grand marshal of the palace to replace Géraud Duroc, who had been killed at Bautzen. Bertrand has, perhaps, become best known for accompanying Napoleon on his ignominious departure to St. Helena. As David Cordingly has made clear, his decision to stay at the Emperor's side could not have been an easy one, for Fanny, his half-English wife, was firmly opposed to the idea and was very vocal in her opposition (Cordingly 2003, 271). Even in death, Bertrand was completely devoted to the Emperor. Bourrienne noted that Bertrand, who was present at Napoleon's postmortem, strongly protested at the British doctors' report, which referred to “General Bonaparte,” a slight on his imperial status (Bourrienne 1903, 517).

In 1840, when Napoleon's body was returned to France, Bertrand went to St. Helena with the prince de Joinville to supervise the exhumation and reburial. Some accounts tend to emphasize Bertrand as merely a prime propagandist for Napoleon and his regime, but this myopic version of history does not do justice to his strong, complex, and undoubtedly warm relationship with the Emperor.

Bertrand was, throughout the period, one of Napoleon's few close friends. His undying affection is clear in the following passage, which describes Bertrand's thoughts

on Napoleon's final journey to France: "The return of Napoleon's body was unlike any other event in history. This was only appropriate, for there has been no person like Napoleon in history" (quoted in Markham 2003, 300).

Stephen Stewart

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Frioul; Elba; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Jena, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; National Guard; St. Helena; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of

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### Bessières, Jean-Baptiste (1768–1813)

Nicknamed "the Bayard of the Grande Armée," Jean-Baptiste Bessières was a close confidant of Napoleon and was among the eighteen leading generals raised to the rank of marshal on 19 May 1804. Born at Prayssac in Gascony on 6 August 1768, Bessières was the son of a doctor and was a school friend of the future Marshal Joachim Murat. Enlisting in the National Guard in 1792, he secured a place in King Louis XVI's new "constitutional" bodyguard and in this capacity served in the defense of the Tuileries in August 1792. Fleeing Paris in the wake of the massacre that followed, he then enlisted in the Legion of the Pyrenees (later the 22nd Chasseurs à Cheval) and with this unit fought in the campaign against Spain of 1793–1795. In 1795, by now a captain, Bessières was transferred with his regiment to the Army of Italy. This proved a phenomenal stroke of luck: Aside from soon placing him under the command of the up-and-coming Napoleon Bonaparte, it also brought him back into contact with his old friend, Murat, who had secured a place on the new commander's staff.

At all events, the sequel was rapid promotion: When Bonaparte formed a personal bodyguard, it was Bessières who was placed in command. Attached to Bonaparte's staff in Egypt, Bessières, now a colonel, was one of the handful of officers who accompanied the future emperor on his return to France in 1799. Very active in building up support for his patron in the army, he was rewarded for his loyalty by appointment to the post of second in command of the Consular Guard formed after the coup of 18 Brumaire, and in this capacity he distinguished himself at the Battle of Marengo, where he helped cover the retreat of the French right wing and later participated in the last-minute coun-



Marshal Bessières. He commanded the Imperial Guard cavalry at Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, and Friedland, and later served in the campaigns in Spain, Austria, Russia, and finally Germany, where he was killed in 1813. (Drawing by Edmond Hedouin from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

terattack that finally won the day. Though he had still not led more than a single regiment on the battlefield, his elevation to the marshalate in 1804 surprised no one, for he had by now become a leading figure in the consular court.

Appointed to the command of the entire Imperial Guard in 1805, he again did well at Austerlitz, where he helped beat off the Russian attempts to regain the Pratzen heights, but he saw no action at all in the campaign of 1806, and other than helping rescue Murat after his great charge against the Russian center at Eylau, he proved to be a disappointment as the commander of a cavalry corps in the invasion of East Prussia in 1807. Returned to the command of the still relatively small Imperial Guard, he also derived little profit from the Battle of Eylau, for, as at Jena and Auerstädt, his men were not given the opportunity to go into battle.

In consequence, French intervention in Spain was a moment of considerable importance for him, for the Emperor, possibly moved by growing criticism of Bessières among jealous fellow marshals, appointed him to the command of a corps in the army sent across the Pyrenees in the winter of 1807–1808. Here he did well, winning the one

and only battle in his entire career in which he was in independent command, at Medina de Río Seco on 14 July 1808, but in March 1809 he returned to France to take part in the new war against Austria that was now threatening as commander of the reserve cavalry of the Grande Armée.

What followed was conceivably the high point of his career. Thus, at Aspern-Essling a brilliant cavalry charge held back the Austrian center at a moment of desperate crisis, while at Wagram a similar attack helped cover the gap in the line caused by Napoleon's enforced transfer of Marshal Macdonald's corps to the left flank. Rewarded with the title of duc d'Istrie, Bessières also had the satisfaction of seeing the end of Marshal Lannes: Mortally wounded at Aspern-Essling, Lannes was Bessières's deadliest enemy among the marshalate and had seemingly just accused him of being a cowardly incompetent who owed his rank to little more than toadying to Napoleon. If this last story is true, it is lent an added piquancy by the fact that Bessières's friendship with Josephine led him to oppose the divorce of 1810, which may account for the fact that he was not restored to a field command until January 1811, when he was sent back to Spain as commander of the Army of the North.

In this capacity, he collaborated with Marshal Masséna in the campaign of Fuentes de Oñoro, but Bessières was, with considerable injustice, blamed by his fellow marshal for the Allied victory and in consequence was recalled to Paris. Seemingly distrusted by Napoleon thereafter, in the Russian campaign he was given not a corps but, rather, only the 6,000-strong cavalry of the Imperial Guard, at the head of which force he helped cover the retreat from Moscow. On 25 October, indeed, he actually crossed swords with some Cossacks who attacked Napoleon's personal entourage near Kaluga. By the end of the campaign he had fewer than 800 men left, but the Emperor was pleased enough to give him the whole of the Imperial Guard when hostilities were resumed in Germany in 1813. However, there was to be no chance of further redemption: Struck by a cannon ball while inspecting the enemy line, Bessières was killed instantly near Lützen on 1 May 1813.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; Cossacks; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Lannes, Jean; Louis XVI, King; Lützen, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Medina de Río Seco, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; Murat, Joachim; National Guard; Peninsular War; Pyrenean Campaign; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Wagram, Battle of

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### **Beyle, Marie-Henri**

*See* Stendhal, Marie-Henri

### **Biberach, Battle of (2 October 1796)**

Fought during the Rhine campaign of 1796 between French forces under General Jean Moreau and an Austrian army under the command of Graf Baillet de Latour. Strategically Moreau had been on the retreat in Germany, but he seized an opportunity to launch an attack on the pursuing Austrian force. Moreau launched three columns against the Austrians and forced them back across the Riss River.

In the middle of September Moreau, in command of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle, was forced to withdraw from Bavaria because of the defeat of General Jourdan's army in central Germany and the fact that a popular uprising had broken out in Swabia, cutting his lines of communication. During his retreat Moreau was pursued by an Austrian force commanded by Latour. Moreau's force was superior to that of the Austrians, and having crossed the Riss at Biberach he decided to attack. The Austrians crossed the Riss on 29 September and then spread themselves out in a wide arc of about 15 miles to continue their advance. Latour was convinced that the French would not attack him. However, on the morning of 2 October Moreau launched three columns against the Austrians. In the north General Desaix met little resistance and pushed the enemy back about 8 miles toward Biberach. The retreating Austrians took up a position on Galgenberg hill just to the south of Biberach.

The French center was under the command of General Gouvion St. Cyr, whose attack was held up by an Austrian battery until he was able to bring his own twenty-four guns to bear. St. Cyr's men then captured the hills around the village of Steinhausen to the southwest of Biberach. The Austrians retreated on the settlement at Grodt. The French forces to the south, on the other hand, were

unable to make progress against superior enemy forces, though these Austrian troops were forced to withdraw when their flank was exposed by the successful French attack in the center. By late afternoon the Austrians had been forced back into defensive positions mainly to the south and west of Biberach.

Moreau now launched his final attacks on the Austrian positions. Desaix's force assaulted both sides of the Galgenberg hill at once in a pincer movement, and it became clear that the defenders were threatened with encirclement. Latour therefore gave orders for a retreat across the Riss at Biberach. In the process he was able to extract his cavalry and artillery, but four battalions of infantry were captured. At Grodt, too, the Austrians were forced to withdraw on Biberach. The Austrians now tried to retreat over the only bridge in Biberach, and there was wholesale confusion as the French pursued their adversaries.

Only nightfall allowed the majority of the Austrian forces to make good their escape, but not before they had lost 4,000 men taken prisoner by the French with a further 1,000 troops as casualties. Moreau lost fewer than 1,000 men.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine des Aix, chevalier de Veygoux; First Coalition, War of the; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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### **Bidassoa, Crossing of the (7 October 1813)**

The crossing of the river Bidassoa by the Allied army under the Marquis of Wellington took place during the closing phase of the campaign of 1813 in Spain. Where it ran into the Bay of Biscay, the river formed the frontier between France and Spain. Wellington crossed the estuary at low tide and outflanked the fortifications that Marshal Nicolas Soult had built to defend the river. The French retreated to defend the line of the river Nivelle.

Following the defeat of the French at San Marcial, Soult fell back to the line of the Bidassoa and began to construct a series of fortified positions to defend the river. He believed that Wellington would be unable to cross the Pyrenean passes with the onset of winter and that the lower reaches of the river were too wide to ford. Soult therefore concentrated on defending the central section of the river with six divisions under the command of generals Bertrand Clausel and Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon. The rest of his forces were spread along a 23-mile-long cordon. However, Wellington had been informed by local fish-

ermen that at low tide it was, in fact, possible to cross the estuary. Soult had only a weak division commanded by General Antoine Maucune in the area. By 7 October Wellington had gathered 24,000 men opposite this sector. Despite the fact that Soult was aware that Wellington was gathering his forces in the west and that there was a larger pontoon train at Oyarzun, he refused to believe that the British were engaged in a serious attempt to cross the river.

At dawn, though, the Anglo-Portuguese army swiftly crossed the mud flats and quickly forced Maucune to withdraw. The attack then continued against the village of Behobie, which was garrisoned by only one French battalion. Resistance was brief, and the remnants of Maucune's force fell back on the village of Croix de Boquets. French reinforcements had been brought up by General Honoré Reille, but they could not halt the British advance. Soult's line of defense had been breached.

At the same time as the attack across the estuary, Wellington launched a holding attack on the village of Vera in the center of Soult's line. Major General Sir Charles von Alten's Light Division, though surprised by the lack of resistance offered by their opponents, exploited their initial advance, supported by Spanish troops. The village of Vera was soon under attack, and despite an increase in casualties the Allied army had command of the most important features in the sector within a few hours. Soult had hurried to the area opposite the initial Allied crossing, but he was unable to rally Reille's troops, and there were more enemy troops crossing every hour. Knowing that he could no longer hold onto his position along the Bidassoa, Soult fell back toward the Nivelle, having suffered around 2,000 casualties. Wellington, who had lost approximately 1,500 men, did not immediately pursue.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Nivelle, Battle of the; Peninsular War; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph; San Marcial, Second Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Vera, Battles of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Bladensburg, Battle of (24 August 1814)**

Fought during the British army's advance on Washington during the War of 1812. Seeking to capture the U.S. capital, Major General Robert Ross approached the town of Bladensburg, 17 miles from Washington, where he planned to ford the eastern branch of the Potomac River. The Americans, under General William Winder, made no effort

to block Ross's advance or to harass him from the woods. Nor did he destroy the bridge, which spanned the Potomac to the west of the town. The Americans had a mixed force of several thousand militia, regulars, sailors, and marines, opposed by 4,500 British. The Americans deployed some of their artillery near the river to protect the approach to the bridge. Riflemen were deployed in support to the left of the guns. The second, main American line, partly militia, partly regulars, was badly placed 500 yards behind these; it neither had cover from the nearby orchard nor was close enough either to support the riflemen or even see the riverbank itself. A third line, too far back to assist the second, was composed of militia, sailors, and marines, plus five large naval guns. Still, the American center and left were protected by the river, while the heavy woods and a deep ravine screened their right. Between these two positions ran the road to the capital, gradually rising to a summit slightly over a mile from the river.

Ross approached sometime after 10:00 A.M. in near-90-degree heat. The Light Brigade passed over the bridge and marched up the road until the militia artillery forced it back across the river. When another brigade arrived, it crossed the river and threatened the flank of the militia, which retreated. Outnumbered and with their left flank vulnerable, the American regulars in the second line also retreated, encouraged by fear of Ross's Congreve rockets. Not until Ross's infantry confronted the third line did they meet serious opposition. There, the militia issued a series of respectable volleys, while the naval guns inflicted serious losses. Nevertheless, when Winder unaccountably ordered the militia to retire, their cohesion broke and a rout ensued, leaving only the sailors and marines to contest the British advance. These were overwhelmed and driven off, while the small body of American cavalry on the hill refused to charge and galloped off with the rest of their army.

The battle ended at around 4:00 P.M. The American showing was poor, though for the fire their green troops had offered, they inflicted losses of 64 killed and 185 wounded on Ross's men, for a cost of only 71 to themselves. Nevertheless, the road was now clear to Washington, which fell shortly thereafter.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Congreve Rockets; United States Army; War of 1812

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### Blake, Joaquín (1759–1827)

A prominent Spanish general in the Peninsular War, Joaquín Blake y Joyes was born in Málaga. The grandson of an Irish Jacobite, in 1808 Blake was a newly promoted brigadier who had shown some interest in military reform. Stationed in Galicia, he took over the army stationed there following the murder of its commander by some mutinous soldiers a few days into the Spanish uprising against Napoleon. Very junior as he was, he owed his promotion to the newly formed Junta of Galicia's desire for a general who would be unlikely to challenge its authority.

In this respect it chose well—unlike some of his fellow commanders, Blake was unwilling to cross the civil authorities—but otherwise the appointment was not a success. Ordered to attack the French in Old Castile, Blake squandered his only hope of success by dividing his forces and failing to strike with sufficient speed and decision. However, the disaster that resulted at Medina de Río Seco did not cost Blake his command, and he was still at the head of the Galician forces when the French counterattacked in November. Caught in the Basque provinces by the French advance, he only narrowly escaped complete destruction, and even as it was his troops suffered heavy casualties at Espinosa de los Monteros. He was replaced by the Marqués de la Romana, and early in 1809 he was sent to Aragón with orders to retake Saragossa (Zaragoza). However, despite an early victory at Alcañiz, Blake's shortcomings led to his numerically superior forces being routed at María and Belchite.

Excused for his failures, he was next sent to Catalonia, but here, too, he enjoyed little success, and he was eventually recalled to the new Spanish capital of Cádiz. Yet he was not out of favor for very long. The liberal faction that dominated the parliament that was assembling in the city wanted the Regency that now ruled Spain to be composed of men who would give them no trouble, and Blake was duly invited to take over its presidency. Conscious of the need for military reform, Blake initiated a number of changes in this capacity, of which the most important was the establishment of a permanent general staff. But he was unable to refrain from the temptation of further military operations: In the spring of 1811, for example, he led an "expeditionary army" to Extremadura, and as its commander he fought at Albuera (an experience that filled him with strong anti-British feelings).

However, in reality Blake still did not have the qualities necessary for independent command. Taking over the defense of Valencia in the face of a major French offensive in the autumn of 1811, he was beaten at Sagunto and the river Turia, forced back inside the city, and finally bombarded into surrender. Imprisoned at Vincennes, he returned to

Spain in 1814 and was showered with honors by King Ferdinand VII, but this did not prevent him from joining the liberals in 1820. With their regime falling apart, in 1823 he reverted to the cause of absolutism, only to be banished to Valladolid, where he died in 1827.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also *Albuera, Battle of*; *Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana*; *Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of*; *Ferdinand VII, King*; *Medina de Río Seco, Battle of*; *Peninsular War*; *Saragossa, Sieges of*; *Valencia, Siege of*  
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### Blake, William (1757–1827)

British painter, engraver, poet, mystic, and complex and eccentric genius. Blake was born on 28 November 1757 in London into a Dissenting middle-class family. He was the second of five children and started to attend the drawing school of Henry Pars in the Strand at the age of ten. He was self-taught, learning his craft by reading books and studying engravings from the Renaissance masters. Blake claimed to have mystical visions and dialogues with angels, the prophet Ezekiel, and the Virgin Mary. In 1771 Blake was apprenticed to James Basire Sr., who had been appointed an engraver to the Royal Society of Antiquaries in 1761. As a student at the Royal Academy in 1779, Blake became enamored of the Classical style exhibited during the Renaissance by Raphael and Michelangelo.

Blake married the illiterate Catherine Boucher on 18 August 1782, but their marriage did not produce children. Blake made her his artistic partner by teaching her to read and draw. He freelanced as an engraver and entered into a business venture with his brother Robert. However, the business collapsed in 1787 when his brother died. Blake was then employed by Joseph Johnson, who published radical works and influenced Blake's religious philosophies. Blake opened a print shop with his partner James Parke but the venture failed. He returned to Johnson, who introduced him to the radicals Tom Paine, Joseph Priestley, William Godwin, and Mary Wollstonecraft. Elizabeth Montagu and John Flaxman became his patrons.

Blake firmly believed in his own artistic abilities and followed his own path, rebelling against the artistic norms of his day. His poetry was purposely unconventional. Blake also revolutionized the methodology behind engraving. In 1778 he illuminated *Natural Religion* by using an impervious liquid to draw in reverse on copper plates, then allowing the plain part to be destroyed by acid and thereafter

colored by Catherine. He used this expensive and labor-intensive method to illuminate *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, *The Book of Thel*, and *Jerusalem*, the last taking him sixteen years to complete. His major pieces of prose, *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and *The Last Judgement*, exhibited his apocalyptic and mythological point of view.

Blake's democratic and individualistic philosophy meshed with French Revolutionary ideals. He published *The French Revolution* anonymously in 1791 and only sold copies to Revolutionary sympathizers; he feared a backlash against his visionary ideas. However, he denounced the Reign of Terror. He wrote *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* and *America: A Prophecy* in 1793; these works reaffirmed his distaste for authoritarian governance.

In 1800 Blake was commissioned by the wealthy William Hayley to engrave the heads of eighteen poets for his library and to create additional engravings. This warranted Blake to move to Felpham, in Sussex, where he commenced his work on *Milton: A Poem* and *Jerusalem*. He used social criticism, prophecy, and biblical legends for nearly all of his works.

A scandal erupted in August 1803 when Blake was accused of using treasonous language while removing an intoxicated soldier from his premises. He was acquitted at his trial in Chichester and moved to London. The next seventeen years of Blake's life were full of hardship and failure. He was unable to get work, and his engravings were often faked by others. In 1809 Blake organized an exhibition of some sixteen of his paintings, but very few attended it. In 1819 Blake's life took a good turn when John Linnell, a prominent painter, introduced him to a group of young artists, members of the Shoreham Ancients, who admired Blake's aesthetic vision. They considered him the grand old man of arts and concurred with Blake's view that a New Age would soon arrive and artistic and spiritual beliefs would override traditional authority.

Blake continued drawing to the last days of his life—often working in his bed—and produced his most beautiful designs and technically masterful works in the 1820s, when he created more than a hundred watercolors for Dante's *Divine Comedy* and twenty-two drawings inspired by the Book of Job. Blake's importance to the art world was largely overlooked during his lifetime; he was much too far ahead of his contemporaries. While his work was misunderstood, his lack of competitiveness ultimately led to his withdrawal from public life. Blake died on 12 August 1827 and was buried in an unmarked grave at Bunhill Fields; a monument was placed there much later.

Annette E. Richardson

See also *Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord*; *Keats, John*; *Paine, Tom*; *Romanticism*; *Shelley, Percy Bysshe*; *Terror, The*; *Wordsworth, William*

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**Blockade (Naval)**

The practice of naval blockades was well established by the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars. A blockade generally entailed the use of warships to patrol the coastline of an enemy and thereby deny the enemy's fleet access to the open sea by trapping it within its harbors. Such an operation was also designed to disrupt maritime commerce, as merchant ships had to contend with blockading forces that sealed off ports to overseas business. By the eighteenth century the primary purpose of naval blockades was to force an enemy battle fleet to sail out to fight the blockading squadron.

Naval blockade had been a key weapon for Britain since the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), when the Royal Navy had sealed major French ports by sailing off France's shores. Beginning in 1793, the British endeavored to establish a blockade similar to that of the past in order to devastate the overseas trade of Revolutionary France, and thereby its economy, as well as to remove the French fleet as a factor in the war by bottling it up in its harbors. By 1798 the strategy employed was that of a close blockade. Fast warships, normally frigates, were positioned within visual range of enemy harbors in order to sight any vessels, both those of war and commerce, and prevent them from leaving or entering enemy ports. Sailing farther offshore were larger vessels, mostly ships of the line that could be called on when the frigates were outgunned by more heavily armed vessels.

This system frequently produced diplomatic tension between Britain and neutral powers that wished to trade with France and other areas of Europe occupied by the forces of Revolutionary and later Napoleonic France. British vessels frequently stopped and searched neutral ships suspected of trading with the enemy or of carrying contraband, which meant goods deemed illegal by the British that were destined for an enemy power. During

these searches, the British maintained their right to seize both the ships and their cargoes as prizes if deemed necessary. Such actions led in 1800 to the establishment by European neutral powers of the League of Armed Neutrality against Britain. More significantly, Britain's blockade led to war with the United States in 1812.

Despite these problems for the British, the naval blockade was a factor in the defeat of Napoleonic France. As the French did not have sufficient naval forces to break the blockade of European ports, the loss of trade resulted in economic hardship in France and elsewhere in Europe. It also led Napoleon to retaliate through the establishment of his Continental System, which was an effort to create a continental blockade of British goods. Napoleon's determination that all Europe participate in the system led to his disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812 when Tsar Alexander I withdrew his country from it.

*Eric W. Osborne*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armed Neutrality, League of; Berlin Decrees; Continental System; Milan Decrees; Orders in Council; Royal Navy; War of 1812

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**Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst (1742–1819)**

Strong willed and charismatic, the Prussian field commander Gebhard von Blücher provided leadership that was crucial to the resurgence of his nation as a military power and to the defeat of Napoleon in the campaigns of 1813–1814 and again at Waterloo in 1815. As a soldier in the Prussian Army, Blücher served in times of triumph and tumult. His career began at the height of Prussian glory under Frederick the Great and lasted through the humiliating battles of Jena and Auerstädt and on to the era of reform and ultimate success in the later stages of the Napoleonic Wars.

Born at Rostock on 16 December 1742, the future Prussian field marshal began his military career in the Swedish Army. Despite having been sent to lead a pastoral existence with relatives on the island of Rügen, the teenaged Blücher could not be dissuaded from joining the locally billeted Mörner Hussars in 1757. Ironically, with his first military adventures taking place in Sweden's service during the early stages of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Blücher first drew his sword in anger against soldiers of the nation he would serve for most of his life. In a manner not unknown in the era of limited war, Blücher's

allegiance changed soon after he was captured by troopers of the Prussian 8th Regiment of Hussars in 1760. Convinced by the regiment's commander, Colonel Wilhelm Sebastian von Belling, that he would be a welcome addition to the regiment, Blücher eventually agreed to switch sides, and thus began one of the most brilliant careers in the history of Prussian arms.

Blücher proved adept in battle as he soldiered on with Belling's hussars through the Seven Years' War. A proud and emotional figure, the future field marshal was not, however, very skillful in attending to the details of his military life off the campaign trail. In 1773 Blücher tendered his resignation in protest over what he saw as the unwarranted promotion of a rival. King Frederick II, not being inclined to indulge the impudence of company-grade officers, granted him his request and made it clear that he was not welcome to return to the army. Blücher would be unable to rejoin the Prussian Army until after Frederick's death. Meanwhile, during his hiatus from military service, Blücher turned his attention to farming and family life. He married Karolina von Mehling in June 1773, and in the years between this union and his return to military service in 1787, Blücher and his wife had seven children, of whom two sons, Gebhard and Franz, and a daughter, Friederika, survived childhood.

Shortly after the ascension to the Prussian throne of King Frederick William II, Blücher was reinstated in the army, and despite his long absence from active service, he was made a major in his old regiment. A hussar again, his personal habits quickly reverted to those he had learned as a youthful light cavalryman. In the days between his return to the 8th Hussars and the outbreak of war with France, Blücher regularly indulged in long rounds of drinking and gambling. The reckless lifestyle of a hussar suited him and does not seem to have handicapped his rise in the Prussian Army. Indeed, after returning to his unit he won promotions quickly, and by 1790 he was a full colonel. Despite the satisfaction he found in a revitalized military career, he was not immune to profound misfortune, most notably the loss of his beloved Karolina in June 1791. Blücher, however, was fortunate in possessing the requisite charm to draw people close to him, and the loss of Karolina was at least in part mitigated by his marriage four years later to Katharina von Colomb.

With Prussia making common cause with Austria in the French Revolutionary Wars, Blücher had ample opportunity to showcase his martial talents. The 8th Hussars were not present in the Prussian Army's first thrust against France. Thus, Blücher had to wait until the Rhine campaigns of 1793–1794 to command in battle. At a time when the Prussian Army and its leaders appeared to suffer from a general lack of resolve, Blücher was an anomaly. He served



Marshal Gebhard von Blücher, the tireless Francophobe commander in chief of Prussian forces in the campaigns of 1813–1815. (Unsigned print from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

with distinction in numerous small actions in the Rhineland, and following the wounding of the 8th Hussars' commander, Colonel Johann Wilhelm Graf von Goltz, in the summer of 1793, he assumed command of the regiment. Habitually opting to attack in the presence of the enemy, his aggressive tactics at Landau on 28 May 1794 resulted in a serious rebuff to the French. His audacity in the field was rewarded shortly after this action with a promotion to major general. Blücher continued to win laurels until hostilities ceased with the Peace of Basle in 1795.

The absence of war never sat well with Blücher. Despite a promotion to lieutenant general in 1801 and the honor of being appointed governor of Münster, he was anxious for Prussia to renew hostilities with France. Unfortunately, neither his nation nor its army were prepared for a recurrence of war. In the time following Prussia's withdrawal from hostilities the armies of France, now led by Napoleon and his able compliment of subordinates, was being honed into the most capable fighting force of the age. By 1806 the soldiers of the Grande Armée had made short work of the Russian and Austrian forces that had opposed them in the War of the Third Coalition of the preceding year. With an army of highly motivated citizen-soldiers, Napoleon broke free

from the constraints attendant upon waging war in the age of Frederick the Great. The speed and alacrity with which the French waged war stood in marked contrast to the methods still favored by the Prussians. When the two powers met on 14 October 1806 on the battlefields of Jena and Auerstädt, the disparity between their two systems of warfare were made painfully obvious.

While Napoleon's victory over the numerically inferior forces of General Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (better known simply as Hohenlohe) at Jena was not altogether astounding, Marshal Davout's success against the vastly superior army under the Duke of Brunswick at Auerstädt was profound evidence of the deplorable level of capability to which the Prussian Army had descended. At all levels of war, the Prussians had been found wanting. King Frederick William III was too timid and his senior commanders too old to compete with Napoleon and his retinue. The net result of this uneven combat was a complete rout of Prussian forces. At the outset of the Battle of Auerstädt, Blücher commanded a cavalry contingent with reckless abandon in a series of futile attacks against superior numbers of French infantry. After having his force broken by these repeated assaults, he at last found himself having to screen the retreat of the badly mauled Prussian main force. Yet even in defeat Blücher set himself apart from his contemporaries. As the bulk of what had been the Prussian forces fell into discord, Blücher and the corps then under his command maintained order and sought to stall the rapid pursuit of the French.

The days immediately following the battles of Jena and Auerstädt were in many regards more humiliating than the defeats that put the Prussians to flight. As the French pursued, most of the Prussian forces disintegrated. When confronted by French forces, many Prussian commanders surrendered without a fight. Conditions, however, were different with the forces under Blücher's command. He held his troops together while ably assisted by General Gerhard von Scharnhorst as his chief of staff. Scharnhorst, who had previously occupied the same position for Brunswick, who had been mortally wounded at Auerstädt, offered considerable resistance to the French as they furthered their pursuit. When Blücher finally did surrender at Ratkau, in the vicinity of Lübeck, he made certain that the French formally recognized that this was based upon the total dearth of resources available to him and his troops.

His honor intact, Blücher nonetheless would have to suffer through a long drought of military inactivity. In the years intervening between Prussia's capitulation in 1807 at Tilsit and its resumption of hostilities with France in 1813, Blücher became despondent, and his behavior was somewhat erratic. While he foundered, Scharnhorst and a host

of gifted intellectuals labored to remedy the many defects found in the Prussian Army of 1806–1807. By 1813 the Prussian military had been improved considerably and was in many regards more like the French army that had subjected it to a thorough drubbing in 1806 than the force made famous by Frederick the Great.

In addition to masterminding the Prussian reforms, Scharnhorst was also active as an advocate for Blücher's selection to the most significant post in the new army. In the reformer's eyes, Blücher, despite his peacetime maladies, stood alone as the figure most capable of inspiring Prussia's soldiers to brave the dangers of another war with France. Scharnhorst would also be responsible for establishing a new measure of efficiency in the conduct of Prussian operations by returning to the field as Blücher's chief of staff. Together, not only would Blücher and Scharnhorst hasten the demise of Napoleonic France, but their cooperation as field commander and chief of staff would also create a paradigm for the future conduct of Prussia's military operations.

By 1813 France was in a precarious position, trying desperately to recover from the previous year's Russian campaign and still suffering the ill effects of the Peninsular War. For Prussia the moment was ripe for exploitation and with the assurance of Russian support, the War of Liberation commenced. The combination of Allied improvement and French deterioration was made apparent on 2 May at the Battle of Lützen. When the Allied army of Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein swung into action, it was Blücher who commanded the initial assault at Grossgörschen. For nearly seven hours the Prussians and the French struggled for control of a handful of villages southeast of Lützen. When the issue seemed most in doubt, Blücher took to the field in typical hussar fashion, mounting his horse and personally leading the Prussians in battle. His willingness to expose himself to danger presented the French with a crisis that could only be remedied with a similar effort from Napoleon. The fight was costly. Blücher and Scharnhorst were wounded—Scharnhorst would eventually die from infection—and the Allies relinquished the field. However, unlike at Jena and Auerstädt, the French victory was far from decisive. There was no great disparity in casualties, and the French, suffering from a deficiency of cavalry, were in no position to effectively pursue their retreating foes. Moreover, the Allies maintained order in their retreat, were not demoralized, and within three weeks offered battle in the vicinity of Bautzen. Blücher and the Allies were not as aggressive in this engagement, yet they managed once again to frustrate Napoleon's hopes of winning a decisive battle. More important, Allied troop strength was growing and there was no diminution in the willingness of the Prussians to continue fighting.

Despite a brief armistice, from 4 June to 16 August, the Allies and Napoleon spent the bulk of the summer months preparing for war. When hostilities resumed, Blücher commanded the Prussian Army of Silesia, one of the three principal Allied armies. In this most important assignment he was an unqualified success. With August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau as his chief of staff, Blücher once again took to the field as part of an effective partnership in which he provided inspiration and will while the details of operational activity were left to the more gifted intellect.

Blücher, aware that Napoleon was at the head of the Army of the Bober and that the French Emperor intended to start campaigning by advancing against the Army of Silesia, adhered to the Trachenberg Plan, by which the Allies sought to isolate and defeat Napoleon's subordinates, and withdrew out of reach. Napoleon's attention then shifted to the threat to his control of Dresden, posed by the Army of Bohemia led by *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg of Austria, and thus he left Marshal Macdonald to command the army facing Blücher. On 26 August, Blücher's and Macdonald's armies met in the Battle of the Katzbach. Both forces advanced to contact, and once battle was joined it was the characteristic aggressiveness of the Prussian that carried the day. Blücher pressed forward his attacks until Macdonald was thoroughly beaten. The victory, although not sufficient to drive the French out of Germany, was a launching point for a better-coordinated Allied effort that would succeed in accomplishing the greater aim within the year.

With the liberation of Germany and the destruction of Napoleon in his sight, Blücher became the driving force in bringing Napoleon to battle at Leipzig in mid-October. Despite indecision and some reluctance on the part of the Crown Prince of Sweden, the former French marshal Bernadotte, Blücher (now promoted to field marshal) was determined to force an Allied junction with the army of Schwarzenberg. When the three armies combined forces, Napoleon was completely overmatched. For four days starting on 16 October, the Prussians under Blücher helped keep Napoleon under unremitting pressure. The persistence of the Allies successfully overwhelmed the French Emperor's defenses and eventually forced him to retreat to the safety of his own country.

Blücher continued to press forward, crossing the Rhine at Kaub on New Year's Eve and confronting the French in battle with unrelenting frequency from the end of January until Napoleon was forced to abdicate in April. While Napoleon's generalship was admirable throughout the 1814 campaign, his shortened lines of communication and personal skill as a commander were not enough to compensate for superior Allied numbers and Blücher's persistence. Although they suffered a hand-

ful of losses—at Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, and Vauchamps—the Prussians under Blücher and Gneisenau regrouped and continued offensive operations until they joined forces with Schwarzenberg before Paris on 28 March. The combined might of the Allied force compelled the defenders of the French capital to surrender three days later. Napoleon had been worn down and had little choice but to go into exile.

After returning from Elba in March 1815, Napoleon sought to secure his crown by eliminating the Allied threat to his continued rule. When he launched his campaign in June, he had only the Anglo-Allied army of the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher to confront. If allowed to fight either of these armies alone, Napoleon was confident that rough numerical parity would favor his superior generalship. Therefore, the Emperor would have to isolate each of his opponents and defeat them in turn. Knowing something about his adversaries, Napoleon predicted that Blücher would spare nothing in marching to save Wellington, if the Anglo-Allied should be made the object of his first attack. The British commander, however, was thought to be exceedingly cautious and unwilling to risk his forces in the event of a main thrust against the Prussians. Thus, on 16 June, Napoleon concentrated his first blow against the Prussians at Ligny. The Prussians were unprepared for the storm that was loosed upon them, and Blücher, in desperation, threw himself into the fray in the hopes of reversing the situation. Personally leading a cavalry charge, he failed to stem the tide of battle and ultimately was knocked out of action when he had his horse shot out from under him, pinning him to the ground and nearly leading to his capture by French cavalry.

Blücher's Prussians had been badly mauled at Ligny, but they were not decisively beaten. On 17 June Napoleon detailed Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, with nearly a third of the French force, to pursue Blücher's army and prevent it from linking up with Wellington. Blücher, however, was not retreating along his own lines of communication, as the French had expected. At Gneisenau's direction the army retreated toward Wavre, away from the French and toward Wellington. With encouragement from Blücher, the Prussians regrouped after defeat and marched through the rains of 17 June, to arrive at the battlefield south of Waterloo on the afternoon of 18 June. As the Prussians began to arrive on the scene, Napoleon's hopes of winning the battle were completely frustrated. Blücher unrelentingly pressed his troops into Napoleon's right flank, forcing the Emperor to draw off from his reserve to check the advancing Prussians. Blücher's arrival not only diverted vital reinforcements but also forced Napoleon to accelerate his efforts against Wellington. The tide of battle

had been turned by the hard-driving Blücher. As his Prussians pushed in Napoleon's flank, Wellington was able to shift onto the offensive. With Grouchy engaged miles away at Wavre, fighting against Blücher's rear guard, Napoleon's situation was beyond recovery. The Prussians, after their defeat at Ligny, the long march to Waterloo, and their participation in the battle spent the night of the eighteenth pursuing the remnants of the French forces.

Blücher had infused the Prussian Army with his indomitable spirit. His long service and good work had earned him praise from many quarters, as well as the title of Prince of Wahlstatt from his king. He died 12 September 1819 at home on his Silesian estate.

*Charles Steele*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Auerstädt, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Bautzen, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Craonne, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Katzbach, Battle of the; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Montmirail, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vauchamps, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Bois-le-Duc, Battle of

*See* Flanders, Campaign in

## Bolívar, Simón (1783–1830)

Known as “the Liberator,” Simón Bolívar led various wars to liberate South America from Spanish colonial rule. Bolívar was born in Caracas, Venezuela, to a rich family of Spanish descent. At fifteen he went to Spain. He married at nineteen, but two months after returning home his wife died. Bolívar then spent the next six years traveling through Europe, furthering his education and indulging his voracious sexual appetite.

Revolution broke out in Venezuela in 1810. South America had been ripe for revolution, but Napoleon's deposition of the Spanish monarchy provided the spark. Bolívar led a delegation to Britain to persuade the exiled General Francisco Miranda to return to Venezuela. The delegation asked Marquis Wellesley, the foreign secretary, for British support. The British were sympathetic, hoping to open up South America to trade and to discomfit the French, but they were reluctant to upset their Spanish allies and remained neutral.

In 1811 Bolívar served under Miranda, commanding the garrison at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, which he lost to escaping Spanish prisoners. Miranda sued for peace and was later arrested by Bolívar and passed over to the Spanish, who allowed Bolívar to leave the country. Bolívar offered his sword to the patriot army of New Granada (Colombia). He was given a small command and in 1812 initiated a successful campaign. In the face of Spanish atrocities, Bolívar proclaimed a “war to the death.” Any Spaniard not with the patriots would be killed. In 1813 Bolívar crossed into Venezuela. Despite some successes, his forces collapsed under pressure from numerous royalist forces including the “Legion of Hell” (horsemen from the Llanos plain).

When Spain's war with France ended in 1814, Bolívar retired to Jamaica. Spain was now free to send 15,000 veterans under General Pablo Morillo, who had served with Wellington at Vitoria. Morillo pacified Venezuela and retook New Granada. In 1815 Bolívar led an expedition to liberate Venezuela, an attempt that ended in fiasco. In 1816 he landed again and pushed inland to Guyana. He was reinforced by a legion of British volunteers recruited in London, which was awash with demobilized soldiers and materiel. In 1817 he campaigned along the Orinoco River.

After being chosen as president of the Republic of Venezuela in 1818 he set off on an epic march across the Andes and liberated New Granada, joining it to Venezuela

to form Gran Colombia. Owing to political upheaval in Spain, Morillo was authorized to negotiate an armistice in 1820.

Bolívar now set about the liberation of Peru. He had wished to join all of Peru to Gran Colombia but the people of Upper Peru demanded an independent state, which was named Bolivia. In 1828 a convention was convened to write a new constitution. Bolívar's views may be summed up as follows:

- A strong central government—not federalism
- A strong executive
- A parliament elected by the educated and property-owning classes
- A confederation of Latin American states
- Equality of rights between the races
- Antislavery

The convention dissolved in discord, and Bolívar was made dictator of the Republic of Bolivia for two years. He escaped an attempt on his life in 1828 and resigned two years later as planned. A new convention drew up a constitution on federalist lines. Bolívar died on 17 December 1830.

*Rohan Saravanamuttu*

*See also* Peninsular War; South America; Spain; Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, First Marquis of

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### Bonaparte, Caroline (1782–1839)

Born Maria-Annunziata on 24 March 1782 in Ajaccio, Corsica, Caroline Bonaparte was the youngest of Napoleon's sisters. Caroline had no formal education and as an adult was sent to Madame Campan's boarding school in Paris with Hortense de Beauharnais to become socially acceptable in Paris. Flouting Napoleon's wishes, she married General Joachim Murat on 20 January 1800 and bore the first of their four children, Achille, on 21 January 1801. Caroline was devoted to Murat and campaigned to get him command of the Army of Italy. Deeply jealous of her older siblings, Caroline pushed for a royal title and deeply resented being excluded from the succession to Napoleon's throne. Regarded as a parvenu (as indeed were all the Bonapartes) by the Bavarian royal family and snubbed by Marie Louise, Caroline never cultivated the manners or attitudes of an aristocrat, remaining bawdy and vulgar

throughout her life. She and Murat were made Grand Duke and Duchess of Cleves and Berg in 1805, then succeeded to the throne of Naples in 1808. When Murat was away on campaign, Caroline ruled Naples as his regent.

An inveterate plotter, Caroline acted both in what she perceived to be her brother's interest—as when she instigated Napoleon's affair with Eleonore Denuelle to prove Josephine's infertility—and also, most often, on behalf of Murat. In 1807 she seduced General Jean Andoche Junot in order to be positioned to seize Paris for Murat if Napoleon failed to return from campaign. In January 1813 she carried on an affair with Klemens Graf Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, who arranged for Murat to keep Naples in exchange for Caroline's betrayal of Napoleon to Austria in January 1814. Against Caroline's advice, Murat tried to rejoin Napoleon during the Hundred Days, while she rallied troops for Napoleon, thus triggering a successful Austrian advance on Naples in May 1815. Murat's later attempted coup led to him being shot by firing squad. Caroline and her children were evacuated under the protection of British marines to Trieste, then to Austrian house arrest at Schloss Frohsdorf.

Eventually, Caroline was allowed to live in Pauline Bonaparte's Florence palace as the Countess di Lipona, where she supported her family from the proceeds of their art collection, sold largely to the Marquis of Londonderry for £250,000. In 1836 Caroline appeared before the Orleanist Chamber of Deputies to successfully demand a grant of 100,000 francs per year from France. During this period, she may havemorganatically married General Francesco Macdonald. Caroline died in Florence 13 May 1839.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Bonaparte, Elisa; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Bonaparte, Lucien; Bonaparte, Pauline; Josephine, Empress; Junot, Jean Andoche; Marie Louise, Empress; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Murat, Joachim; Naples

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### Bonaparte, Elisa (1777–1820)

Napoleon's eldest sister, Elisa Bonaparte, was born Maria-Anna on 13 January 1777 at the family home in Ajaccio, Corsica. From 1785 to 1792, Elisa attended the Royal Academy at St. Cyr as a scholarship student, but the school



Elisa Bonaparte, Napoleon's eldest sister. As Grand Duchess of Tuscany, she supported her brother's desire to unify Italy under Bonapartist rule. (Drawing by Pierre Prudhon from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 1)

closed before she could receive her promised dowry, and she returned to live with the family in Corsica and Marseilles, where she married fellow Corsican Felix Baciocchi on 1 May 1797. The best educated of Napoleon's siblings, Elisa managed her brother Lucien's Paris residence, where she hosted a salon with the vicomte de Chateaubriand and the painter Jacques-Louis David as regular participants. Sent to Rome as her brother's representative, she developed a connoisseur's taste in art and music and impressed Italian intellectuals.

In March 1805, Napoleon made Elisa the Princess of Piombino, to which was later added Lucca and Elba, and in March 1809 she became Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Elisa proved an efficient and well-liked ruler, investing in such local industries as timber, silk, and Carrara marble quarries. She established girls' academies, university chairs in French law, medicine, and music, drained swamps, and prosecuted bandits. She was a great patron of music, and Gaspar Spontini and Giovanni Paisiello dedicated operas to her, and Niccolò Paganini wrote his Sonata for Violin in honor of Baciocchi, to whom he gave violin lessons. Always

supportive of Napoleon, Elisa's Tuscany exceeded the high enlistment quotas and logistical demands of the French army.

In 1814, as the Napoleonic empire was collapsing, Elisa made a secret deal with Murat to surrender Tuscany but to keep Lucca under her rule, a plan that failed, and she was forced to leave for Bologna, then Graz. The Austrians arrested Elisa four days after Napoleon's escape from Elba, and she took no part in the Hundred Days, although her husband had sworn loyalty to Louis XVIII. Using the alias Countess de Compignano, she lived in exile in Trieste on a generous allowance of 300,000 francs a year negotiated with the Austrian government, part of which went to support her brother, Jérôme. Elisa caught a fever while supervising archeological excavations at Aquila and died at Trieste on 7 August 1820. She and Baciocchi had five children, two of whom, Elisa-Napoléon and Frédéric-Napoleon lived to adulthood. Elisa Bonaparte is buried in Bologna Cathedral.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Bonaparte, Lucien; Bonaparte, Pauline; David, Jacques-Louis; Elba; Louis XVIII, King; Murat, Joachim

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### **Bonaparte, Jérôme (1784–1860)**

Jérôme, Napoleon's youngest brother, was given the kingship of Westphalia under the Empire, a role he fulfilled without great distinction from 1807 to 1813. Born in 1784, he lost his father at an early age and went to France when the family was obliged to depart Corsica in 1793. Initially left to his own devices, he was poorly educated and preferred indolence to application. Yet his elder brother always treated him with indulgence, despite the frequent rebukes he was obliged to administer. It was at Napoleon's behest that Jérôme entered the navy in 1800, where he soon earned a reputation for living beyond his means. An expedition to the Caribbean led to an unauthorized trip to the United States and then marriage to the daughter of a Baltimore millionaire. This profoundly displeased Emperor Napoleon, who had the marriage annulled in 1805 for dynastic reasons, Jérôme proving rather more compliant than Lucien, who had blotted his copy-book in similar fashion.

Having returned to the fleet and having been promoted to rear admiral (as befitted a member of the now-imperial family), Jérôme subsequently served in the continental military campaign of 1806, and the following year, after the defeat of Prussia, he was rewarded with the crown of Westphalia. Napoleon was at the height of his powers, and this satellite state, the largest he created, was assembled from Prussian territory west of the Elbe plus land belonging to its allies (including the Duchy of Brunswick), forming one of the largest states of the Confederation of the Rhine; its capital was located at Kassel. The purpose of founding the kingdom was twofold: to erect a barrier against the resurgence of Prussia and to establish a French-inspired, model state that would serve as an example to other German rulers.

An ambitious series of reforms was launched in Westphalia. The new state was given a constitution drafted by Jean-Jacques Cambacérès, the first to be introduced in Germany. There was provision for an indirectly elected legislature, with 100 deputies, though it met infrequently. Based on the imperial regime, this arrangement represented an experiment in enlightened absolutism, imposing modernizing reforms from above. Three seasoned French administrators were to assist Jérôme, and under their direction, with the cooperation of local bureaucrats, a good deal of reforming legislation was enacted. Seigneurial dues were abolished (though peasants had to compensate their landlords for the loss of income), efforts were made to redistribute taxes, administrative and judicial reorganization was decreed, and the Napoleonic Code was applied. Religious toleration was also implemented, notably for Jews. Yet progress was slow, the result of resistance from an entrenched nobility and the difficulty of integrating heterogeneous territories into a single kingdom. The fiscal and military exactions levied by the Emperor, like the economic disruption brought by the continental blockade, not only produced unrest but suggested that Napoleon's priority was to exploit Westphalian resources. Nonetheless, this short-lived episode bequeathed an important legacy to nineteenth-century Germany.

It is difficult to attribute much of this program personally to Jérôme. Marriage to Princess Catherine of Württemberg did little to curb his wild behavior, and the court at Kassel was memorably described by Goethe as a "Roman Circus." The royal pair excelled in conspicuous consumption, which took its toll on state finances. However, Jérôme did take a particular interest in the army, and from 1809 onward, with the reentry of Austria into the war, military matters predominated. After several enemy incursions into Westphalia, Jérôme was ordered to attack the Duke of Brunswick, who had occupied Dresden. Napoleon was disappointed by his brother's tardy response to

the command and accused him of dishonoring both the imperial army and his own standing. At the end of 1811 Jérôme even threatened to resign, a proposition that cut little ice with the Emperor, who called his bluff. Worse was to come when Jérôme quit the Russian campaign the following year rather than defer to Marshal Davout.

On his return to Westphalia, Jérôme attempted to muster resources for deployment when Germany once again became the major theater of war as Napoleon retreated. Yet these efforts met with little success, for by 1813 many of his Westphalian subjects desired the reinstatement of their former princes. Kassel was briefly occupied in September after a strong Russian offensive, and though the capital was soon retaken, Jérôme now decided to leave his kingdom for good. He traveled to Paris, where he was reunited with his wife, whose earlier departure had already aroused the ire of Napoleon. Catherine was hoping that her father, who had recently joined the anti-French coalition, might save a throne for them, but she refused to abandon her husband as Duke Frederick demanded. During the Hundred Days, when he rallied to Napoleon, Jérôme finally emerged with some credit at Waterloo, where he was lightly wounded.

The former royal couple and their offspring were subsequently given sanctuary in Austria. A nomadic and penurious existence ended when they settled with Jérôme's mother, Letizia (Madame Mère), in Rome, but Bonapartist involvement in Italian insurrectionary movements soon obliged them to move on to Florence. There, after the death of Catherine, Jérôme, ever the gallant, married a wealthy widow, the so-called marchesa Giustina Bartolini. His request to be allowed to return to France was eventually granted when King Louis-Philippe gave him permission to reside in Paris. Shortly afterward, the revolution of 1848 overturned the monarchy and brought Louis-Napoleon to the presidency of the Second Republic. Jérôme was made governor of Les Invalides. Indeed, he lived long enough to serve the Second Empire of Napoleon III as a leading senator, all the while maintaining his renown as a *bon viveur*, suitably ensconced at the Palais Royal. When he died in 1860, he was buried at Les Invalides close to Napoleon, his long-suffering patron. The current Bonapartist pretender is one of his direct descendents.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Brunswick, William Frederick, Duke of; Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques Régis de, duc de Parme; Civil Code; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Russian Campaign; Waterloo, Battle of; Westphalia

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### Bonaparte, Joseph (1768–1844)

King of Naples and Spain during the Napoleonic era and elder brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, Joseph Bonaparte was born Giuseppe Buonaparte in Corte, Corsica, on 7 January 1768. His parents were Carlo Maria and Letizia Ramolino Buonaparte. His father practiced law in Ajaccio and his maternal grandfather had served as commander of the Ajaccio garrison. Joseph was their eldest son and his siblings were Napoleone, Lucciano (Lucien), Maria Anna (Elisa), Louis, Pauline (Maria Carlotta), Caroline, and Jérôme. His family was of minor nobility from Ajaccio, Corsica, and their coat of arms was a red shield with three bands of silver crossing diagonally with two six-pointed blue stars topped by a coronet. The Buonapartes had become French when Corsica was sold to Louis XV in May 1768, and they were eligible for the privileges of French nobility, including exemption from taxation and the right to sit in Corsica's legislative assembly, the States-General, after 1772. Joseph's father served on the Council of Twelve Nobles that aided French administration of the island, and he mingled with the elite. A branch of the Buonapartes lived in Florence.

Originally Giuseppe, gentle and philosophical, attended with his brothers a day school run by Father Recco in Ajaccio, learning to read and write Italian and imbibing the virtues of courage and honor. He aspired to service in the church and received royal aid to study at the college in Autun, France, from the Corsican civil and military commander, Louis Charles René, comte de Marbeuf. At Autun College he became known as Joseph, and Napoleone, studying for a career in the military at Brienne, became known as Napoleon. Joseph excelled at Autun, winning numerous awards and honors for academics, but he decided against entering the seminary at Aix. He hoped to become a French military officer but later decided to study law at Pisa. Following the death of his father in 1785, Joseph returned to Corsica to care for his mother and there practiced law and by 1791 was serving as a member of the Ajaccio Council.

Napoleon came to Corsica on leave for visits and he enjoyed reading aloud with Joseph the works of Voltaire and Pierre Corneille, for they shared a love of books and

the works of the revolutionary philosophes and supported the French Revolutionary changes in government. Joseph and his brothers inherited considerable sums in the fall of 1791 upon the death of their uncle, Archdeacon Lucciano of Ajaccio, who had named Joseph head of the family. Napoleon and Joseph both financially supported the backers of the new National Assembly's Constitution of 1791, desiring to introduce into France liberty and freedom. Joseph was initiated into the Freemasons with a friend, Antonio Salicetti, one of the National Assembly's commissioners responsible for the campaign in Toulon, and was able to secure a military post for Napoleon to fight the British and Spanish forces there. Napoleon fought with distinction. As Napoleon's military star rose over Paris, Joseph assisted his brother's fortunes and in return was appointed to increasingly important positions in the government that after 1792 became the National Convention, to be replaced in October 1795 by the Directory.

When Napoleon took command of the Army of the Interior under the Directory, he made Joseph consul in Italy. Joseph had married Julie Clary in Cuges-les-Pins, France, in 1794, and they had two children, Zenaide and Charlotte. Following Napoleon's Italian campaign, Joseph was appointed ambassador to Rome at a salary of 60,000 francs a year, and his brothers and sisters received comparable honors and sinecures. Napoleon reorganized northern Italy and sought to give Italians the fruits of the Revolution: liberty and equality. The family wished to emphasize their French noble connection and dropped the *u* from *Buonaparte*, but they nonetheless capitalized on their Italian family links to boost the reputation of the "liberator" Napoleon and to republicanize Italy. Joseph remained Napoleon's important confidant and adviser.

Joseph wrote a political novel, *Moina*, drawing attention to the corruption and weaknesses of the Directory and assisted Napoleon and Lucien in the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) during which the Directory was overthrown and the French government reorganized to "save the Republic" under Napoleon. Joseph joined Napoleon, France's First Consul, at Malmaison to plan strategy to rebuild France in the wake of the Revolution. Joseph, representing the Consulate, signed the treaty of peace with his country's wartime opponents at Lunéville in February 1801. He was also sent to sign the favorable terms contained in the Treaty of Amiens (25 March 1802) providing peace with Britain, which promised to evacuate Malta in return for the guarantee by the Great Powers of its security.

But war resumed in 1803 after the British, concerned by various French annexations on the Continent during the peace, refused to leave Malta. On the eve of Napoleon's coronation as Emperor of France in early December 1804, Joseph made known his desire to be named Napoleon's



Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's older brother. He failed to win popular support as King of Spain and was prevented from exercising any meaningful control over French commanders in the field. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

heir, but Napoleon decided against him. After his brother became Emperor, Joseph was offered the crown of the Kingdom of Italy (formerly the Cisalpine Republic, to which Venetia had been added) but he declined this offer, accepting instead an appointment as King of Naples, where he reigned from 1806 to 1808.

In Naples, Joseph Bonaparte dispensed the liberal ideals of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's rule. Most notably, he abolished feudalism, codified local laws and introduced the Napoleonic Code, reorganized church offices and monastic orders as his brother had done in France with the Concordat with the pope, promoted internal improvements, and implemented measures for the protection of the southwestern coast of Italy from the British fleet. Efficiency and French legal discipline were introduced, and the area became a vital satellite state of France. Joseph spoke Italian and was well respected by his followers, known as *josefinos*. He ruled wisely and justly, dispensing patronage to loyal supporters, and was called the Philosopher-King. Joseph, who had received some training as a soldier, preferred diplomacy to war and served as Napoleon's skillful diplomat in the Kingdom of Naples, implementing his brother's orders. All feudalistic

remnants were abolished on 2 August 1806 when baronial jurisdictions were relinquished and the government seized the water rights in order to divide them equally. Large feudal landed estates were broken up, and parcels were given or sold to the former serfs who had tilled them. Throughout the region administered by Naples, representative councils were established to secure for the people representative government.

Joseph, like Napoleon, was hailed as a liberator. He reduced the debt of Naples, which totaled 130 million ducats, by selling 213 monastic properties he had seized in the name of the Neapolitans. He carefully placated the church by pensioning the remaining clergymen loyal to himself, utilizing clerical talents in public archives and libraries, and attending prominent Catholic ceremonies. Joseph was seen as introducing a national renaissance in the Kingdom of Naples and established the Royal Order of the Two Sicilies. The public taxes he levied were low in order to encourage loyalty to the French Empire. Throughout Naples the people's living standards were raised and their rights extended by the Napoleonic Code. Joseph, like Napoleon, wished to spread the best achievements of the French Revolution throughout Europe.

So successful was Joseph's reign in Naples that Napoleon appointed him King of Spain in 1808, desiring that Joseph replicate his just administration. Joseph had been preceded by King Charles IV, whom Napoleon had deposed. The throne of Naples was turned over to Marshal Joachim Murat, the husband of Joseph's sister, Caroline, but the Neapolitans regretted Joseph's departure. In Spain, Joseph issued the country's first constitution and ruled with the advice of a legislature composed of a Senate that he appointed and a Chamber of Deputies based on the French model representing three estates—the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners. He made great improvements to the city of Madrid, adorning it with gardens and removing blights on the landscape. As in Naples, he followed numerous local customs, attending bullfights, High Mass, and entertainment including readings of Jean Racine, Voltaire, and Miguel de Cervantes. Once again, the benefits of the French Revolution were to be imported, this time into Spain by Joseph according to Napoleon's directions, including for the abolition of the Inquisition.

But Joseph faced stiff opposition from local independence groups and the Spanish clergy, who resented French occupation. Patriotism in Spain manifested itself as an anti-French movement, and the clergy railed against the liberalism of the Revolution, fearing the confiscation of their church lands. They attempted to smear Joseph's reputation, labeling him a drunkard or "Pepe Botella" (Joe Bottle), even though he drank only water. In May 1808 a church leader, Llano Ponte, issued a call to arms to his countrymen to re-

sist French domination. Following the capture of Valencia by patriots, Napoleon took the field himself against the Spanish, routing them but leaving his brother to wipe out the insurgency, a task that proved impossible for Joseph, who lacked military talent. Furthermore, he proved himself a poor administrator of Spanish affairs, partly as a result of restrictions imposed on him by Paris.

In 1810 the Spanish region north of the Ebro River was re-formed, despite Joseph's opposition, into an autonomous military region answerable only to Napoleon. Joseph attempted to abdicate, but Napoleon convinced him that he was still needed in Spain. The Duke of Wellington led British forces through Portugal into Spain and inflicted successive defeats on French forces including at the Battle of Vitoria, fought on 21 June 1813, as a result of which Joseph was forced to flee to France. Later, when Napoleon told Joseph that he planned to restore the Bourbon dynasty in Spain as a mechanism to halt the British advance, Joseph persisted in his own claims, stating he was the "legitimate" ruler in Spain. Despite Joseph's failure to maintain a hold over Spain, one lasting contribution of his rule remained: the adoption by the succeeding Spanish government of Ferdinand VII of a new constitution modeled on that which Joseph had promulgated during his brief reign. Catholicism was reinstated as the national faith, but the liberties guaranteed under Joseph's constitution remained, and serfdom was not reintroduced.

Owing to Napoleon's losses a new coalition had begun to form against France. Austria, through the diplomacy of Graf Metternich, had signed the Treaty of Reichenbach with Prussia and Russia, requesting Napoleon to submit to their demands and stating that if he did not comply, there would be war. This coalition, which also included Britain, declared war again on France. Following Napoleon's defeat by this coalition at Leipzig in October 1813 and the subsequent Allied invasion of France in 1814, Joseph was placed in charge of the defense of Paris and the safety of Napoleon's wife Marie Louise and their son and heir Napoleon II, named the King of Rome. Joseph was instructed to evacuate Paris should the invading Allies come close and ordered not to negotiate with the enemy under any circumstances. Joseph disregarded his orders from his brother, listened to Parisians who wished for peace at any price, and allowed Talleyrand to remain in Paris to negotiate with France's enemies. Joseph evacuated Marie Louise and the young heir to the throne upon receiving a direct order from Napoleon. The Paris defenses were to be maintained by marshals Marmont and Mortier, but Marmont, upon orders from Joseph, opened peace talks with Tsar Alexander I.

The Allies entered Paris, where Talleyrand negotiated with the coalition leaders and signed an armistice. Paris

had not held under Joseph's direction, and the Allies determined to restore the Bourbon king Louis XVIII, upon Talleyrand's recommendation. Marie Louise wrote to Napoleon from Blois that Joseph and Jérôme were suggesting that she surrender to the Austrians for her own protection. She went to Orléans, where she was placed in custody of the tsar and the French provisional government. Her father had refused, with Metternich's encouragement, to grant her Tuscany, which she wanted so that she could visit Napoleon exiled on Elba. She returned with her father to Austria. During Napoleon's escape from Elba and the Hundred Days campaign, Joseph in Zürich received word from Napoleon that he was to act again in a diplomatic capacity, informing Austrian and Russian ministers in Switzerland of Napoleon's intention to reclaim the boundaries France had enjoyed in 1814. Joseph's peace overtures in Zürich failed, but he returned to Paris to aid his brother once again, raising troops and funds on his behalf. But again an Allied coalition was formed against Napoleon. And after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, Joseph sailed for the United States.

The throne of Spain was reaffirmed as belonging to Ferdinand VII by delegates at the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815). After leaving post-Napoleonic France, Joseph became a U.S. citizen and lived for seventeen years with his family in Bordentown, New Jersey. He supported the revolution in France in 1830 and always remained a Bonapartist politically. In 1832 Joseph Bonaparte moved from the United States to Britain and then on to Italy, where he died in Florence on 8 July 1844. His remains were later reburied in Les Invalides in Paris.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Elisa; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bonaparte, Louis; Bonaparte, Lucien; Bonaparte, Pauline; Brumaire, Coup of; Civil Code; Concordat; Consulate, The; Corsica; Ferdinand VII, King; France, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); "Italian Independence," War of; Italy, Kingdom of; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lunéville, Treaty of; Marie Louise, Empress; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Peninsular War; Reichenbach, Convention of; Spain; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Toulon, Siege of; Vienna, Congress of; Vitoria, Battle of

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### Bonaparte, Louis (1778–1846)

Louis Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon, was born on 2 September 1778 in Ajaccio, Corsica. In 1791 Napoleon took him to France, where Louis attended military school. In 1796 he accompanied his brother on his Italian campaign, acting bravely but loathing the bloodshed that fighting entailed. When his brother sent him to Paris, he was reluctant to return, but he did and distinguished himself at Arcola. Campaigning in Italy, however, destroyed his health, as the north Italian winter gave him rheumatism and an Italian woman infected him with syphilis.

After the Italian campaign he lived in Paris until he accompanied his brother on his Egyptian campaign, and he was present at the Battle of the Pyramids. Sent back to France to inform the government of his glorious deeds, Louis slipped through the British blockade but went to Corsica, leaving the errand to a subordinate. As Napoleon and Josephine's marriage was proving barren, Napoleon wanted Louis to wed Hortense, Josephine's daughter, to ensure an imperial heir. Louis, not liking Hortense, refused, avoiding the matter by setting off to travel through Europe. Eventually, however, Louis and Hortense reluctantly complied and married in 1802. Their marriage was unhappy, and both were adulterous. They had three sons, the youngest later becoming the Emperor Napoleon III.

In 1806 Napoleon made Louis King of Holland. He was a successful king and cared for the well-being of his people. He won their affection by visiting locations where disaster had struck, notably an explosion of an ammunition boat in Leiden in 1807. He attempted to learn Dutch and extended his general interest in culture to Dutch culture and history. However, by his care for his people he also attracted the anger of his famous brother, for he refused to introduce general conscription and was reluctant to supply troops for the Grande Armée. Moreover, as Louis knew that the Netherlands were very dependent on naval trade, he was lax in maintaining the Continental System. Smuggling was in fact overt and endemic. Eventually, in 1809, Napoleon used the British invasion of Walcheren as a pretext for curtailing Louis's power. Louis did not comply and even considered actual

military resistance to the French, who were already invading Holland. In 1810, however, Louis abdicated and fled to Austria.

When Austria declared war on France, Louis went to Lausanne and later to Rome. He did not return to France during the Hundred Days, instead remaining in Italy for most of his life and keeping himself busy with writing. In 1838, a year after the death of Hortense, he married Julia-Livia Strozzi, a sixteen-year-old of renowned beauty. He died in Livorno, 25 July 1846 of a brain hemorrhage.

Louis Bonaparte was an adequate commander who acted competently though no more. Apart from Italy and Egypt, he took part in the campaigns against Prussia and Russia in 1806–1807, but when the Dutch troops present with the Grande Armée were not allowed to fight as a separate and unified division, he returned home in protest with his regiment of Guards. He commanded the Dutch defense at Walcheren in 1809 until Napoleon replaced him with Marshal Bernadotte. Louis's character was both gloomy and humorous, a fact enhanced by his physical ailments. However, he was also a responsible and honest man, a fact that was reflected not only in his behavior as a king but also in his conduct while campaigning in western France against royalist forces in 1800. When he was ordered to execute some royalist leaders who had been taken prisoner under a flag of truce, he bluntly refused.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Arcola, Battle of; Continental System; Corsica; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Josephine, Empress; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Middle East Campaign; Netherlands, The; Pyramids, Battle of the; Walcheren, Expedition to

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### Bonaparte, Lucien (1775–1840)

One of Napoleon's younger brothers, born in 1775, Lucien possessed a fiery temperament that led to some headstrong behavior and frequent disagreements with Napoleon in the course of a checkered but colorful career. When the Bonaparte family was obliged to flee Corsica in 1793, after he had denounced the patriot Pasquale Paoli, Lucien flung himself into French politics and became an uncompromising Jacobin. Under the Directory, though technically too young to serve, he was elected to the Council of Five Hundred as a deputy for Corsica, ideally placed to participate in Napoleon's coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799),

since he was at that time president of the council. Indeed, he was to play a decisive role when the plot took an unfortunate turn at Saint-Cloud on 19 Brumaire and a motion to outlaw Napoleon was proposed after the general had entered the assembly in uniform. It was Lucien who sought to reassure the deputies by graphically declaring, dagger aimed at his breast, that he would kill himself if Napoleon violated their liberty. He then rallied the troops outside once it became evident that force was required to overthrow the regime, his elder brother having panicked in the face of unexpected resistance.

When a new constitution was introduced in December 1799, Lucien was appointed minister of the interior. One of his first tasks was to falsify the plebiscite returns on the constitution, a massive fraud that remained undiscovered for almost 200 years. He was also responsible for introducing the prefects, selecting able administrators from a variety of political backgrounds, and defining their tasks in the departments after 1800. Yet his relationship with Napoleon, previously strained when he had married an innkeeper's daughter in 1794, rapidly deteriorated and ended in resignation. He was briefly dispatched as ambassador to Spain, before returning in 1802 to serve in the Tribunate and Senate. A second marriage, this time to the wealthy widow Alexandrine Joubertson, curtailed his political career, for Napoleon had envisaged a royal bride and thoroughly disapproved of Lucien's independent conduct, which he could never succeed in controlling. In 1804 Lucien left for Rome, where the pope rewarded his part in steering through the Concordat with the church by granting him a substantial estate, whose proceeds he used to sustain a cultured and luxurious lifestyle, accompanied by his large family.

Forced to flee by the arrival of French troops, Lucien attempted to escape to America, but he was captured and imprisoned in Britain between 1811 and 1814. The only brother to be awarded neither a kingdom nor a title by Napoleon, he had avoided association with the Empire but reemerged to play a significant role in the Hundred Days, before finding renewed haven in the Papal States. As prince de Canino (an honor bestowed by the pope), this former Jacobin and erstwhile Republican began writing his memoirs and continued to pursue intellectual activities until his death in 1840.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Concordat; Constitutions; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Papal States; Pius VII, Pope

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## Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821)

French general who became the leader of France and eventually the Emperor of the French. He lived in an era of enormous change, which spanned the American War of Independence (1775–1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1799). Throughout his career he promoted many of the most important ideas of the time, most notably the concept of equality. A man of enormous intellect and will, he promoted those ideas throughout his Empire. That alarmed the monarchs of Britain and continental Europe, who feared that these ideas might lead to uprisings in their own countries. As Napoleonic France became more powerful, these leaders wanted to reestablish what they saw as the traditional balance of power. They eventually combined to defeat him militarily and send him into exile. His leadership was geared to the needs of the rising middle class, and he provided the stability that allowed France to prosper.

Napoleon's legacy was widespread and progressive. He overcame the objections of many of his supporters and promoted equality for the Jews. At the same time, he reinstated a role for the Catholic Church in French society, while insisting that France maintain religious freedom. He reorganized and reformed education, bringing centralized and secular control to that most important of institutions. His most famous and lasting legacy was his reorganization and rewriting of the chaotic civil code of France into one unified body of law, eventually known as the Napoleonic Code. Napoleon brought these reforms to countries that came under his control. Often considered the father of modern Europe, Napoleon sounded the death knell for the last remnants of feudalism.

### Rise to Power

Napoleon was born Napoleone Buonaparte in the Corsican capital of Ajaccio. His father, Carlo Maria, was a politically active lawyer who had some claims to membership in the minor nobility. His mother, Letizia, was a beautiful young woman who raised Napoleon and his siblings Joseph, Lucien, Elisa, Louis, Pauline, Caroline, and Jérôme. Letizia's perseverance during times of adversity served as an inspiration to her children. Thanks to his noble heritage, Napoleon received a royal scholarship to the military school at Brienne and later in Paris, where he graduated at the age of sixteen as a lieutenant in the artillery, two years before the rest of his class. He was somewhat of a loner but was highly respected by his instructors for his intellect and his understanding and acceptance of new ideas in warfare, including the use of light, mobile artillery. His success was all the more notable given the fact that as a Corsican, whose French was heavily accented, he was looked down

upon by most of his fellow students and probably by some of the instructors as well.

Upon graduation, Napoleon was commissioned a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery. He spent this early part of his career in various assignments and, more often than not, on leave to visit Corsica. There he became involved in the always-dangerous politics of Corsican nationalism. His strong support of the French Revolution eventually got him into serious difficulty, and he and his family had to flee the island. Back in Paris, he witnessed the storming of the Tuileries and the flight of King Louis XVI to the protection of the National Assembly. Later, while stationed in Avignon, Napoleon wrote a short story, “Le souper de Beaucaire” (Supper at Beaucaire [a city in France]), which was a defense of the Revolution. A number of important Revolutionary leaders took note of this work, and these leaders would prove useful in Napoleon’s climb to power.

Napoleon’s first opportunity to enter into the public eye came in 1793 at the French port city of Toulon. Not all regions of France were completely behind the Revolution. Toulon had declared for the king and sought the protection of the British navy until a king was returned to the French throne. This was treason, of course, but the leadership of the troops sent to remove the British was incompetent and unable to restore Toulon to the administration’s control. Napoleon’s political connections and the sheer good fortune of being in the right place at the right time put him in charge of the artillery. His plan of attack was sound, but the commanding general refused to consider it. Undaunted but frustrated, Napoleon wrote to Paris demanding a new general. This was a risky step, as the guillotine was always a possibility for those who fell out of favor. Still, his words in his letter of 25 October 1793 show his willingness to take risks in the name of advancing his ideas:

I have had to struggle against ignorance, and the passions it gives rise to. . . . The first step I will propose to you is to send to command the artillery an artillery general who can, if only by his rank, demand respect and deal with a crowd of fools on the staff with whom one has constantly to argue and lay down the law in order to overcome their prejudices and make them take action which theory and practice alike have shown to be axiomatic to any trained officer of this corps. (Napoleon I 1858–1869, 25 October 1793, no. 1, I, 1–2).

Napoleon’s political connections protected him from any repercussions for this letter. He got his new general, and in due course Napoleon’s plans forced the British and their Spanish allies to leave Toulon. Everyone involved heaped praise on Napoleon, and he was made brigadier general at the age of twenty-four.

At this point, Napoleon’s career began to languish somewhat. The low point came in July 1794, when the Revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre and many of his supporters were executed. Robespierre had led France during a year-long period known as the Terror, during which many thousands were executed by the guillotine. He was arrested by those who believed that the bloodshed associated with the Terror had to end. Napoleon was seen by some as part of Robespierre’s group, and he was actually arrested and detained for two weeks in the south of France. He was later released and given an administrative position in Paris.

On 5 October 1795 royalist forces were gaining strength in Paris and making plans to overthrow the government. One of Napoleon’s friends, Paul Barras, suggested placing Napoleon in charge of the defense of the government. The legislative body, known then as the Convention, agreed. Napoleon took charge in a whirlwind of action. He dispatched Captain Joachim Murat (who would later become his brother-in-law and the King of Naples) to secure needed cannon. Napoleon arranged them to control the streets leading to the Convention, fired his famous “whiff of grapeshot,” and dispersed the royalist forces. The government promoted him to *général de division* with command of the French Army of the Interior.

Napoleon’s star had now clearly risen. He was proclaimed a hero, was applauded wherever he went, and was always in demand at the many balls and salons of Paris. It was at one of these affairs that he must have met Josephine de Beauharnais. Josephine was a Creole beauty who had married a French aristocrat, Alexandre de Beauharnais. He was executed during the Terror, but Josephine had escaped that fate and became Barras’s mistress. Napoleon fell deeply in love with her, and though the feeling was not entirely reciprocated, they were married 9 March 1796. Two days later, Napoleon, newly appointed commander of the (French) Army of Italy, left to assume his new command. The world was about to discover a new force in the complicated politics of Europe.

### Early Campaigns

The French Revolution had alarmed the royal powers of Europe, who sought to limit its success and contain France as much as possible. Austria was a leader in this movement, and northern Italy was one of the most important stages for this conflict. It was here that Napoleon truly came into his own. The Army of Italy, some 47,000 men, was demoralized and unsuccessful, lacking adequate supplies and leadership. Senior officers were furious that this young upstart had been given the command, suspecting that it was politically inspired, but they soon felt otherwise. Napoleon had the ability to command the complete loyalty of his sol-



Napoleon surveys the battlefield at Wagram. With the possible exception of Alexander the Great, the French Emperor stands unrivalled as history's greatest commander. (Engraving by M. Haider after Horace Vernet from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 1)

diers. From Italy onward, they would follow him anywhere. In part, this was due to their recognition of his ability, but in part it was because his speeches mesmerized them and inspired them to more success than they had ever thought possible. A French diplomat in Tuscany wrote of the young general: "The campaign was opened, and a series of victories as dazzling as they were unexpected, succeeding each other with surprising quickness, raised the glory of our French soldiers, and that of the great captain who led them daily to fresh triumphs, to the highest" (Miot de Melito 1881, 94–95).

After a relatively minor action at Lodi on 10 May 1796, Napoleon began to suspect that he was capable of great deeds and might be destined for greater things. He later wrote: "It was only on the evening of Lodi that I believed myself a superior man, and that the ambition came to me of executing the great things which so far had been occupying my thoughts only as a fantastic dream" (quoted in Markham 2003b, 52). In a fast-paced campaign he defeated the Austrians, took charge of the negotiation process, and formed the Cisalpine Republic out of part of northern Italy. This was an unusual and risky thing to do:

Mere generals do not create governments, and the political implications were not entirely in France's favor. The government in Paris was unwilling to question his actions, however, and his reputation continued to grow.

Napoleon returned to Paris a hero. This was troublesome to the Directory, a five-member committee that now served as the administrative branch of government. That government was unstable and insecure and was thus suspicious of any strong force in politics that might serve as a threat. They perceived Napoleon as such a threat, and they sought to give him duties outside of Paris. At first they planned to have him lead an invasion of Britain. When this proved impractical, they shifted their focus southward. In 1798 the Directory sent Napoleon to Egypt, where he was to remove Britain's influence and eliminate its shortcut to India. Napoleon saw himself as the successor to Alexander the Great, but he had far less military success there than had Alexander. He was generally successful in his land battles, but Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson was able to surprise and destroy his fleet at the Battle of the Nile, cutting off all but sporadic resupply efforts. The campaign in Egypt produced mixed results, and Napoleon soon became

anxious to return to Europe, where his gains in Italy were in danger of being reversed. His sudden departure was seen by some as abandoning his army, though the Directory had (unbeknownst to Napoleon) ordered his return.

When Napoleon returned to France after a year in Egypt and the Holy Land, he was seen as a great hero. French prospects in Egypt would not last long, but the world learned far more about Egypt than it had learned for a millennium because of the many scholars, artists, and cartographers who accompanied Napoleon. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone laid the foundation for the modern study of Egyptology, one of Napoleon's enduring legacies. In this respect Napoleon was, in fact, similar to Alexander the Great.

### First Consul

When Napoleon returned from Egypt in 1799, he found France's political situation in turmoil. The Directory was seen as corrupt and ineffective, and some top French political leaders were involved in a plot to gain control of the government. Napoleon was a national hero who would bring legitimacy to their coup, and they carefully recruited him into the plot. They expected to control him, but his political skills overmatched those of the other conspirators. In what would become known as the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799), the government was overthrown, and at thirty years of age Napoleon became First Consul (of three), the ruler of France. One of the other consuls, Emmanuel Sieyès, described Napoleon's image by saying: "Gentlemen, you have got a master! This man knows every thing, wants every thing, and can do every thing" (Las Cases 1818, 1:142).

Napoleon was an exceptionally gifted political and military leader. His genius of intellect, his ability to see opportunity and fully exploit it, and his eye for both detail and the larger picture were essential to his success. He also had a unique ability to communicate and soon learned to promote his goals through favorable information and imagery. His military bulletins were carefully written for the consumption of his men, the French public, and his enemies. Like Caesar's *Commentaries*, the bulletins served to inform people of what was happening and acted as propaganda tools to promote his successes.

Had the other European powers allowed Napoleon to peacefully rule France, he would be most noted for his domestic political leadership rather than for his military leadership. He well understood that the nation was turning to him to be a civil leader in a time of peace, not to bring military glory to France. But military glory can help to consolidate civil power, and at any rate peace was not possible. Just after taking power he was faced with another campaign in northern Italy, again against the Austrians. To de-

feat them, he led his army through the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Alps in May 1800, swept to the south, and achieved one of his greatest victories at the Battle of Marengo on 14 June. Other victories followed, and in February 1801 the Treaty of Lunéville was signed.

In March 1802 Britain and France signed the Treaty of Amiens. Peace had come to Europe, but it did not last. While at peace, Napoleon improved the French economy and became extremely popular with the French and even with many intellectuals and politicians in other European countries, including Britain. But the established regimes, especially the government in Britain, would not allow France to exist in peace, fearing that a strong and progressive France was a threat to their own security.

Thus, Napoleon was forced to place military leadership ahead of his domestic agenda. One coalition after another formed against France, each determined either to restore the Bourbons to the throne or to sharply reduce France's power. Napoleon was forced to carry the fight to those coalitions. For most of his career he had great success and left the world an outstanding example of military leadership. When royalists realized they could not defeat him, they turned to other means of achieving their goals. British-sponsored attempts on his life occurred, and Napoleon decided to ensure the continuation of his legacy through the establishment of a hereditary monarchy. This idea was strongly supported by both the Senate and the people, so on 2 December 1804 he became Napoleon I, Emperor of the French.

### Emperor

As Emperor, Napoleon continued to promote domestic reforms. However, the collapse of the Peace of Amiens led to further coalitions against him, and the military components of his career became far more prominent. In 1805 he was poised to invade Britain when he discovered that the Austrians and the Russians were moving against him in central Europe. Without hesitation he moved his troops, now called the Grande Armée, to meet them. He surprised and defeated the Austrian general, Karl Mack, at Ulm, forcing him to surrender his 27,000 troops on 20 October 1805 with hardly a shot fired. Though Napoleon did not know it at the time, the next day the French fleet was badly defeated by Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar off the coast of Spain. This effectively eliminated the possibility of invading Britain, but on the Continent Napoleon was still unbeatable. He took Vienna without a shot and then moved north. His greatest victory, against the combined armies of the Russians and the Austrians, came at the Battle of Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, the first anniversary of his coronation. Austerlitz was the product of brilliant maneuvers and clever deception, and this, combined with the ac-

tion at Ulm, crushed and humiliated the Third Coalition and should have led to an extended period of peace. Small wonder, then, that Napoleon's Proclamation of 3 December begins: "Soldiers: I am satisfied with you. . . . You have decorated your Eagles with an immortal glory" (Markham 2003a, 55–56). The resulting Treaty of Pressburg and the personal guarantee of Emperor Francis I of Austria was to have removed all future conflict between the two nations. That would prove an illusionary hope.

It did not take long for Britain and Russia, joined now by Prussia, to form a Fourth Coalition against Napoleon. Prussia was not the power it had once been, and it was defeated by the French at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, both fought on 14 October 1806. Napoleon then turned to halt the Russian advance. He confronted the Russians at the Battle of Eylau on 7–8 February 1807, a bloody but relatively indecisive action fought in a heavy snowstorm. Napoleon then retired into Poland for the winter, which he spent with his Polish mistress, Marie Walewska, with whom he had a son. With warmer weather, Napoleon moved against the Russians once again and soundly defeated them at the Battle of Friedland on 14 June. Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I met on a raft in the Niemen River near Tilsit. There they formed an alliance as well as a personal friendship. Again peace appeared to be at hand, and again it would prove illusionary. Still, there was relative peace, though he had to defeat the Austrians at Wagram in 1809.

Anxious to have a male heir to his throne and unable to have children with Josephine, Napoleon reluctantly divorced her and sought to marry into one of the important royal families of Europe. He felt that this might further ensure continental peace. Rebuffed by the tsar in his efforts to marry into that family, he settled on Marie Louise, the daughter of Francis, the Emperor of Austria. They married in 1810 and had a son in 1811. Napoleon was now tied by marriage to the oldest monarchy in Europe, though that would eventually count for very little.

The height of Napoleon's power was the period 1810 to 1812, but even by then the French Empire was beginning to show cracks. To isolate Britain, Napoleon instituted an economic blockade known as the Continental System. The intent was to destroy Britain's economy by cutting off its trade with the Continent, but the system proved as damaging to continental economies as to Britain's. Several nations were decidedly lax in their enforcement, and British goods could often be found even in France. Even so, the system did put some significant pressure on the British economy and had it remained in place it might have been successful.

Napoleon attempted to control Spain by putting his brother Joseph on the throne. This move was generally

supported by the middle class of Spain, who felt it would lead to a far more enlightened Spanish government. But the Spanish peasant class rebelled, and a war of liberation ensued. When a British expeditionary force, led by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, arrived in Spain, it had the support of Spanish guerrillas and most of the population, and French forces eventually withdrew toward France.

The final chapter in Napoleon's decline began with his invasion of Russia in 1812. Alexander had withdrawn from the Continental System and demanded that France abandon its commitment to Poland. Napoleon could not and would not tolerate this situation. Russian forces were prepared to invade Napoleon's empire. War was inevitable, and Napoleon decided to take it to the heart of Russia. On 24 June 1812 he led what was then the largest army ever assembled, approximately 600,000 men representing twenty nations, across the Niemen River into Russia. There he won numerous skirmishes and defeated the Russians at the Battle of Borodino on 7 September, though at great cost to himself. Soon thereafter the French captured an abandoned Moscow. Unprepared to spend the winter in a city largely burned by its citizens, Napoleon eventually withdrew from Russia, pursued by the Russian army and Cossacks. The campaign was a disaster, and Napoleon lost 90 percent of his army. The Russians continued their pursuit into Saxony in 1813 and a growing coalition of forces, including the Austria of his father-in-law, defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig on 16–19 October 1813.

### Final Defeat, Exile, and Death

In 1814 Napoleon was forced to defend France from the invading forces of the Sixth Coalition. It was perhaps his most brilliant campaign. Whenever he led the action he met success, but his marshals were less successful. It eventually came down to a race for Paris, and he arrived late. At that point, some of his marshals refused to fight any more and urged him to abdicate. Final treachery by Marshal Marmont and the foreign minister, Talleyrand, proved impossible to overcome, and Napoleon abdicated on 11 April 1814. He was exiled from France as the Emperor of Elba, a tiny island off the coast of Italy. He was there less than a year, during which time he modernized the island and received many visitors. Louis XVIII was placed on the throne of France and refused to pay Napoleon the pension to which he was entitled by treaty. Bored, running out of money, convinced—with great reason—that his enemies might yet take further action against him, and hearing that the people of France wanted his return, Napoleon went back to France on 1 March 1815 to reclaim his throne. No longer interested in empire but desiring only to govern France as wished by its people, he

pleaded for peace. In letters to European leaders and in statements to his people, he pledged to seek war no more and to be satisfied with being the Emperor of the French. His old enemies, recalling Napoleon's earlier military successes, were unconvinced; they mobilized several armies and began moving on France. Napoleon tried his best to defeat the British and Prussian armies before the Austrian and Russian forces could arrive. After some success at Ligny and Quatre Bras in Belgium, he was decisively defeated at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. The period of Napoleon's return, known as the Hundred Days, was over.

Napoleon abdicated a second time and was sent with a small entourage to the remote island of St. Helena. There he spent much of his time dictating his memoirs and feuding with his British captors, most notably Sir Hudson Lowe. On 5 May 1821, Napoleon died. The official cause of death was given as stomach cancer, but many modern historians now suspect he died of poisoning. In 1840 his remains were returned to Paris, and he now lies buried under the dome of Les Invalides, as he requested in his will, "on the banks of the Seine, amongst the French people, whom I have loved so well" (quoted in Markham 2003b, 302).

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amiens, Treaty of; Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bonaparte, Elisa; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Bonaparte, Lucien; Bonaparte, Pauline; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cisalpine Republic; Civil Code; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Convention, The; Corsica; Directory, The; Elba; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France; France, Campaign in; Francis I, Emperor; French Revolution; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Josephine, Empress; Leipzig, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Lodi, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lowe, Sir Hudson; Lunéville, Treaty of; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Marshalate; Middle East Campaign; Murat, Joachim; Napoleon II; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Peninsular War; Poland; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Rosetta Stone; Russian Campaign; St. Helena; Talleyrand-Périgord Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Terror, The; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Toulon, Siege of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Bonaparte, Pauline (1780–1825)

Born in 1780 in Ajaccio, Corsica, Maria-Paolina was the sixth of Carlo Maria and Letizia Ramolino Buonaparte's eight children. Given almost no formal education, Pauline, as she was renamed when the family moved to Toulon in 1793, was beautiful and impulsive, worrying Napoleon that she might elope with someone unsuitable, such as General Andoche Junot or Louis Stanislas Fréron. Instead, Napoleon arranged her marriage to his loyal subordinate Charles-Victor Leclerc, on 12 June 1797 at Momballo. Pauline gave birth to their only child, Dermide, named for Napoleon's favorite poet, Ossian, on 20 April 1798. Pauline also accompanied Leclerc to Haiti in 1801, gaining a reputation for both scandalous behavior and resourceful toughness in the brutal conditions of the island. She returned when Leclerc died of fever in 1802.

Pauline's second marriage, on 28 August 1803, was to Prince Camillo Borghese, a wealthy Italian art patron. Pauline enjoyed his money and cultured background, using his influence to commission Antonio Canova to sculpt a controversial nude of herself, but she preferred to live in Paris in competition with Josephine as first lady of the Napoleonic court. Her Paris house, the Hôtel de Charoset, and her country estate at Neuilly became famous salons through which Pauline dispensed patronage and set imperial fashion. Although her sexual affairs embarrassed Napoleon, she was his favorite sister and he forgave her repeated scandals. The advent of Marie Louise, however, sent Pauline back to Italy until Napoleon's imprisonment on Elba, when she emerged to bankroll both the renovation of his Elba quarters and his escape with her diamond jewelry.

Pauline spent the Hundred Days in Austrian custody at Compignano, but she was released to live in Rome with her mother and uncle, Cardinal Joseph Fesch. Pope Pius VII arranged a generous allowance from the Borghese family despite her legal separation from Camillo. Pauline spent the money living comfortably and supporting Jérôme's and Caroline's children. She sold the Hôtel de Charoset to the Duke of Wellington to be used as the British embassy in Paris. Always in frail health and a devotee of spas, Pauline began to decline in 1824 and was reconciled to her

husband by Pope Leo XII shortly before her death in Florence on 9 June 1825.

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*See also* Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Canova, Antonio; Elba; Haiti; Josephine, Empress; Junot, Jean Andoche; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Marie Louise, Empress; Pius VII, Pope

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### Borghetto, Battle of (30 May 1796)

The French victory at Borghetto permitted Bonaparte to cross the Mincio River, take Verona, and put Mantua under siege. The retreat of *Feldzeugmeister* Jean-Pierre Freiherr Beaulieu's Austrian army back to Tyrol ended the second phase of the 1796 campaign in Italy.

After the Battle of Lodi and the loss of Milan, Beaulieu had withdrawn behind the Mincio and deployed his army on a line stretching 11 miles from Peschiera to the north and Mantua to the south. The steep riverbanks and the fortresses at either end made it a strong defensive position, with only four bridges (at Peschiera, Borghetto, Goito, and Rivalta) and few fords available for crossing. A serious problem for Beaulieu was that his preferred line of retreat to Tyrol along the upper Adige valley was not perpendicular to the Mincio line but instead ran to the north as an extension of his right wing. To avoid being outflanked on his right side, the Austrian commander deployed his main body between Peschiera and Valeggio. Around Peschiera, *Generalmajor* Anton Freiherr Liptay commanded the right wing (3,800 men). In the center, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Melas and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Philipp Freiherr Sebottendorf had their troops (10,200) scattered along the Mincio between Valeggio and Salionze, with outposts on the right bank. To the south, separated from the rest of the army, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michelangelo Alessandro Freiherr Colli-Marchini held Goito with 3,000 men. Several squadrons of good Neapolitan cavalry were attached to Beaulieu's army.

Being aware of Beaulieu's concern for his line of communication, at the end of May Bonaparte ordered some feints toward Peschiera and along the western shore of Lake Garda. He then selected General Charles Kilmaine's 6,200 elite troops to cross over the bridge at Borghetto, deployed Masséna's division (9,500) behind Kilmaine, and Augereau's division (6,100) to the left, with orders to threaten Peschiera. To the right, Sérurier's division (9,100)

was to advance as far as Guidizzolo. On the early morning of 30 May, after a rapid march from Castiglione under the cover of the hills overlooking the Mincio, Kilmaine pushed the Austrian outposts back across the river, debouching at around 7:00 A.M. before the western end of the bridge. Owing partly to an indisposition of Beaulieu, the Austrian deployment was far from ideal. As a matter of fact, the crucial bridge was defended by only one battalion (Infantry Regiment Strassoldo) with two guns. Nonetheless, the Austrians resisted for a couple of hours until General Gaspard Gardanne's grenadiers found a weakly guarded ford farther downstream and managed to reach the left bank. The defenders then abandoned Borghetto and the bridge, retreating to Valeggio. The French pursued and street fighting ensued.

By noon the French were in control of both banks. Despite his attempts, Colli failed to give Beaulieu any support. Meanwhile, Augereau was pushing toward Paschiera. A few successful Neapolitan cavalry charges and limited counterattacks of the infantry reserve at Oliosi gained time for Beaulieu to rally his army and begin the retreat to the north, via Castelnuovo. According to a late (and unconfirmed) French account, in the aftermath of the battle Bonaparte narrowly escaped capture in Valeggio. It is true, however, that after this engagement he established a headquarters escort, which was later to become the Chasseurs à Cheval of the Imperial Guard.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Imperial Guard; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Lodi, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Second Coalition, War of the; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de

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### **Borodino, Battle of (7 September 1812)**

Borodino, the only major set-piece battle during Napoleon's campaign in Russia, was fought between the Grande Armée and the Russian armies of General Mikhail Kutuzov, around the village of Borodino, a small hamlet on the banks of the Kaluga River near the confluence with the Moskva, about 115 kilometers west of Moscow. The battle is best known for the tenacity with which the two evenly matched opponents fought and for the horrendous carnage

that resulted in this extremely bloody—and yet inconclusive—battle, whose losses exceeded those of every other engagement of the period apart from Leipzig in 1813.

Having defeated the retreating Russians at Smolensk and capturing that city in August, Napoleon closely pursued the 1st and 2nd Armies of the West, under Kutuzov, who succeeded General Barclay de Tolly as commander in chief on 20 August. While Barclay urged immediate confrontation with the French, then steadily advancing east, Kutuzov decided instead to withdraw to Borodino, there to make a stand, a decision made as a result of political pressure urging the defense of Moscow. The main part of the Grande Armée duly followed, with an Austrian auxiliary corps under Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and French general Jean Reynier observing Alexander Tormasov's 3rd Army of Observation and Pavel Chichagov's Army of the Danube far to the south, while Marshal MacDonald's corps kept watch on the Russians situated far to the north.

Although the French had left the vicinity of Smolensk with 156,000 men as recently as 19 August, by the time they reached the outskirts of Borodino on 5 September they were down to 133,000 fit for action (86,000 infantry, 28,000 cavalry, and 16,000 artilleryists) and 587 guns, all units depleted by disease and generally wearied by the laborious march deep into Russia that had begun on 22 June. The Russians mustered about 155,000 men, of whom 115,000 were regulars (the remainder were Cossacks and militia) plus they were more rested and enjoyed a numerical superiority in artillery, with 640 guns. Nevertheless, the Russian total included a proportion of virtually untrained militia known as *Opelchenie*, about the same number of new recruits in the regular army, and a large body of Cossacks who could not be relied upon to execute orthodox charges against formed troops. Thus, the two armies stood on approximately equal terms.

The French advance guard made contact with the Russians on 5 September when they came in sight of the Shevardino redoubt, a forward earthwork manned by General Dmitry Neverovsky's division, supported by light infantry and cavalry, which the Russians had constructed about 3 miles southwest of Borodino. The French could tolerate no such hindrance to their general advance, so early on the evening of the fifth a division, supported by cavalry, seized the redoubt at bayonet point after an hour's exchange of musketry and artillery fire. Entering the entrenchment, the assailants found it choked with bodies. Driven out again by Russian grenadiers, the French finally took possession when, around midnight, the defenders retired after the place was pronounced untenable.

On the following day, the sixth, the main body of the Grande Armée appeared along the New Post Road and began a reconnaissance of Kutuzov's position. There was to be no fighting on this day; instead, both sides spent the day reorganizing, deploying their infantry and cavalry, siting their artillery, and planning the forthcoming battle. Having established a respectable line of earthwork field fortifications, Kutuzov arranged a religious procession to inspire his very devout troops to fight for "Holy Russia." He then rested his men, satisfied to await the French onslaught.

Russian dispositions were based on a largely static defense, with their right under the command of Barclay de Tolly and their left under General Peter Bagration. Kutuzov established his line on a ridge that looked down on the Semenovskaya creek, with his forces straddling Borodino in his center. His right wing faced north, running parallel to the south bank of the shallow Kalatsha River as far as its confluence with the Moskva; his left, facing west, extended southward from the formidable Rayevsky (or "Great") Redoubt (mounting eighteen pieces of artillery and protected to the front by "wolf pits" dug the previous day) through the ruined village of Semenovskaya, then past three arrow-shaped earthworks known as *flèches* to the village of Utitsa, which sat atop a knoll on the Old Post Road, beside which stood thick woodland. Much of Kutuzov's position was covered by heavy brush and trees, not least the Utitsa woods. Large bodies of Cossacks, unreliable against formed bodies of troops but effective in harassment, scouting, and postbattle pursuit, protected both flanks. Finally, light infantry extended along the entire front. Several brooks intersected the area; these, and the knolls, woods, and ridges at various points along a position measuring only 8 kilometers long, left exceptionally little room for maneuver; conversely, there would be plenty of opportunity for massed artillery to wreak havoc in the tightly packed formations on both sides.

Apart from the strongpoint captured by the French at Shevardino, the field fortifications along the main Russian line, though rapidly constructed, were by no means unimpressive. Earthwork structures manned with artillery stood around Borodino, near Utitsa, and on the right flank to cover the fords of the Kalatsha River. The two most formidable, however, were the Rayevsky Redoubt and the *flèches* built by Bagration. The Russian reserves were kept close to the front line, a great mistake as they were to make an ideal target for massed French artillery.

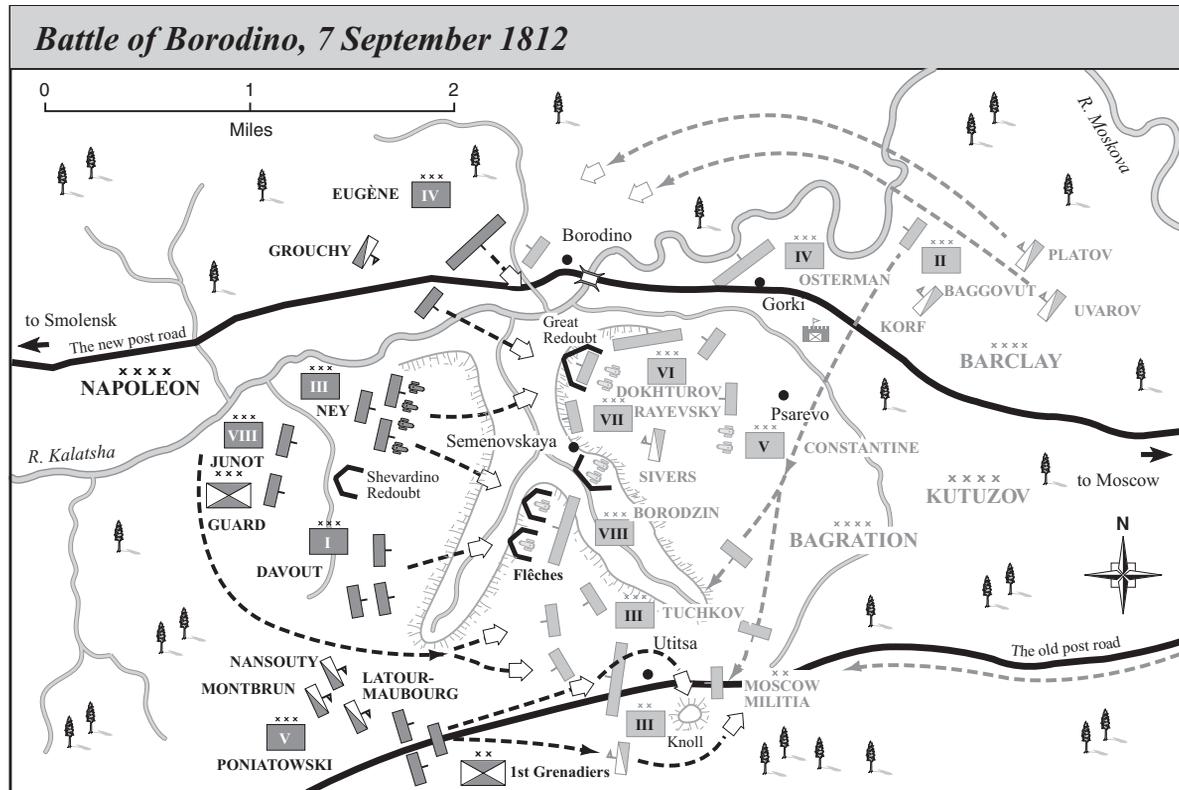
With his left anchored on woods and his center strongly fortified, the Russians probably expected Napoleon to turn their right, and hence the relatively stronger dispositions around Gorki, the site of Kutuzov's headquarters. Napoleon, however, decided against making his main thrust against the Russian right on account of the high

banks of the Kalatsha. He also rejected Marshal Davout's proposal for a wide, sweeping maneuver to the south with 40,000 men, intended to outflank Kutuzov's left—a plan fraught with potential difficulties and yet if successful, possibly decisive. Having insufficient troops to both pin the enemy and execute a wide turn around Kutuzov's flank may have dissuaded Napoleon from adopting the plan. Whatever the reason, the Emperor, suffering from a heavy cold, failed to display his usual energy and opted for a simple strategy: a massive frontal assault on the Russian center and left-center. Specifically, the main thrust would be directed against the area between Borodino to the north and the *flèches* to the south, with Prince Poniatowski's V Corps, on its own, attempting a small flanking movement against the Russian left. This was perhaps the least imaginative and potentially the costliest method of defeating the Russians.

The French were in position by 5:00 A.M. on 7 September, but at sunrise, through some oversight made the previous day, the batteries were found to have been constructed out of range of the Russian line. Once they had been repositioned to within 1,300 yards of the enemy it was precisely 6:00 A.M., at which time 100 guns opened a massive bombardment against Bagration's positions. The French enjoyed some initial success, as IV Corps (mostly Italians) under Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, operating on the left of the attack, captured Borodino in a rapid assault. Barclay de Tolly's counterattack managed to retake the village, but finding the place untenable, the general ordered his troops to withdraw across the Kalatsha and burn the bridge behind them.

Meanwhile, two divisions under Davout reached Semenovskaya further south, while at 6:30 the French made their first assault on the *flèches*, briefly taking one of them. Having lost heavily from artillery fire in the process, however, they soon retreated before a Russian counterattack with bayonets. Davout had his horse shot from under him and was carried off the field semiconscious. On the extreme right, Poniatowski began his efforts at turning the Russian left. He succeeded in capturing Utitsa and part of the woods to the north of the village, aided by the transfer of some of the Russian troops in this sector to the area around the hard-pressed *flèches*. General Alexander Tuchkov was killed in the seesaw battle around Utitsa, where the Poles, despite gallant efforts, found themselves unable to achieve a breakthrough. Kutuzov reacted accordingly, shifting large numbers of reserves from his as-yet unengaged right wing in order to reinforce his center and left.

Back at the *flèches*, a Russian grenadier division struggled against overwhelming numbers of attackers until virtually annihilated; like so many Russian units, especially those regiments within easy range of the enemy's plentiful



Adapted from Chandler 1987, 437.

artillery, they died where they stood, stubbornly refusing to yield ground. The French eventually took two flèches, but before the third could be captured Bagration introduced reinforcements into the fray, which in turn drew in tens of thousands of French troops in a fierce hand-to-hand struggle that involved hundreds of pieces of artillery on both sides. The flèches changed hands several times, and in the course of the fighting Bagration fell wounded, struck in the leg—a wound from which he would die seventeen days later. From Bagration command passed first to General Peter Petrovich Konovnitsyn and then to General Dmitry Dokhturov, and after five hours' savage, fighting the Russians finally withdrew from the flèches, the place littered with the fallen.

Further north, Eugène and his division crossed the Kalatsha in the direction of the Rayevsky Redoubt but were halted with severe losses. Similarly, Davout's I Corps, confronting the corps of generals Nikolay Rayevsky, Borodin, and Karl Fiodorovich Baggovut and supported by part of Marshal Ney's command and all of Marshal Junot's corps, could not make further headway. After four hours' fighting, by 10:00 A.M. the battle had degenerated into a massive contest of attrition, with rapidly growing casualties on both sides. Napoleon had long since committed practically all his formations save for the Imperial Guard and the cav-

alry held in reserve. Subordinates appealed in vain to the Emperor to commit the Imperial Guard to take advantage of the fall of the flèches, but Napoleon refused, perhaps conscious of the fact that it might be needed at a more critical time.

By noon the Russians had partly given way in the center, but they continued to hold the line in other sectors of the field. Kutuzov redeployed General Ivan Osterman-Tolstoy's IV Corps from the right wing in order to bolster the center and left, while 12,000 Cossacks and regular cavalry under generals Matvei Platov and Fedor Uvarov crossed the Kalatsha to counterattack around Borodino, obliging the French to postpone their planned massive onslaught against the Great Redoubt. Meanwhile, by 2:00 P.M. Eugène had recrossed the Kalatsha to the north bank in order to bolster the troops under attack by Russian cavalry and to ready his three divisions for the great assault. An earlier attack on the redoubt had been repulsed, leaving the French 30th Line virtually destroyed and the commander of the Russian reserve artillery, Kutaisov, dead. Grouchy's III Cavalry Corps was sent to cut up the Russian infantry in the area, but when they formed square his enterprise failed. After the cavalry returned to friendly lines the artillery bombardment was redoubled, killing thousands in the tightly packed Rus-



The Battle of Borodino. With both sides evenly matched and Napoleon unimaginatively content to launch his troops straight into the teeth of prepared positions, the battle was destined to be a costly and exhausting stalemate. (Library of Congress)

sian ranks, though the Rayevsky Redoubt remained in Russian possession.

At the same time, on Napoleon's extreme right, Poniatowski had made little further progress around Utitsa. Having the advantage of woods and broken ground, the defenders held their positions tenaciously, despite the appearance of French reinforcements under Junot.

With no possibility of a breakthrough on either wing, the French could only clinch victory in the center. Situated in the Russian line between the Rayevsky Redoubt and the *flèches*, *Semenovskaya*, already burned and virtually demolished, was now utterly destroyed by French artillery fire before two of Ney's cavalry corps swept in to deliver a potentially decisive blow. At the same time, General Marie-Victor Latour-Maubourg's IV Cavalry Corps destroyed a Russian grenadier division before it could deploy in square, only to be driven off by counterattacking Russian cavalry behind them. Further south, General Nansouty's I Cavalry Corps could make no headway against infantry of the Russian Imperial Guard, which had formed squares, while in *Semenovskaya* itself

the grenadiers fought with such tenacity that only Marshal Murat's presence stopped the French from abandoning the place altogether.

Another French advance ejected the Russians from the burning village once again, and for a short time Kutuzov's army was actually split in two. A second appeal to Napoleon to throw in the Imperial Guard was made and declined, and with it probably went the last opportunity for a breakthrough. Nor were Murat's cavalry properly put to use: The bulk of them, having been repulsed from the area around *Semenovskaya*, sat immobile for hours, receiving no orders to exploit the gap in the Russian line and suffering horrendous losses, including General Montbrun, commander of II Cavalry Corps, who was killed by Russian artillery fire. The Russians filled the gap, and despite the loss of *Semenovskaya* and the *flèches*, Kutuzov's line remained intact, albeit battered.

Meanwhile, Eugène, concentrating every available trooper, attempted to advance further after the fall of the Rayevsky Redoubt in order to exploit his success there, but Barclay de Tolly halted this advance by bringing up

two fresh cavalry corps. With no further reserves, the French were simply unable to proceed further.

On the Russian right, Kutuzov now showed some rare initiative, ordering a broad cavalry sweep intended to strike the French rear. Generals Uvarov and Platov, with regular cavalry and Cossacks totaling 8,000 horsemen, advanced with caution, and though they did not attack the French rear, they did manage to cause panic in their ranks and paralyzed thousands of troops who might have been committed to the fight in the center.

The Rayevsky Redoubt, the focus of hours of artillery fire by over 150 guns, remained to be vanquished. Now, at about 3:00 P.M., the French launched a coordinated infantry and cavalry attack against the now-shapeless feature. Napoleon's aide-de-camp, General Caulaincourt, leading II and IV Cavalry Corps, advanced over the breastworks with the Saxon and Polish heavy cavalry, while French cuirassiers stormed in through the back. Caulaincourt was killed in the charge, but the key to Kutuzov's line was taken, secured by infantry that stormed through the embrasures in the wake of the cavalry. There followed a fierce two-hour cavalry engagement as French and Allied regiments galloped on into the main Russian line, where Barclay de Tolly twice narrowly escaped death.

On Napoleon's extreme right, Poniatowski's Polish troops carried on the struggle and at 4:00 P.M. were able to recapture Utitsa and the knoll on which it stood. However, the appearance of Russian reinforcements—unbeknownst to Poniatowski, they were the Moscow militia, a force of very dubious quality—gave the attackers cause for concern, and the offensive ground to a halt. Indeed, by 5:00 P.M., all along the front the fighting gradually petered out, both sides exhausted from the bloodletting. Large gaps had opened in the Russian line, but Napoleon continued to refuse to send in the Imperial Guard in what might have been a decisive turn of affairs. As the fighting abated, the French stood roughly on the site of the original Russian positions. Still, Kutuzov's army, shaken though not broken, retired only a short distance away to the next ridge—hardly the outcome that Napoleon had desired.

Both sides were exhausted. Casualties were horrendous. Exact figures are not known, but approximately 44,000 Russians fell at Borodino, of whom perhaps 25,000 were wounded and left on the field. Bagration lay mortally wounded, Tuchkov was dead, and twenty-one other Russian generals were casualties. Some corps were so depleted as to be mistaken for divisions, and divisions for battalions. The French, for their part, held the field, but at a cost of about 33,000 wounded and killed—roughly 40 percent of their original force. Montbrun and Caulaincourt were among the dead, and Davout was wounded. All told, about a dozen *général de division* and nearly 200 staff and senior

officers were among the fallen. Too weary to pursue, the French withdrew to their original lines and had to content themselves with possession of a battlefield choked with bodies.

Senior commanders on both sides, but particularly the French, had shown little imagination, with massacre the inevitable result of two armies slugging it out on a congested field. Both sides claimed victory, but Borodino may best be described as a draw or, arguably, a technical victory for the French, who, with a clear road ahead of them, staggered into Moscow on 14 September. Nevertheless, Napoleon's losses had been on such a scale as to render Borodino a Pyrrhic victory. While Kutuzov had certainly lost a considerable proportion of his forces, he could expect reinforcements, whereas the French could not rebuild the units that had been thrust into the cauldron of fire with such lavish disregard for the losses they were bound to suffer. Nor could they easily replenish their expended ammunition. Thus, despite their Herculean efforts on 7 September, the French failed to achieve the decisive outcome they desired, marking Borodino as the climax of the campaign and the beginning of the end of the Grande Armée in Russia.

During the night the shattered Russian army, now reduced by more than a third of its strength, began to withdraw further east in case the French sought to renew the attack on the following day. Leaving thousands of stragglers to catch up as best they could, Kutuzov declared on 13 September that he would not fight the French again before Moscow. Instead, he left the city undefended on the basis that its loss would not spell the defeat of his country. He was right: His army remained intact, Napoleon was not in a position to dictate peace, and Tsar Alexander was resolved to continue the war at least until the French had been driven from Russian soil. Although Kutuzov's troops could not inflict a decisive blow on the Grande Armée, the coming winter could.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Caulaincourt, Auguste Jean Gabriel, comte de; Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich; Cossacks; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Davydov, Denis Vasilievich; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Ermolov, Aleksey Petrovich; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Imperial Guard; Junot, Jean Andoche; Kutaisov, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, Alexander Ivanovich; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Moscow, Occupation of; Murat, Joachim; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion; Neverovsky, Dmitry Petrovich; Ney, Michel; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince;

Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Russian Campaign; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Smolensk, Battle of; Tuchkov, Alexander Alekseyevich; Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count

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### Boxtel, Battle of (14–15 September 1794)

This minor action took place near Boxtel on the Dommel River, a few miles from 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) between French and British troops during General Jean-Charles Pichegru's invasion of Holland. This engagement was fought during the British retreat toward Holland when components of Pichegru's Army of the North of 70,000 troops attacked a British outpost at Boxtel. Although the British had intelligence of an imminent attack, it seems to have been ignored, and the French attacked the stronghold by night, overwhelming the garrison of British, Hanoverian, and Hessian forces. These were but a minor contingent of the Duke of York's army, which probably numbered less

than 40,000. A cavalry unit of French émigrés, Rohan's Hussars, was scattered, and Anglo-Allied troops lost two battalions of Hessians as prisoners. Because these German mercenaries were among the best troops in the army, this was a significant loss.

The following day York sent a force of ten battalions of infantry and ten squadrons of cavalry under Major General Ralph Abercromby to regain the position. The attack was aborted when the British almost ran into the French main force and only narrowly escaped disaster. However, Abercromby judged the situation well and succeeded in escaping extinction with the limited loss of ninety men. During this engagement Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, saw action for the first time, commanding the 33rd Foot. His regiment covered the retreat of the British Guards by firing disciplined volleys, driving off the attacking French cavalry. Both the 33rd and its commander were commended by York.

Although Boxtel was a significant loss—it commanded the road to 's Hertogenbosch, the British line of retreat—York did not dare to make a further attempt to retake the stronghold. He retreated and crossed the Maas (Meuse) River at Grave, taking up a position at Wychen near Nijmegen.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaign in; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Brienne, Battle of (29 January 1814)

The Battle of Brienne marked Napoleon's victorious return to the battlefield in the defense of France, and his intent for the campaign was no less than to keep the two major Allied armies, those of Bohemia and Silesia, separated and defeated in turn. By the end of January, the Allies had pushed the French armies well across the Rhine, and France's defenses were crumbling. Napoleon had hoped that achieving a strong victory in the field would cause the multinational alliance against him to collapse. He sought this victory by chasing the commander of the Army of Silesia, Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher, from St. Dizier to Brienne from 27–29 January 1814. Blücher had intended to advance to Arcis-sur-Aube without stopping at Brienne, but luckily for the Allies a copy of Napoleon's orders to Marshal Mortier were intercepted, and Blücher stopped to

meet the threat from Napoleon at his rear. Blücher and his advisers were settled at the chateau at Brienne when they were informed that Napoleon, leading his own troops, was advancing.

The engagement began in late morning and continued well into the evening, with the advantage changing several times. The Allied leadership was not terribly worried about the attack; Blücher apparently insisted on sitting down to dinner even as the French artillery bombarded the chateau. A forward French infantry battalion succeeded in taking the chateau late in the evening, and nearly captured Blücher and General Gneisenau, who barely managed to escape. Allied attempts to retake the chateau that night were unsuccessful, and the battle stands as a nominal victory for Napoleon, albeit one that cost him about 3,000 casualties, with a similar number lost for the Allies. It did, however, provide his raw recruits some experience of battle, and gave notice to the Allied armies that the battle for France would not be easy. However, once reinforcements arrived for Blücher from *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg's Army of Bohemia, the renewed Allied forces defeated Napoleon's troops at the Battle of La Rothière on 1 February.

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*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; La Rothière, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; St. Dizier, Battle of  
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## British Army

As an island nation, Britain naturally devoted a far greater proportion of its resources to the Royal Navy, whose responsibilities extended beyond the defense of the nation to wider strategic interests, than to the army. When war with France began in 1793, the army, which numbered a mere 45,000 men, had not fought in a major conflict in the decade since the end of the American War of Independence (1775–1783), from which it emerged with a respectable battlefield record but a bruised sense of inadequacy as a result of the disasters at Saratoga and Yorktown.

The army's main responsibilities lay in the colonies and in the maintenance of order in restless Ireland. A

massive two-thirds of the nation's troops were serving abroad at the outbreak of war with Revolutionary France, leaving a tiny disposable force available for amphibious operations on the European continent. Even had the bulk of the army remained at home, it would still have paled in comparison with its continental counterparts, which numbered in the hundreds of thousands. The main burden on land for the First Coalition, therefore, stood squarely on the shoulders of Austria and Prussia. This would remain so until 1808, when, with the rising in Spain against French occupation, an expeditionary force sent to Portugal under Lieutenant General Sir John Moore would begin the gradual buildup of British armed forces in the Iberian Peninsula. Under the Duke of Wellington the army would ultimately oust the French from Spain and invade France itself even before Britain's allies crossed the Rhine at the beginning of 1814.

But this is to anticipate events. During the war with Revolutionary France (1793–1802), the quality of British troops was mediocre in general, and many of the amphibious operations conducted in the 1790s were of limited success for this reason, coupled with other factors, including insufficient numbers (very much the result of William Pitt's dispersal of troops around the world). The quality of the troops suffered partly as a consequence of the low position in which soldiers were held within society, for practically everyone from the man in the street to members of Parliament regarded the army with suspicion and sometimes even contempt—a fear harkening back to the days of Oliver Cromwell's usurpation of the power of Parliament, when the army effectively established a dictatorship. Such attitudes were compounded by the fact that without conscription the lower ranks were often society's outcasts, whether through poverty, criminality, or the inability to practice a trade. Such attitudes stood in sharp contrast to prevailing opinions of the Royal Navy, whose virtues had been apparent for centuries. The army, by contrast, could only properly trace its beginnings to the Restoration in 1660. The navy not only defended the nation at sea, it maintained and expanded the British Empire and protected the nation's vital trade routes—while posing no threat to citizens' personal liberty or to the form of constitutional monarchy of which Britons had been proud since 1688.

The record of the British Army during the war with Revolutionary France was mixed: Like his other eighteenth-century predecessors, especially his father, Pitt dispatched numerous minor expeditions—such as to Flanders in 1793–1795 and to North Holland in 1799—in order to divert French attention from the main theater of war, but none of these made much of an impact on the greater strategic aims sought by Allied countries such as

Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who contributed far more substantial numbers of troops. The British Army also had a poor record of cooperation with the navy, on which it obviously depended for its transport and supply, and unlike the continental armies lacked a permanent system for organizing regiments into formations higher than brigades, though a divisional system was later employed during the Peninsular War and in the Waterloo campaign.

Certainly the army enjoyed a number of successes in the West Indies in the 1790s, but this was by no means universal, with setbacks particularly notable on St. Domingue (now Haiti). But far greater enemies awaited the army there: Yellow fever, malaria, and other tropical diseases ravaged the forces sent to that theater, possibly accounting for as many as 100,000 deaths or invalid discharges. The most significant success enjoyed by the army during the 1790s was Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt in 1801, but by then the French army had been isolated for over two years and no longer posed a serious threat to the strategic interests of the Second Coalition (apart from the Ottoman Empire, of course)—and certainly no longer to British interests in India, as had been the case when Bonaparte first arrived in 1798.

By the time the Napoleonic Wars began in 1803, the commander in chief, the Duke of York—an ineffective field commander but a superb administrator—had instituted a number of important reforms, while Sir John Moore had introduced light infantry and new training methods for the infantry as a whole. The government had by then begun to realize the folly of an understrength army and had raised its strength to over 200,000 men, though many of these were still required for home defense and colonial policing; thus, the forces sent to Hanover and Naples in 1805 were again merely diversionary (and not terribly effective at that) and extremely small compared to the massive armies fielded by Austria and Russia in the main theater of campaign. Having said this, from 1808 onward the army's role in Portugal and Spain would grow year by year, so that in the comparatively short space of four years it would become a first-rate fighting force second to none in Europe. The crucial—some would say decisive—role played by British troops at Waterloo, albeit as part of a larger Anglo-Allied and Prussian effort, was proof of the enormous progress made by the army in the preceding decade.

A vast literature exists on the British Army of the period, particularly the forces that served under Wellington in Portugal and Spain. Only the three main arms of the service are covered here, though further branches included the commissariat, the medical services, the Corps of Royal Engineers, the Adjutant General's and Quartermaster-General's departments, and the intelligence service.

## Infantry

Though the infantry of the 1790s were not of impressive material, by the time of the Peninsular War (1808–1814) great improvements had been made in training and morale. Under Wellington's command the British infantry became one of the finest in Europe: extremely reliable, dogged and stalwart in battle, and capable of issuing a disciplined fire that the French were utterly incapable of matching.

The regular infantry regiments were numbered up to 104 by 1815, though there had been more in the 1790s, mostly short-lived units. In addition to these were three regiments of Foot Guards. Most regiments had a title as well as a number, indicating an affiliation with a county or territory from which most of the ranks were recruited, though in many cases these designations did not reflect the true geographical origins of the men at all. From 1805 onward, however, regulations allowed men from the militia to join the regular army, thus raising the local composition of recruits who normally enlisted in their county formation. Regiments from the Highlands and Ireland were drawn from those places for the most part, the former in particular characterized by distinct uniforms including a kilt and feather bonnet. Scottish regiments had proud martial traditions, and most had distinguished themselves in battle.

Theoretically, the basic unit of organization was the regiment, usually consisting of two battalions, but because these rarely served together in the field, it was the battalion that actually functioned as the basic administrative unit. Thus, the two operated independently, with the second battalion frequently serving in a completely different theater, often on another continent. One battalion of a regiment might be serving in the West Indies while the other might be as far away as Gibraltar or India. Sometimes one battalion remained at home, where it served for recruitment purposes and sent out drafts to keep up the strength of its sister battalion on campaign.

In 1808, at the start of the army's campaigning in the Peninsula, there were 103 regiments of the line, 61 of which consisted of the usual two battalions. Thirty-seven regiments had one battalion, one had four, and two regiments had three each. There were also two rifle regiments: The 60th (Royal Americans), which had seven battalions, and the 95th Rifles, which had three battalions. Units designated as "Fuzileers" (fusiliers) were actually no different from the ordinary line regiments except in minor variations in uniform (but particularly in headdress, for they wore fur caps instead of leather shakoes) and the fact that they were descended from regiments that had once carried fusils—a lighter form of musket.

The Foot Guards, together with the Household Cavalry, made up the elite of the army. In the case of the infantry,

their normal established strength was much larger than ordinary regiments of the line, and their conduct and performance in battle was also generally higher. The 1st Foot Guards had three battalions, and the other two Foot Guards regiments had two battalions each. Guardsmen were better paid, and their officers held double rank, which meant that, for instance, a lieutenant in the Foot Guards was the equivalent to a captain in a line regiment.

Officers could rise through the ranks through the normal course of seniority or through distinguished battlefield performance, but the quickest route to promotion was through the purchase of a commission, by which an officer paid for a rank sold to him by another, more senior, officer. On the mere transfer of funds came a transfer in rank, irrespective of other considerations. This, of course, meant that the higher ranks were beyond the reach of any but the most affluent members of society, a fact that preserved the social exclusivity of the officer corps and accounted for the very high proportion of aristocrats and landed gentry in senior command, particularly in the Household regiments, where commissions were more expensive than those in the line.

Each battalion consisted of ten companies, eight of which were “center” companies (so named from the position they held when in line formation); the other two were “flank” companies. The company positioned on the right flank consisted of grenadiers, in theory the biggest men of the battalion, while the left-flank company was made up of light infantry (usually the smallest and quickest men). In the light infantry and the rifle regiments all the companies were identical, with no grenadiers.

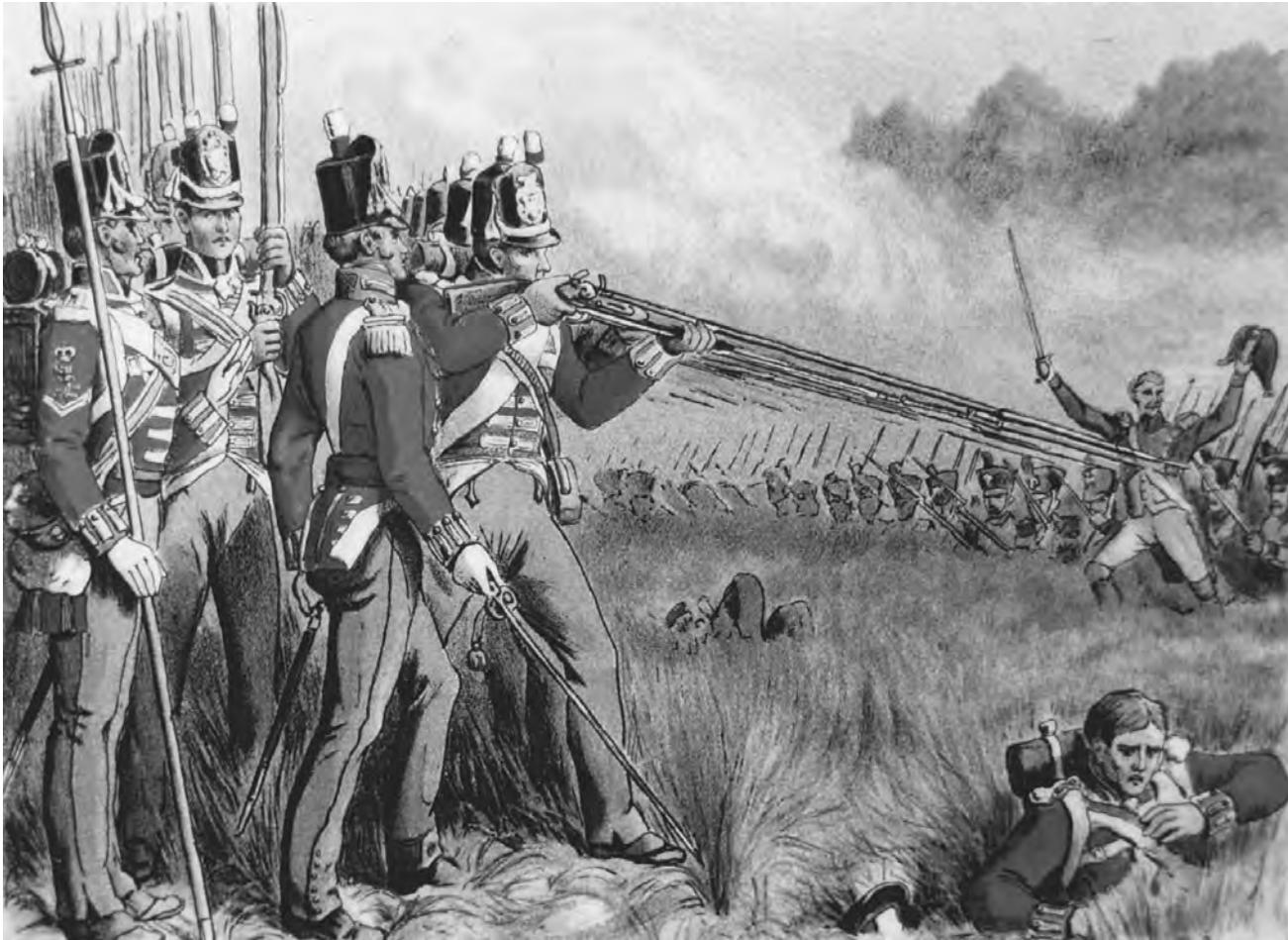
A full-service line regiment theoretically consisted of about 1,000 rank and file, or about ten companies of 100 men each. With officers, noncommissioned officers, and drummers, this would bring the total up to about 1,100 men. However, this figure was very rarely attained on campaign, though numbers in one battalion could be bolstered by drawing men from the second battalion. Indeed, it was not unusual for regiments to fall below 750 effectives (men actually present and fit for action) at the start of a campaign and reach an average of about 550 in the midst of operations. By the summer of 1812, for instance, only one line battalion numbered over 900 men and twelve battalions mustered fewer than 400 men each. If a battalion fell too far below operationally effective strength, it might be temporarily amalgamated with another understrength unit to form a provisional battalion until the two components could be brought back up to strength with reinforcements sent out from their respective recruiting depots back home.

The basic firearm of the infantry was the Brown Bess musket, a smooth-bore flintlock weapon. This fired a

spherical lead ball about an ounce in weight. Its range and accuracy left a great deal to be desired and dictated the shoulder-to-shoulder formations and close-order tactics of the day. Unless faced with a large mass of men, a musket-armed soldier was extremely unlikely to hit his target unless exceedingly proficient. Similarly, unit cohesion could not be maintained except by tightly packing the ranks, so battles almost invariably consisted of large opposing blocks of infantry blazing away at one another at extremely close ranges—with sometimes devastating results. In theory, while a musket ball could strike a man at 200 yards, actual effective range was under 100. Infantry also carried socket bayonets, except for officers, each of whom armed himself with a pistol and a sword. Each soldier carried sixty rounds of ammunition and could fire one round in approximately thirty seconds—perhaps twice as quickly as his French counterpart.

The light infantry regiments were more adept in the use of the musket than were ordinary line regiments, partly as a result of lessons painfully learned during the American War of Independence: Skirmishing, scouting, flank cover, and screening had often been more crucial in the broken ground and forests of North America than they were in the open fields of Flanders and the Rhineland. Light infantry regiments were found to be all the more necessary when ordinary line regiments found themselves confronted by the annoying fire of the French *tirailleurs* who normally screened friendly units moving inexorably forward in column. The British had lost some of these skills by the 1790s, but through the limited efforts of officers such as Sir David Dundas, who reformed methods of infantry maneuver, and above all Sir John Moore, light infantry eventually came into its own and could match their opposite numbers in the field. The conversion of line infantry regiments to light ones took place in 1794, but so rapidly did this branch of the infantry expand in the Iberian Peninsula that several light infantry regiments—initially formed into the Light Brigade—later grew to divisional strength and came to be regarded as an elite formation of Wellington’s army. While light infantry uniforms looked very similar to those of the line, the soldiers’ muskets were slightly shorter (and consequently lighter) and sometimes had backsights to aid in aiming.

Rifle-armed detachments and sometimes whole units had existed for some time on the Continent, particularly in the German states, where the utility of the weapon, first appreciated by hunters and estate managers, was eventually grasped by the more forward-thinking continental tacticians of the era of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). The rifle, though slower to load than a musket and requiring more training, proved significantly more accurate, and an adept rifleman, taking advantage of available cover on the



British infantry deployed in line prepare to repulse an advancing French column. Disciplined, short-range musket volleys, followed by a bayonet charge, usually drove off an attacker. (Print after Richard Simkin from *Epochs of the British Army* by Lt. Col. H. S. Spalding, London: W. H. Allen, 1891)

battlefield, could sometimes pick off mounted officers and gunners with impunity. The 95th Foot, which would attain great fame in the Napoleonic Wars, was formed in 1800 and was equipped with the Baker rifle, which could be fired from a prone position (unlike a musket) and whose grooved rifling on the inside of the barrel offered superb accuracy. Whereas a musket-armed soldier would be lucky to hit an individual at 100 yards, a rifleman could do so easily even at twice that distance. With this advantage riflemen could oppose French skirmishers, whose inferior weapons could not reply in kind. The 95th wore a distinctive dark green uniform to aid in camouflage and to render them visibly distinct from the line regiments.

### Cavalry

One of the most notable features of the British cavalry of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era was its numerical strength. Unlike the continental powers, Britain possessed a very small mounted corps, for in colonial war-

fare the terrain and climate often did not suit this arm, in amphibious operations the conveyance of cavalry was particularly problematic, and until the middle of the Peninsular War the mounted arm was not required in larger numbers. Once the army grew in order to face the sizable French forces that Napoleon had deployed in the Peninsula, the need for substantial numbers of cavalry naturally arose. In May 1809 there were only just over 3,000 cavalry in Portugal; there were about the same number at the Battle of Talavera in 1810 and fewer than 2,000 at Fuentes de Oñoro in the following year. While the overall strength of the cavalry rose over time, its relative proportion within the army remained about the same—around 10 percent.

British cavalry at the start of the wars were divided into three types: the Household regiments; the dragoons, of which the senior version were the Dragoon Guards, which with the ordinary dragoon regiments were designated as “heavy,” as were the regiments in the Household Brigade; and the light dragoons, the difference being that

the heavy regiments were intended for use on the battlefield to execute the charge, whereas light cavalry, while also able to fight in pitched battles, could also perform duties like scouting, skirmishing, and protecting baggage trains and lines of communication. In 1806, the army converted some light dragoon regiments into hussars, on the pattern of their continental equivalents that had proven themselves so effective in the eighteenth century.

Like the infantry, the basic cavalry unit was the regiment, two or more of which formed a brigade, two or more of which composed a division. A regiment was itself subdivided into squadrons, and then of troops, the number of troops ultimately making up a regiment varying depending on the official establishment at the time. Official strength was over 600 officers and men, though on campaign this often could not be met, and regiments frequently fell below 500.

When the Revolutionary Wars began, the heavy cavalry were armed with a rather unbalanced saber that proved as inadequate for cutting as for thrusting. According to the 1796 manual that set down the principles of cavalry maneuver and the use of weapons, troopers were advised to employ the cut or slash in preference to the thrust used by most continental heavy cavalry. In 1796 the heavy cavalry were issued with a new pattern saber, a heavy, unwieldy, blunt-pointed weapon that was retained through to Waterloo. If it made contact with its target in a downward stroke it caused dreadful injury, though it was less likely to kill an adversary than was a thrust delivered by a French cavalryman.

British cavalry also carried firearms—various types of muskets and carbines—though these were even less effective than their infantry counterparts. Cumbersome and adding unnecessary additional weight to already heavily equipped troops, such weapons seldom benefited the heavy regiments, which rarely performed picket duty or fought as skirmishers as did their compatriots in the light regiments. All officers and troopers also carried a pistol or a pair of pistols, though with such a short range these weapons were practically useless except when nearly within arm's length of an opponent.

### Artillery

Field artillery fell into two categories: “foot” and “horse,” indicating the speed with which a battery was conveyed. As the Royal Artillery was a very small enterprise within the army as a whole, and especially in comparison with its continental counterparts, no British field commander could ever assemble massed batteries in the manner of the French or the Russians. This was a consequence of limited resources and a shortage of trained personnel; the artillery, being a technical arm, required considerably more ad-

vanced training for its officers and gunners and hence the sale of commissions was not permitted, as it was in the infantry and cavalry. Other factors accounted for limitations on the size of the artillery. Whereas militia and yeomanry units could provide ready-trained men for the infantry and the cavalry, no such equivalent existed with respect to artillery, since virtually no formation possessed ordnance. Even for those fit and keen to learn gunnery, places at the instructional college at Woolwich were limited, and thus however many guns the Royal Artillery might procure from government arsenals, there was never a large enough corps of trained officers and men to make use of them all.

In practical terms this all meant that an army in the field possessed relatively few, albeit well-served, guns. In April 1809 Wellington had only about 1,000 artillerymen and support staff and thirty pieces of ordnance—nothing like the number fielded by the French in Spain even when accounting for the small size of Wellington's army at that time. As the army expanded during the Peninsular War, so too did the number of guns that accompanied it; yet proportionally, the artillery continued to remain small and, although of reasonably good quality, it was unable to play a decisive role in battle.

Like all other armies, the Royal Artillery used smooth-bore cannon (properly referred to as guns or field pieces) and howitzers, the latter employed to fire shells over obstacles with a high trajectory in order to bombard the enemy from above, as opposed to ordinary guns that fired on a flat trajectory and therefore had to be in the line of sight of the enemy lest they hit friendly troops. Guns usually consisted of 9-pounders, 6-pounders, or 3-pounders, named for the weight of the projectile. Artillery fired three different types of projectile: round shot, a solid iron sphere and by far the most common form of ammunition; canister, a thin metal tin containing musket shot that broke open on leaving the barrel, creating the effect of a shotgun; and shell, a hollow sphere containing gunpowder and a fuse that exploded after a timed delay. “Shrapnel” or “spherical case” was a form of this ammunition, fired from a howitzer and timed (if the gunner calculated the correct range and elevation) to shower the target with musket balls from above. This form of ordnance was unique to the British Army.

The horse artillery differed from the foot artillery by virtue of its rapidity of movement, as its purpose was to support the cavalry in action or to limber up (that is, to hitch each gun to a wheeled, horse-drawn vehicle known as a limber), move, and unlimber quickly in order to assist the infantry. Speed was facilitated by providing mounts for all the gunners or by seating them on the limbers and battery vehicles, whereas the men of the foot artillery, apart from the officers, had to proceed on foot. The guns them-

selves were always conveyed by teams of horses, but they could be manhandled short distances without them in extreme cases. The horse artillery, being more mobile, naturally employed lighter guns, mostly 6-pounders, though eventually they adopted 9-pounders like their counterparts in the foot artillery.

In addition to shrapnel, the Royal Artillery possessed another innovative weapon peculiar to the British Army: rockets. The Mounted Rocket Corps, associated with the Royal Horse Artillery, fired small tripod-mounted projectiles with an explosive head, invented by Sir William Congreve and first used in action in 1804. Wellington was skeptical of their efficacy, though rockets were employed in the attack on Copenhagen in 1807, in the Peninsula, at New Orleans, and at Waterloo in 1815. The rockets' main disadvantage was obvious for even a lay observer to see: Their flight was exceedingly erratic, it was impossible to predict where they would land, and their explosive effect was minimal. Yet despite all these shortcomings, rockets seriously affected enemy morale, causing otherwise-steady troops to become disordered and sometimes flee. Finally, siege guns were also used, especially in Spain, where Wellington relied on 18- and 24-pounders to reduce the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz in 1812.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Congreve Rockets; Copenhagen, Attack on; Flanders, Campaign in; India; Moore, Sir John; New Orleans, Battle of; North Holland, Campaign in; Peninsular War; Pitt, William; Royal Navy; Santo Domingo; Shrapnel; Siege Warfare; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; War of 1812; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; West Indies, Operations in the; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## British Navy

See Royal Navy

## Brueys d'Aigalliers, François Paul, comte de (1753–1798)

François Paul comte de Brueys, born in Uzès on 11 February 1753, was the ninth child of François Gabriel de Brueys, Baron d'Aigalliers and captain of an infantry regiment from Forez. He studied at Beaucaire and then at Uzès. He went to sea out of Toulon in 1767, at the age of thirteen, as a volunteer. He joined the Guard Marines at Toulon in August 1768 and took part in the bombardment of Tunis in 1770 while aboard the frigate *Atalante*. He joined the frigate *Gracieuse* in Toulon as a naval ensign and from 27 April 1779 to 21 March 1780 served aboard that vessel while it successfully escorted a convoy of merchantmen to Salonika in the Greek archipelago.

Brueys was promoted to lieutenant in April 1780 and joined the *Terrible* (110 guns), which weighed anchor on 20 June and arrived at Cádiz on 12 July. Admiral comte d'Estaing moved his flag to the *Terrible*, which then left for Brest on 7 November and arrived there on 3 January 1781. On 2 March 1781, Brueys sailed from Brest on the *Zélé* (74), which formed part of the squadron destined for America under the comte de Grasse during the American War of Independence (1775–1783). He participated in the fight against Admiral Lord Hood on 29 April 1781 off Fort-de-France, Martinique, at the decisive Battle of the Chesapeake on 5 September 1781, and at St. Kitts on 25–26 January 1782. When peace returned, Brueys found himself on Martinique, but in 1784 he received command of the brig *Chien de Chasse*, then of the cutter *Coureur*, and finally of the artillery-supply ship *Barbeau*. On 25 May 1785 at Fort Royal in Martinique he married Marie Anne Aubin de Bellevue, a friend of Josephine de Beauharnais. Four children resulted from this union.

On his return to France, Brueys commanded the *Poulette* in the Levant and in the Adriatic from 1790 to 1792. Promoted to captain on 1 January 1792, he commanded the *Tricolore* (74) and participated in the operations at Oneglia, Naples, and Cagliari. Being a member of the nobility, he was arrested in 1793 and discharged, but he was reinstated to his post in June 1795. He became *chef de division*, and, on board the *Guillaume Tell* (74), he took command of the squadron in the Adriatic in 1796–1797. In Italy, he met the young General Bonaparte, to whom he pledged his unbounded loyalty.

Brueys was made a rear admiral in 1796, then a vice admiral in April 1798, at which time he received command of the Mediterranean fleet based at Toulon. He conveyed Bonaparte and his army to Egypt, and evaded Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson and took Malta on 10 June along the way, before disembarking the troops at Alexandria. Having received no specific instructions from Bonaparte, Brueys anchored too far from the shore in nearby Aboukir Bay. Being well aware of the inadequate skills of his crews and of the bad condition of his ships, he decided not to withdraw but instead to take the risk of fighting while at anchor, announcing that an admiral must die on his watch. In the event, he was killed by a cannon ball a few minutes before his ship, the *Orient*, blew up at the Battle of the Nile on 1 August 1798.

Although a good seaman, Brueys did not know how to persuade Bonaparte to order the fleet further into port and thus avoid an inevitably disastrous engagement.

Patrick Villiers

See also French Navy; Josephine, Empress; Middle East Campaign; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the

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## Bruix, Eustache (1759–1805)

A member of a family of the minor nobility, Eustache Bruix distinguished himself during the American War of Independence (1775–1783) through his courage and competence. Later, the French Revolution offered him opportunities for promotion, which he gladly seized. He was a very good seaman, a commander of the Brest fleet, and finally minister of the navy. He could have been a great admiral for Napoleon had he not fallen victim to tuberculosis.

Bruix was born on 17 July 1759 at Fort Dauphin, St. Domingue. His father, Pierre de Bruix, was a captain in the

infantry and a knight of the Royal Military Order of Saint-Louis. Bruix sailed from Brest in November 1778 and then in March 1779 on board the frigate *Concorde*, which captured numerous British privateers in the Channel and off the coast of France. In March 1780 he joined the frigate *Médée*, then the frigate *Boudeuse* and took part in the 1780 campaign in the Antilles conducted by Admiral comte de Guichen. Bruix was made an ensign in 1781 and served aboard the *Auguste* (80) in Louis Antoine de Bougainville's squadron of Admiral de Grasse's fleet. He participated in all major actions in 1781 and 1782: At the Chesapeake, St. Kitts, the Saintes, and elsewhere. In command of the *Pivert*, he was involved in the hydrographic surveys conducted off the coasts of St. Domingue.

Bruix was promoted to lieutenant in 1786 and served on the frigate *Bayonnaise* in 1788. On 13 October 1789, at Brest, he married Marie Gabrielle Sébastienne Richard-Duplessis. They went on to have four children.

In 1790 he sailed aboard the *Superbe* (74) and the following year was elected a member of the Naval Academy. He then commanded the corvette *Fanfaron* in the Channel, followed by the frigate *Sémillante* at Guadeloupe in 1792. He was promoted to captain in 1793 and was in charge of the *Indomptable* (74), based at Brest. Being a member of the nobility, he was then dismissed, but he was recalled in June 1794. He became deputy chief of staff to Admiral Louis Villaret-Joyeuse and participated in the action off the Ile de Groix in June 1795. He was deputy chief of staff at Brest in October and chief of staff to Admiral Justin Morard de Galles on board the *Indomptable* during the expedition to Ireland in 1796.

He was promoted to rear admiral in May 1797, then held the post of minister of the navy and of the colonies from April 1798 to July 1799. During that time he tried to give new impetus to a navy disorganized by nine years of chaos. He was replaced by Pierre Forfait, a civil engineer and the organizer of the expedition to Egypt. Bruix was promoted to vice admiral in March 1799 and received command of the Brest squadron, a force consisting of twenty-five ships charged with the mission of resupplying Malta. On 26 April he was able to break through Admiral Sir Alexander Biddiscombe's blockade, in the course of which he took various prizes notwithstanding being handicapped by the poor state of his ships and the inadequacy of their crews' training. Despite these obstacles, Bruix was able to enter Toulon before proceeding to land troops and supplies at Genoa at the end of May 1799.

After being at sea for more than three months, Bruix finally returned to Brest. Stricken by tuberculosis, he went to Paris where he supported Bonaparte's seizure of power during the coup of Brumaire in November 1799. Bonaparte promoted him to the rank of admiral in March 1801

and entrusted him with command of the Rochefort squadron, which, however, Bruix had again to give up for reasons of health.

In September 1802 he became a senior member in the naval section of the Council of State. Bruix successfully reorganized the Boulogne flotilla, of which he was given command on 15 July 1803. The following year he was named to the post of inspector general of the (Atlantic) ocean coastal areas in 1804. However, overcome by illness, he died in Paris on 18 March 1805 at the age of forty-six. His loss deprived the Empire of one of its better naval commanders.

Patrick Villiers

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; French Navy; Genoa, Siege of; Ile de Groix, Action off; Malta, Operations on; Middle East Campaign; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas

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## Brumaire, Coup of (9–10 November 1799)

With the instability of the French government threatening the success of the Revolution itself, General Napoleon Bonaparte and others seized control on 18–19 Brumaire (in the republican calendar), thus enabling Bonaparte to become the ruler of France.

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, a member of the Directory, planned to gain control of the government and bring stability to France. To do this, he needed someone who could assure the support of the army. Bonaparte, just back from what was seen by the French public as a great success in Egypt, arrived on the scene at just the right moment. He was a true hero of the people and just what Sieyès needed. He would add a level of legitimacy and popularity that no one else could approach. Bonaparte also had a reputation as an excellent administrator; he was, in short, the perfect man for the job.

Joseph Fouché, Roger Ducos, and Charles de Talleyrand were brought into the plot. The directors were to resign and be replaced by Bonaparte and two others. Bonaparte's brother Lucien, long active in Jacobin politics, had been installed in October as president of the Council of Five Hundred. The legislature had been convinced to move out of Paris "for its own safety." This isolation from the citizens of Paris made it easier for the leaders of the coup to influence its members.

Bonaparte attempted to appeal to the Council of Elders in person, but he made the mistake of suggesting that if necessary he would resort to the use of force. His normal gift of oratory deserted him, and he left the room in disgrace.

When he later addressed the Council of Five Hundred, he was physically attacked and had to be rescued by several of Joachim Murat's soldiers.

The debacle at the Council of Five Hundred convinced Bonaparte that he must use troops to succeed in his coup. A group of soldiers brought Lucien to address the troops. Lucien spoke of the council's being terrorized and of Bonaparte's having been attacked. Under Bonaparte's command, the soldiers moved on the council, and many of the members departed through the windows. Those who were left installed a provisional executive government of three consuls, including Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos.

Bonaparte was to have been the tool of the coup's instigators, but he quickly moved to consolidate his power. The executive branch was to consist of three consuls, with most of the power residing in the First Consul. Bonaparte became First Consul and personally selected the other two: Jean-Jacques Cambacérès as Second Consul and Charles François Lebrun as Third Consul.

The new constitution was adopted on 14 December 1799. Napoleon was now the new leader of France, having seized power without firing a shot. He was thirty years old.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Bonaparte, Lucien; Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques Régis de, duc de Parme; Constitutions; Consulate, The; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; French Revolution; Jacobins; Middle East Campaign; Murat, Joachim; Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince

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### **Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne (1763–1815)**

The future Marshal Guillaume-Marie-Anne Brune was born on 13 March 1763 in Brive, the son of a judge. After his education he became a self-styled poet and literary, printing revolutionary periodicals. Brune was a friend and adherent of Georges-Jacques Danton and followed his rise to power during the early Revolutionary period, receiving his military commission from this patronage. While acting under the leadership of the Directory, he joined the Army of the North, participating in the defeat of royalist rebels at

Pacy-sur-Eure (1792), and he helped direct a purge of that army's general officers. Following this, Brune was made commandant of Bordeaux and "carried out his task with all the brutal cruelty of the Terror" (Shepperd 1987, 81). Brune was with Bonaparte and Paul Barras during the Paris riots of 1795, which he helped to quell, earning the notice of the future emperor.

In October 1796 Brune joined the Army of Italy commanded by Bonaparte and took an active part in the battles of Arcola and Rivoli, after which he was promoted to command of a division. He was picked to lead the invasion of Switzerland in 1798, and at the head of the Army of Helvetia he fulfilled this task, looting the country of a fortune in gold in the process.

After this success Brune was dispatched to the Batavian Republic to defend Holland from a joint Anglo-Russian invasion force under the command of the incompetent Duke of York, who had landed at the Helder in North Holland. After a number of minor defeats and stalemated engagements, Brune defeated the Allied army at Castricum (near Alkmaar), forcing them to abandon their campaign and withdraw their forces. As a military commander Brune was at his best during this battle, and he holds the distinction of being the first of Napoleon's future marshals to defeat the British. Napoleon later wrote: "Brune was justly named the savior of the Batavian Republic, for by saving Holland he saved France from invasion" (quoted in Shepperd 1987, 90).

After his victory in Holland Brune was transferred back to Italy for a second time; however, his strength as a commander was brought into question by his mismanagement of the passage of the Mincio, during which a division was in danger of being lost. This incident made Bonaparte question Brune's command abilities, and he was therefore relieved of his post. Brune served as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1802 to 1804, but his mission was largely unsuccessful, though he was appointed a Marshal of the Empire. He then was made governor of the Hansa ports, but through corruption and unabashedly republican sentiment, he angered Napoleon and was relieved of command. He remained out of the Emperor's service until the Hundred Days, when, after a reconciliation, he was placed in command of Toulon. After the final defeat of Napoleon, Brune surrendered to the Bourbon authorities, and on his way to Paris he was accosted and murdered by an angry mob in Avignon, who mistakenly believed he was responsible for the executions there during the Terror.

*Nathan Bartlett*

*See also* Arcola, Battle of; Directory, The; French Revolution; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Marshalate; North Holland, Campaign in; Rivoli, Battle of; Switzerland, Campaign in; Terror, The; York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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**Brunswick Manifesto (25 July 1792)**

Described as one of the "most notorious documents in modern history" (Price 2002, 296), the Brunswick Manifesto, intended to ensure the safety of King Louis XVI and his family, actually hastened the downfall of the monarchy.

Issued at Coblenz on 25 July 1792, as Allied armies prepared to invade France, the title given to the proclamation is a misnomer, for Charles William Ferdinand, the Duke of Brunswick, merely signed it and was not the author of its bellicose contents. The manifesto worsened the deteriorating situation within France and provided justification for those who believed Louis was betraying his country and working closely with foreign powers to try to retain his power.

Written by émigrés, the document starts innocuously before descending into an overt threat to the people of France, and especially Paris, leading one author to describe it as "[treating] a great nation with a truly extra-ordinary tone of command and contempt, which openly announced to it all the miseries of an invasion, and moreover, vengeance and despotism, [and] excited a national insurrection" (Mignet 1939, 129).

The manifesto laid out the motives of the Allies, claiming that the rights of German princes in Alsace and Lorraine had been violated, that the French king and his family had been brutalized, and that the government of France had declared an unjust war and attacked the Austrian emperor's territories in the Low Countries. According to the manifesto, the Allies wanted to end the anarchy in France, prevent attacks on the Crown and the church, and "restore to the king the security and liberty of which he is now deprived and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him." However, it also threatened the inhabitants of towns and villages who obstructed or attacked Allied troops, declaring that they would be severely punished and their property destroyed. If the people of Paris did not immediately submit to royal authority and attacked the Tuileries, the royal residence in Paris, they could expect no mercy, and the invading forces would "inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction" (in Robinson 1906, 443, 445).

After the publication of the document, many Revolutionaries believed they had nothing to lose. It hastened the growing mood of insurrection when it was disseminated in France in late July, and precipitated, in part, the storming of the Tuileries and the overthrow of the monarchy on 10 August.

It is one of history's ironies that Brunswick, one of Prussia's finest generals, lived to regret the eponymous document and said: "I shall repent it to the last day of my life. What would I not give never to have signed it!" (quoted in Cobb 1988, 151).

*Stephen Stewart*

*See also* Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Emigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Louis XVI, King

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**Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of (1735–1806)**

The Prussian field marshal Charles, Duke of Brunswick fought throughout the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and was commander in chief of the Austro-Prussian armies between 1792 and 1794. He allowed the Brunswick Manifesto to be issued in his name and was then defeated at the Battle of Valmy. He again commanded the Prussian armies in 1806 and was defeated at Auerstädt, where he was blinded and died soon after.

Born in 1735, Brunswick was the nephew of Frederick the Great of Prussia and was destined for a military career. He served throughout the Seven Years' War and was promoted to the rank of general in 1773. He had a reputation for being a particularly effective commander of infantry. He was promoted to field marshal in 1787. In that year he commanded the Prussian forces that invaded the United Provinces to restore the authority of the House of Orange. In 1792 he led the Allied army of the First Coalition in its attempt to destroy the fledgling French Republic. Although it was rumored that he had some sympathy with the ideals of the Revolution, he did not shrink from his responsibilities. He allowed his name to be attached to the Brunswick

Manifesto, which threatened reprisals against the citizens of Paris if King Louis XVI was harmed as a result of the Allied armies' advance. However, Brunswick's army was unprepared for the campaign, and it was late in the year when it finally moved into France.

At Valmy, just over 100 miles from Paris, Brunswick's force met the French Republican army. In what amounted to a large-scale artillery duel, the French succeeded in preventing the further advance of Brunswick's army, and he was forced to withdraw back into Germany. In 1793 Brunswick was on the defensive against a series of French offensives, though he managed to recapture the city of Mainz, before being defeated by General Hoche at Wissembourg. In 1794 Brunswick resigned his command in protest against the continued interference of Frederick William II, the king of Prussia, in the details of the campaign in which Brunswick was engaged. However, in 1806, at the age of seventy-one, he was once more given command of the Prussian armies, despite the fact that he had been seen as the leader of the peace party within Prussia. Owing to divisions in the Prussian high command, mainly involving Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelgingen, it took time for Brunswick's plan of campaign to be accepted. By the time it was, Napoleon had seized the strategic initiative, and Brunswick was destined to lead a divided army into the separate but simultaneous battles of Jena and Auerstädt. During an attack on Auerstädt at the head of a unit of grenadiers, he was shot through both eyes and died shortly afterward.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Brunswick Manifesto; Brunswick, William Frederick, Duke of; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William II, King; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Mainz, Siege of; Valmy, Battle of; Weissenburg, Battle of

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### **Brunswick, William Frederick, Duke of (1771–1815)**

William Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, raised a corps to fight against the French in 1809 and fought his way to the coast, where he then took ship to England. He returned to his lands in 1813 and commanded the Brunswick troops at the start of the Waterloo campaign. He was killed at Quatre Bras.

William was the fourth son of Charles, Duke of Brunswick. In 1806 his father was commander in chief of the Prussian army and was killed at the Battle of Auerstädt. As a result of the Treaty of Tilsit, William was formally de-

prived of the territory of Brunswick. The new duke took refuge in Austria, and in 1809 he was given funds to raise a corps of troops to support the Austrians. The duke had become an implacable foe of Napoleon; he clothed his troops in black uniforms and adopted the skull and crossbones as their badge. He therefore became known as the Black Duke, and his corps as the Black Band.

The duke's force was part of a mixed command led by *Generalmajor* Carl Friedrich Freiherr von Am Ende. This force occupied Leipzig and was then entitled IX Korps under the command of Austrian general Michael Freiherr von Keimayer. The IX Korps faced French and allied troops led by Jérôme Bonaparte and Andoche Junot. However, in July an armistice was signed between France and Austria at Znaim. The Black Duke did not consider himself bound by this treaty and resolved to fight his way to the coast and to try to evacuate his troops to England. The Black Band first stormed the town of Halberstadt and then moved on his capital of Brunswick. The duke had now decided that he would embark at Elsfléth on the Weser River. His troops were then transferred to the Isle of Wight, off the south coast of England, where they were reorganized and then sent to Spain to fight with Viscount Wellington.

Brunswick did not take up an active command with his troops but chose to remain in England and Portugal until his return to his dukedom in 1813. He then began to raise a new army, which was able to participate in the final campaign in France in 1814. The veterans of the war in Spain also returned. The duke now reorganized his army, issuing drill regulations based on those of the Prussian Army. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, the duke's forces were placed under Wellington's and formed part of the reserve. On 16 June at Quatre Bras, Brunswick was ordered to commit his troops in support of the Dutch contingent present at the battle. The duke formed his men along the road, where they were exposed to French artillery fire. The duke bolstered the morale of his men by calmly walking in front of the ranks smoking his pipe. He then led a charge of his cavalry, but this was beaten back. In trying to rally his forces, he was shot through the liver and died within a few minutes, the second Duke of Brunswick to be killed in action during the Napoleonic Wars.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Bonaparte, Jérôme; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Junot, Jean Andoche; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Waterloo Campaign; Znaim, Battle of

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### Buenos Aires, Expedition to

The expedition to Buenos Aires by British forces in 1806–1807 was prompted by local commanders who were seeking glory and financial reward. The lack of planning and resources resulted in a British defeat and heavy losses. Actions by local civilians were mostly responsible for the defeat and helped encourage an independence movement in Latin America. Commodore Home Riggs Popham commanded a fleet sent in July 1805 to recapture the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in order to secure Britain's route to India. After forces landed by Popham took over the cape on 18 January 1806, the fleet was without a mission. Popham, who had demonstrated an eagerness for prize money and glory, received information that the colonies of Montevideo and Buenos Aires were ready to revolt against the Spanish. Without securing permission from the Admiralty, Popham sailed with his entire fleet and one infantry regiment for the Río de la Plata on 14 April.

After stopping in St. Helena to pick up reinforcements, Popham reached the Río de la Plata on 8 June 1806. The British soon found that the estuary was very shallow in places and that the heavier ships could not get close enough to lend support to land forces in most areas. Without a plan, Popham eventually decided to capture Buenos Aires. The city was poorly fortified, and few regular Spanish troops were nearby. On 26 June, approximately 1,500 men were landed under General William Beresford below Buenos Aires. After defeating a small Spanish force, Beresford captured the city the next day. Popham expected the British to be welcomed as liberators, but the population of 70,000 was angry at the foreign invaders. Popham sent the silver he found in the city to Britain and awaited reinforcements. Over the next two weeks, the people organized an attack on Beresford's men. With a small force of regulars, an uprising took place on 10 August. Outnumbered, Beresford concentrated his men in the city's center, where he counted on using the more open spaces to defeat the irregular attackers. Still, Beresford had to surrender his whole command at noon on 12 August. The fleet was unable to approach close enough to Buenos Aires to affect the fighting.

Popham spent the next few months ineffectually blockading the Río de la Plata and occupying Maldonado. In November 1806 he was replaced by Rear Admiral Charles Stirling, who brought along more troops. On 16 January 1807 a force was landed to capture Montevideo. After a short siege, the city fell on 3 February. The local

population remained hostile, however, and with only 6,000 men, Stirling's control was tenuous. The few shallow-draft vessels available were unable to prevent local troop movements.

Admiral George Murray arrived that spring, along with further reinforcements under Lieutenant General John Whitlocke. Whitlocke was determined to attack Buenos Aires again, since it was the center of resistance. With the fleet's support, he landed an attacking force of 11,000 men near Buenos Aires on 28 June, defeating a 7,000-man Spanish force in the open field before reaching the city. He launched his attack on 5 July, but was bogged down in house-to-house fighting. Nearly 3,000 British troops were killed, wounded, or taken captive, and Whitlocke, recognizing the futility of further fighting, withdrew. A truce was negotiated with local authorities, and the British troops withdrew to their ships. Recognizing that their strength was insufficient to control the estuary, the British set sail that fall. Popham was later court-martialed and censured. Leaders of the local population, however, were encouraged by their ability to defend themselves and began to consider independence as an option.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Cape Colony, Second Expedition against; South America

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### Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf (1755–1816)

The Prussian general Friedrich Wilhelm Graf Bülow, as commander of III Corps in the battles of Grossbeeren (23 August 1813) and Dennewitz (6 September 1813), saved Berlin twice from the threat of a French attack. He was made Graf Bülow von Dennewitz on 3 June 1814. At the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815), IV Corps under his command bore the main burden of the successful attack on the village of Plancenoit.

Bülow entered military service (2 April 1768) as a corporal. On 24 December 1772 he became an ensign, followed by promotion to second lieutenant (1 April 1778), first lieutenant (26 May 1786), captain second class (2



General Friedrich Graf Bülow von Dennewitz, a capable Prussian corps commander who in the campaign of 1813, defeated the French at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz. He also played a prominent part at Waterloo in 1815. (Unsigned print from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

March 1790), captain (10 February 1793), major (3 April 1794), lieutenant colonel (23 June 1803), colonel (23 May 1806), and major general (25 November 1808) (the patent being antedated to 21 November, which made him senior to Major General Friedrich von Kleist). On 14 March 1813 he was promoted to lieutenant general (the patent being post-dated to 21 March, which made him junior to Lieutenant General von Kleist and Princes Heinrich, Wilhelm, and August of Prussia). His final promotion came on 30 May 1814, as a general of infantry (the patent being antedated to 4 April). He served in the campaigns of 1778–1779 in the Bavarian Succession war in 1793–1794 on the Rhine, in 1806–1807 in East Prussia, and in 1813–1815 in Pomerania.

Born 16 February 1755, like many other noblemen destined for military service, Bülow entered the Prussian army at a young age. Intelligent and witty, he used his free time for historical, geographical, and mathematical studies. His regiment being garrisoned in Berlin, his great musical talent, as a composer as well as a player, helped introduce him to the royal court. On 10 February 1793 he was attached as governor to Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia,

whom he accompanied in the campaigns of 1793–1794. After the campaigns, keen on active service, he declined the offer to become the adjutant of Prince Heinrich of Prussia and was transferred to a fusilier battalion instead. On 12 September 1797 he became chief of the newly raised Fusilier Battalion no. 16.

With his battalion, Bülow took part in the campaign of 1806–1807 in East Prussia, but he was transferred to the army corps commanded by Gebhard von Blücher, under whom he became a brigadier on 23 May 1807. In the following years, Bülow served as a commander of different brigades. Having become provisional governor-general of East Prussia in place of General Johann von Yorck on 24 March 1812, in the winter of 1812–1813 Bülow showed great skill and diplomatic talent in organizing a Prussian reserve corps under the difficult prevailing political circumstances.

Acting independently in northern Germany in spring 1813, on 12 July his units became III Corps, and on 16 July it was assigned to the Army of the North under the command of the Sweden's Crown Prince Bernadotte. After the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October 1813), his corps helped drive the French out of northern and western Germany and invaded the Netherlands. On 25 February 1814 Bülow's corps was transferred to (now Field Marshal) Blücher's Army of Silesia, joining it in northern France. After the campaign, on 18 June 1814, he became commander of the Prussian troops in East and West Prussia.

On 1 March 1815 Bülow was appointed commander of IV Corps in the Army of the Lower Rhine under Blücher's command, returning after the Waterloo campaign to his command in East and West Prussia. There he died after a short period of illness on 25 February 1816.

*Oliver Schmidt*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Dennewitz, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Leipzig, Battle of; Netherlands, Campaign in the; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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### Burgos, Siege of (19 September–22 October 1812)

The French held the town of Burgos beginning in 1808 when they began their occupation of Spain. In 1812 the Earl of Wellington (created a marquis in October) began a siege to retake it. An initial assault succeeded against an outlying fort, but then the attack faltered when a series of assaults directed against breeches opened by mines failed. Wellington withdrew with significant losses, both in manpower and in materiel. The city was eventually taken in 1813.

Burgos controlled communications between France and Spain. In 1808 Napoleon had ordered that the fortifications should be improved. A battery was built into the base of the keep and was named after Napoleon. To the south of the town a large earthwork, called the Hornwork, was constructed. After Wellington's decisive victory at Salamanca on 22 July 1812, he took the decision to attack Burgos. The fortress was surrounded by 19 September, but owing to his shortage of siege guns, Wellington decided to launch a surprise attack on the Hornwork. Despite heavy losses the attack was a success, and a battery was established in the captured position. Wellington, encouraged by the fact that the Hornwork had been taken by surprise, tried to do the same with the main wall. However, this attack failed because of the lack of aggression shown by some of the Portuguese troops and as a result of the death of the commander of the attack at an early stage. Wellington now ordered that the walls should be mined. A mine was duly detonated on 29 September, but as it was set against the remnants of some old foundations, the damage to the main wall was slight. In consequence, the assault that immediately followed ended in failure. A new mine was begun, and this was exploded five days later. This breach was taken, and Wellington was now lodged within reach of success.

Operations now began to breach the inner wall of the city, but a spirited counterattack by the garrison destroyed much valuable equipment. The French launched a further successful attack a short time later. The weather was also poor, and heavy rain made the entrenching operations difficult. Wellington's artillery was too weak to inflict further significant damage, and he placed his faith in a further mine dug beneath an outlying church. It was hoped that this distraction would allow a successful assault on the inner walls. However, this failed, with the assault forces suffering heavy losses. Informed of the advance of enemy troops under the command of General Joseph Souham from the north, Wellington decided to call off the siege on 22 October, having suffered over 2,000 casualties to a mere 600 for the French. The failure of the siege was com-

pounded by the fact that Wellington had to abandon his heavy ordnance because there were not enough draft animals available. It was intended that the Hornwork should be destroyed, and mines were dug to achieve this. However there was insufficient powder to be used for the detonation, as a result of which the siege of Burgos was to constitute one of Wellington's few failures in the Peninsular War.

In the following year, however, Burgos was finally taken when, as a result of the preliminary moves before the Battle of Vitoria, the French garrison abandoned the city on 12 June.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Peninsular War; Salamanca, Battle of; Siege Warfare; Souham, Joseph, comte; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Busaco, Battle of (27 September 1810)

After Talavera it was to be well over a year before Viscount Wellington fought another battle, but the intervening months were some of the hardest of the Peninsular War, for Wellington had not only the French to contend with but also his unreliable and fickle Spanish allies. Perhaps a bigger threat, however, came not from the enemy but from the British government. By the summer of 1810 there was tremendous pressure from home for the army to be recalled from the Peninsula while it was still intact. It was the only army available to Britain and as such was seen as a very precious commodity, certainly not to be wasted on what many regarded as a futile campaign. A year had passed since the victory at Talavera and the British public began to despair of there ever being another. Even within Wellington's own army there were clamors for a return home, most of this campaign of dissent being conducted by what Wellington called the "croakers." Nevertheless, Wellington kept his nerve and by his own entreaties managed to convince the government that the struggle in the Peninsula was indeed a worthwhile cause.

Throughout the summer of 1810 there were numerous minor clashes with the French, most of which involved the Light Division under the brilliant but erratic Robert Craufurd. The Light Division, consisting of the 43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Regiments, the 95th Rifles, and two battalions of Portuguese Caçadores, supported by hussars of the King's German Legion, held Wellington's outposts along the Spanish-Portuguese border and fought several small actions, including those at Barba del Puerco, Villar de

Puerco, and, most notably, the infamous encounter along the river Coa, fought on 24 July, during which Craufurd almost lost his division when attacked by Marshal Ney's VI Corps.

When the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida fell into the hands of Marshal Masséna, commanding the French, Wellington was forced to retreat deeper into Portugal, until on 26 September his army had reached the commanding position upon the great ridge at Busaco, overlooking the Mondego River. The ridge towered some 1,800 feet above sea level and was covered by a vast expanse of gorse and heathland strewn with rocks and boulders.

Wellington's army faced east and held a commanding position some 9 miles long from the north, at the convent of Busaco, to the south where the ridge overlooked the Mondego. At no point could the French climb the ridge without being seen, nor was it possible to climb it easily. The southern end of the ridge, Wellington's right flank, was held by the divisions of Rowland Hill and James Leith, the center by Thomas Picton and Brent Spencer, and the north by Lowry Cole's division, Archibald Campbell's Portuguese, and Siegesmund Lowe's brigade of the King's German Legion. The crucial sector of the line, however, was astride the main road to Coimbra, between Campbell and Spencer. This sector was held by Craufurd's Light Division and Denis Pack's Portuguese brigade supported by Edward Coleman's Portuguese. Altogether, Wellington's army numbered about 50,000 men with sixty guns. Opposed to him were Masséna's three corps—commanded by Ney, Jean Junot, and Jean Reynier—which together numbered 66,000 men with 114 guns.

Wellington employed a thick line of skirmishers below him in order to prevent the French from penetrating too far up the ridge to carry out any reconnaissance, and when Masséna looked up at the British position he had little idea where the center lay. He thought Picton's 3rd Division formed the right flank whereas, in fact, it was almost in the center. Also, when darkness fell on the evening of the twenty-sixth, Wellington gave orders that no fires were to be lit, thereby ensuring that none of his dispositions would be revealed. This was not very welcome news to his men, who would not be able to cook their food, but at least they could take comfort from the fact that they occupied a very strong and commanding position.

The twenty-seventh dawned gray and misty, a thick gray fog completely blanketing the valley below the ridge. It was quite obvious from the noises below, however, that the French were on the move, and at 5:30 A.M. Masséna's *tirailleurs* began to exchange fire with Wellington's skirmishers. The French columns, under Pierre Merle, struggled up through the fog and hit that part of the Allied line

held by Lightburne's brigade, consisting of the 2/5th (second battalion, 5th Foot) and 2/83rd supported by five companies of the 5/60th (Rifles), after being driven there by the accurate artillery fire from two 6-pounder guns. These battalions exchanged musketry with the French from some distance before Merle's columns swerved away, only to meet the 1/88th and 1/45th, who thrust them back down the way they had come after sweeping their columns with musketry.

About fifteen minutes before Merle's attack, another French column, four battalions strong under Etienne Heudelet, attacked a mile to the south. Once again Picton's 3rd Division bore the brunt of the attack and with the same results—complete failure by the attackers. Masséna did not give up, however, and another seven battalions of infantry, under Maximilien Foy, began to make their way up the ridge to try and dislodge the defenders. It was 6:45 A.M., and the fog had completely lifted, exposing the French to both artillery and musket fire. This time the French did achieve a measure of success and five companies of the 1/45th were thrown back in disorder, along with three Portuguese battalions. At this point Leith's 5th Division was thrown into the fray, and forming his men into line he advanced against the French column, his leading battalion, the 1/9th, pouring out a series of rolling volleys against them. The 1/9th was supported by the 2/38th, both battalions from Edward Barnes's brigade, and together they reduced Foy's battalions to a confused mass that was sent rolling and tumbling down the ridge, pursued by British infantry. Foy himself was wounded during the fight and was carried rather uncomfortably down the hillside by his own men.

It was still only midmorning, but Masséna's attacking columns had yet to make any impact at all on Wellington's position. Indeed, all but four of the twenty-seven battalions that had struggled and striven to reach the top of the ridge had been sent reeling to the bottom after having sustained heavy casualties. The battle continued in the form of sporadic musketry between the light troops of both sides until, at about 8:30 A.M., a heavy skirmishing coming from the valley floor heralded the start of yet another French attack.

This time it was Ney's turn to try, and he sent forward Louis Loison's division in two columns, each of six battalions, the right under Edouard François Simon and the left under Claude Ferey. The two columns began the long climb up the ridge toward that part of the line held by Craufurd's Light Division. Craufurd himself had thrown the 1/95th (Rifles) and the 3rd Caçadores into the small village of Sula, below his main position, and these troops exchanged a heavy fire with Loison's own skirmishers. Sula was soon cleared, however, and the two French columns



Busaco was a great victory for Wellington, although Masséna's worshippers have tried to dispute this on the grounds that Wellington was forced to abandon his position the next day after Masséna's cavalry found a way round his left flank. This is an untenable and weak claim, however, for the British commander had already decided upon his next course of action, which involved a withdrawal to the already-prepared Lines of Torres Vedras, a nasty little surprise still waiting to be discovered by Masséna.

Ian Fletcher

*See also* Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Craufurd, Robert; Foy, Maximilien Sebastien; Hill, Sir Rowland; Junot, Jean Andoche; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Portuguese Army; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Talavera, Battle of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count (1750–1811)**

Russian general and army commander. Buxhöwden descended from a noble family in the Lifland *gubernia* (province) and enrolled in the Artillery and Engineer Cadet Corps in 1764. Six years later, he went with the Russian army to fight the Turks and distinguished himself at Bender, receiving promotion to engineer ensign in 1770. He was seriously wounded during the assault on Braila in 1771

and earned the Order of St. George (4th class) for his valor. In 1772 he became adjutant to General *Felzeugmeister* Prince Orlov and accompanied him in his travels in Germany and Italy. Under Orlov's patronage, Buxhöwden was quickly promoted through the ranks. In 1783, he became a colonel. Four years later, he was appointed a *flügel-adjutant* to Catherine II and took command of the Keksholm (Kexholm) Infantry Regiment. He participated in the Russo-Swedish War in 1788–1790, serving as a brigadier in the galle fleet of Vice Admiral Prince Nassau-Zigen. In 1789 he distinguished himself in the action at Rochensalmi, for which he was promoted to major general and awarded the Order of St. George (3rd class). For his services in the campaign of 1790 he received the Order of St. Anna (1st class).

Buxhöwden then commanded a division in the campaign against the Polish insurgents in 1793–1794, fought at Praga, and was appointed the commandant of Warsaw. He was generously rewarded for his services, receiving the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd class), a medal from the citizens of Warsaw, and a golden sword with diamonds for courage. In December 1795 he was conferred the title of count by the king of Prussia and was awarded the Orders of the White Eagle, of St. Stanislaus (1st class), and of St. John of Jerusalem. Under Tsar Paul I, Buxhöwden became the military governor of St. Petersburg and was decorated with the Order of St. Alexander of Neva. Between 23 November 1796 and 1 September 1798 he served as *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Keksholm Musketeer Regiment. On 16 April 1797 he was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire. However, in September of the same year, he was discharged from military service. After traveling in Germany, Buxhöwden returned to Russia in early 1802 and returned to duty in 1803 with the rank of general of infantry. The same year, he became head of the Lifland Inspection.

During the campaign of 1805, Buxhöwden brought reinforcements to Olmütz and, at Austerlitz, he commanded one of the Russian columns on the Allied left flank and suffered appalling losses. After the battle, he had only two battalions intact out of the forty-four he had led into action. Despite this catastrophe, he was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd class). In the campaign of 1806–1807 Buxhöwden commanded one of the Russian corps but had strained relations with General Levin Bennigsen. The two commanders detested each other and refused to cooperate. When Bennigsen became the commander in chief of the Russian Army, Buxhöwden left the army for Riga and complained to Tsar Alexander about his rival. When his appeals were ignored, Buxhöwden challenged Bennigsen to a duel, but the two never fought each other. In 1807 he served as the military governor of Riga and was awarded the Order of St. Andrew the First Called for mobilizing the local militia.

In 1808 Buxhöwden took command of the Russian army to invade Finland and successfully drove Swedish forces out of that possession. For his success, he was awarded the diamond signs of the Order of St. Andrew the First Called and the Order of St. George (2nd class). On 29 September 1808 the Swedes offered a cease-fire, an opportunity that Buxhöwden welcomed, for his army was suffering from lack of supplies, ammunition, and reinforcements. However, Alexander, as he traveled to meet Napoleon at Erfurt, disapproved of the armistice and ordered Buxhöwden to resume the offensive. The armistice ended on 27 October, and by 13 December all of Finland was finally under Russian control. With Buxhöwden opposed to Alexander's aggressive policy in Finland and with the tsar anxious to expand his territory in the north, Buxhöwden was dismissed in early December and was replaced by a new commander in chief, General Bogdan Fedorovich von Knorring. Buxhöwden retired to his estate in Estland, where he died on 4 September 1811.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Catherine II "The Great," Tsarina; Erfurt, Congress of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Paul I, Tsar; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord (1788–1824)

The English poet Byron, sixth Baron Byron, is often considered the most influential and perhaps the greatest of the Romantic poets. Generally sympathetic to Napoleon, he wrote some of the most powerful poetry of his age.

Byron was born in London and educated at Harrow School and Cambridge. He adopted the name Noel in 1822, a move that allowed him to receive an inheritance from his mother-in-law and to point out that he had the same initials, N. B., as his hero, Napoleon Bonaparte. Byron became quite wealthy, which allowed him to lead a life dedicated to poetry, politics, and other assorted pursuits of happiness.

Byron was born two decades after fellow Romantic poets William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge and was a child during much of the French Revolution. Even so, he was well aware of the important events that were taking place in France and of the often-contradictory reaction in Britain. He developed his own strong ideas on the subject, even getting into an altercation in 1803 with a fellow student at Harrow over his (Byron's) prized bust of

Napoleon. There was a strong pro-Napoleon cult in England, and Byron became one of its foremost members. His letters and actions bore this out even before it became part of his poetry. He often wrote of his hopes for Napoleon's success and his sadness at Napoleon's failures. He wrote the French author, Stendhal, numerous inquiries on the 1812 campaign and kept up his hopes of French success during 1813 and 1814.

In his poetry Byron created what is often called a Byronic hero, modeled on his own life and that of Napoleon. While his early poetry was less successful, his publication in 1812 of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was a major step toward his ultimate fame. This tale of a stormy and emotional man who seems to be weighed down by guilt for some past deeds was the first example of the Byronic hero, and the poem was enormously popular. Byron himself had spent years traveling abroad, including several years in Spain, Portugal, the Ottoman Empire, and, most importantly, Greece.

The first poem by Byron on Napoleon was *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* (1814), the first of five poems dedicated to the Emperor. In *Ode* Byron explores the concept of the ambiguous position of Napoleon after his abdication and before his exile by referring in the first stanza to Napoleon as a "nameless thing."

Byron's personal life was controversial, to say the least. He was said to have had an overactive sex life, and even an incestuous relationship with his half-sister. In 1816, Byron separated from his wife. British society, once so enamored with Byron, largely turned against him, and so he left England that year, never to return. When he left, he had made for himself a coach that was a replica of Napoleon's at Waterloo. As Napoleon did on St. Helena, Byron was accompanied by a biographer and personal doctor.

His years in exile were very productive. He lived in Geneva, Venice, and Pisa. While there he wrote *The Prisoner of Chillon* (1816), *Manfred* (1817), his epic *Don Juan*, and additional material for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Byron thought that Napoleon should have died a hero in 1814, and when Napoleon came back for the Hundred Days, Byron expressed his strong displeasure in *Manfred*. By Waterloo, however, Byron is back in Napoleon's camp, blasting the reactionary forces that led to his defeat in his *Ode from the French* (1816). It is in canto 2 of *Childe Harold* that Byron offers his strongest support for Napoleon, and some of his most powerful poetry.

Byron evidently wanted to play the role of hero himself. In 1823 he joined the Greek war of independence against Turkey. He personally recruited soldiers and gave large sums of money to the cause. In 1824 he was made commander in chief of the insurgent forces. Ignoring his own frail health, he insisted on leading the campaign. It

was a fatal mistake, as his health gave out some three months later and he died of rheumatic fever. As he would have had Napoleon do in 1814, Lord Byron died a hero in a lost cause.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Keats, John; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Stendhal, Marie-Henri; Wordsworth, William

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# C

## Cabrera

The island of Cabrera (meaning “goat”) was infamous for the squalid conditions in which many thousands of French and Swiss soldiers were held as prisoners of war from May 1809 until May 1814. The island measures 6.5 kilometers by 5 kilometers and is part of the Balearic Islands, situated off the south coast of Mallorca (Majorca). In the early nineteenth century it was desolate, arid, and uninhabited.

On 21 July 1808 the army of General Pierre, comte de Dupont de l’Etang fought an inconclusive battle at Bailén against Spanish forces. Finding himself isolated, Dupont surrendered his army and that of nearby reinforcements; nearly 22,000 French, Swiss, Polish, and Italian troops became prisoners of the Spanish. The terms of the capitulation promised that the French would be repatriated to France. The Junta of Seville, however, refused to ratify the terms, aided by the Royal Navy, which placed diplomatic obstacles in the way of repatriation.

Dupont’s soldiers were taken to the hulks in Cádiz harbor and kept under appalling conditions; many died of disease and neglect. The population of the city grew increasingly hostile to having prisoners of war in their locality, and so in April 1809, 4,500 of these captives were transferred to the island of Cabrera.

Many of the prisoners deposited on the island were in poor health from their confinement on the hulks, and they were to suffer still further. Cabrera’s isolation meant that security could be effectively provided by a single Spanish guard ship offshore; no guards were necessary on the island itself. Food, clothing, and tents were provided by the Spanish authorities on Mallorca only when they were available—which in practice meant only infrequently. Aside from a ruined castle on the island providing accommodation for thirty prisoners and the women who accompanied them, the prisoners had to make shelters from the few trees they found or scrape holes in the rocks in which to sleep. There was only one freshwater spring, which dried up during the summer drought, and sanitation was nonexistent.

The prisoners elected a council that attempted to maintain discipline on the island, and it repeatedly asked the Spanish authorities for more food and better accommodation, but to no avail. Even when a further 5,400 prisoners arrived in June 1809, there was no improvement in the supply situation to the island. Conditions became so bad by 1810 that many prisoners died, despite the council’s encouraging the formation of a market, a school, and a theater to improve morale.

Conditions were so bad that over 1,200 prisoners volunteered for Spanish service. Of the 11,800 prisoners sent to Cabrera between 1809 and 1814, only 3,700 survived to be released in May 1814. After deducting the figure for those men who volunteered for Spanish service, it may be seen that of those captives who remained on the island nearly 60 percent had perished as a result of the appalling conditions in which they had been held.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Dupont de l’Etang, Pierre-Antoine, comte de; Peninsular War; Prisoners of War

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## Cádiz, Cortes of (1810–1813)

Still revered today, Spain’s first modern parliament, the Cortes of Cádiz sat from 1810 to 1813 and set the scene for much of Spanish history in the nineteenth century. Ever since the uprising of 1808 pressure had been growing in Spain for the convocation of a national assembly that could address the country’s many administrative and military problems, and after holding extensive consultations, the provisional government known as the Junta Central

that had assumed the leadership of the uprising decreed that elections for such a body should be held in 1810. Despite the continuing war, not to mention the occupation of large parts of the country, these were duly held, and a total of over 300 deputies eventually assembled in Cádiz (initially it had been intended that they should meet in Seville, but the fall of that city in January 1810 had resulted in a change of capital).

All male Spaniards over twenty-five had a vote, but the electoral system was indirect, and so most deputies were priests or notables. Represented in the assembly was not just the Spanish homeland but also the American colonies. For provinces that were occupied by the enemy, elections were held among those of their inhabitants who happened to be resident at Cádiz. In the run-up to the new Cortes's first meeting on 24 September 1810, there was much confusion as to what it should do, but a number of factors, not least the decision that it should meet as a single body rather than separate "estates," ensured that it was quickly taken over by a small group of committed reformers (from whose nickname—*los liberales*—is derived the modern word *liberal*).

On the very first day of its existence the Cortes was persuaded to proclaim the principle of the sovereignty of the people, while a series of sweeping reforms were enacted that were eventually embodied in a new constitution. Formally promulgated on 19 March 1812, this constitution remained a key text in Spanish politics until the 1870s. In brief, Spain was transformed into a constitutional monarchy, and all Spaniards were henceforth to enjoy freedom and equality before the law as well as such rights as freedom of speech, property, and occupation. Inherent in this program was the abolition of feudalism and of all forms of provincial privilege. The Cortes also went on to abolish the Spanish Inquisition. (Freedom of worship, however, was not granted; indeed, Spain was formally declared to be a Catholic country.)

Yet in the end the Cortes's record was not a happy one. Few of its reforms aided the common people; furthermore, it did not prove equal to the problems that dogged the Spanish war effort and in some respects made matters much worse. At the same time, too, many of its political solutions were either foolish or unworkable. As so often, in short, the myth of today falls far short of the reality.

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*See also* Junta Central; Madrid Uprising; Peninsular War; Spain

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## Cádiz, Siege of (5 February 1810–25 August 1812)

The siege of Cádiz, one of many sieges of the Peninsular War, was the longest such event of the Napoleonic Wars. Built on an island off the coast of Andalusia (Andalucía), the city was almost invulnerable to land attack. To reach it, an assailing force would have to get across a marshy creek bridged only by a narrow causeway and then fight its way past the town of San Fernando. Beyond this there came a long spit of land some 4 miles long and only a few hundred yards wide, which was blocked halfway along by a massive fort. To the south of this was the Atlantic Ocean, and to the north the great inlet that formed the harbor. Then, at last, there came the immensely strong walls of the city itself, the latter occupying the seaward end of the isthmus.

Nor was this the end of the matter. In the previous two years, the Spanish had protected San Fernando with numerous entrenchments, while the harbor was full of warships. And, finally, Allied control of the sea meant that the defenders could not be starved out. The only identifiable weakness was the military reliability of the garrison—a posturing civic militia whose noisy patriotism had never been tested in the field. Nevertheless, only days before the French arrived even this defect was remedied, for the Duque de Albuquerque retreated into the city with his 12,000-strong Army of Extremadura (Extremadura).

On his arrival on 5 February 1810, Marshal Claude Victor therefore found he could do little. Nevertheless, he did what he could: While desperate efforts were made to improvise a fleet of gunboats and launches for an amphibious attack, the only spot from which the city could be bombarded from the land—a promontory jutting southward into the harbor—was secured in the face of gallant resistance on the part of a small British garrison that had been thrown into an abandoned fort that stood at its seaward end. As time went on, moreover, Seville's cannon foundry constructed giant mortars designed to terrorize the populace. However, their fire proved ineffective, and the garrison had in any case long since been reinforced by a powerful Anglo-Portuguese division under Sir Thomas Graham. Nor, meanwhile, was Victor able to stop large forces of Allied troops from being shipped from the city and disembarked further along the coast to threaten his own flanks and rear, as occurred at the Battle of Barrosa on 5 March 1811. At times, indeed, it seemed to be Victor who was really under siege, but the French did not retreat until Marquis (later the Duke of) Wellington's capture of Madrid compelled Marshal Soult to evacuate Andalusia at the end of August 1812.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

See also Barrosa, Battle of; Graham, Sir Thomas; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Cairo, Uprising in (21–22 October 1798)

Although the French dominated Egypt militarily, after the destruction of its fleet and the loss of communications with Europe, Bonaparte needed to win over Muslim allies to cement his gains. Envoys sent to the Turkish sultan were ignored, and war was declared on France (9 September 1798), while overtures to the pashas of Damascus and Acre were equally fruitless. Inside Egypt, Bonaparte attempted to harmonize relations between his army and Muslim civilians. In his meeting with the ulama (religious scholars), Bonaparte

claimed to be a Muslim himself and distanced himself from earlier European crusaders, pointing out his attacks on the Vatican and the Maltese Knights of St. John. He appointed a divan (council) of fourteen compliant sheikhs from Al-Azhar University and had them issue a fatwa (religious edict) stating that the Koran prophesized Bonaparte's arrival. However, the combining of religious and French republican symbolism (for example, placing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen alongside the Koran), the mixing of Frenchmen with local women (who began to unveil and adopt European customs), and the introduction of heavy taxation were some of the reasons that led a number of the Al-Azhar sheikhs to declare a jihad against the French.

At morning prayer on 21 October 1798, the call to arms was sounded from minarets across the city. Collaborators, European merchants, and isolated French soldiers found themselves under attack. The rioters smashed much of the expedition's engineering equipment and supplies stored in General Caffarelli's house, assassinating the savants Duval and Thévenot in the process. The



The uprising in Cairo. Napoleon extends amnesty to the leaders of the revolt during his campaign in Egypt in 1798. (Bettmann/Corbis)

French garrison commander, General Dupuy, was also assassinated while summoning help. As news of Dupuy's death spread round the city, General Bon took command and had the alarm guns fired. Placing artillery in the streets, Bon contained the insurgents while Bonaparte raced back from an inspection tour to his Cairo headquarters. Fierce fighting continued through the night, as the French moved artillery and troops up to the Al-Azhar Mosque.

The next day, as French troops approached the Arab barricades, some of Bonaparte's bodyguard and his aide-de-camp, Sulkowski, were killed. Bonaparte ordered General Dommartin to open fire on the mosque and surrounding buildings with the artillery and the guns in the citadel. As the bombardment began, a delegation came out and appealed to Bonaparte for clemency. He refused them, and for two hours the artillery continued to pound the mosque area. Finally at 10:00 P.M., in a gesture of submission, the defenders prostrated themselves before the encircling French troops. Bonaparte ordered a cease-fire and sent troops into the mosque. The revolt cost 300 French lives and around 2,000 Arab lives, with perhaps as many again arrested and interrogated. Many of these were shot in reprisal or, more covertly, beheaded and dumped in the Nile at night. Although the revolt had been suppressed, the event polarized the Arabs, who now considered the French an occupying power.

Terry Crowley

*See also* Middle East Campaign; Savants

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### Calabria, Uprising in (1806–1814)

The uprising in Calabria constituted the most serious challenge to Napoleon's control of the Italian peninsula. It was encouraged by the British presence in Sicily and helped prevent any serious attempt to invade that island. Sparked by conscription and taxation, the uprising tied down large numbers of troops who could have been used elsewhere.

Calabria is located in the foot of the Italian peninsula. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the region was poor, rural, and lacking in good transportation. It formed a part of the Kingdom of Naples. When French troops occupied the kingdom in 1798, a rebel army formed in Calabria to help drive them out. When King Ferdinand IV joined the Third Coalition in

autumn 1805, Napoleon sent his brother Joseph with 20,000 men to occupy the kingdom. This was accomplished by February 1806, and Joseph was crowned King of Naples on 30 March. Under pressure from Napoleon, Joseph instituted changes in the kingdom intended to modernize its administration.

Two of the most important changes were conscription for Napoleon's armies and efficient taxation to support them. The challenge to the existing order was not well received in Calabria. Many young men deserted or failed to report for conscription. At least some became brigands in the mountains, beyond the easy reach of authorities. Charismatic figures within these groups became leaders of the uprising. During the summer of 1806 the British lent indirect support to the uprising in the form of a small force under General John Stuart, which left Sicily and landed in Calabria. Although a small number of rebels joined him, Stuart did not think highly of their capabilities. In the ensuing Battle of Maida on 6 July, Stuart defeated a larger French force under General Jean Louis Reynier, but lacking cavalry, Stuart did not pursue. His force was soon withdrawn. Reynier, however, was pursued by Calabrian rebels until he reached Cassano.

The *masse*, as the rebels were known, were soon active all across Calabria. The uprising became an extremely bloody class war, with little mercy shown by either side. During his retreat, Reynier burned every village he passed through that might offer assistance to the rebels. Captives were tortured and executed in horrifying ways. Additional French troops were sent to put down the *masse*. Under Marshal André Masséna, a state of siege was declared in Calabria in August 1806. Local municipalities were forced to pay the costs of their French garrisons, monasteries that were suspected of helping the rebels were closed, and flying columns of French troops pursued rebel bands through the mountains.

Many of the leaders of the uprising were forced to flee to Sicily, while others remained in Calabria and were supplied with arms by the British Mediterranean fleet. While most clergymen preached against attacks on property, some of the most effective leaders of the uprising were priests.

By January 1809 the uprising had dwindled and order had been restored. That summer, however, a fresh British landing near Scylla and a threat to Naples forced the French to evacuate part of Calabria. The underlying reasons for the new revolt were poverty, renewed conscription, and taxes levied against the poor. The task of pacifying Calabria was given to General Charles Antoine Manhes. He was ordered by Marshal Joachim Murat, now King of Naples, to show utter ruthlessness in suppressing the rebels. Manhes waited until the winter of 1809 and

then tried to cut the *masse* off from their support in the villages. He stationed garrisons in most villages to prevent food and shelter from being given to rebels. Many villagers were executed unfairly, but the strategy proved effective. The last body of rebels, under Paolo Macuse, known as “Parafante,” disbanded when he was killed in February 1811. The uprising had lasted five years and cost the French 20,000 casualties.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Ferdinand IV, King; Guerrilla Warfare; Maida, Battle of; Masséna, André; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Sicily; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Third Coalition, War of the

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### Caldiero, First Battle of (12 November 1796)

Part of Austrian general Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberek’s second attempt to break the siege of Mantua. Generals André Masséna and Pierre Augereau were ordered by Bonaparte to prevent the advance of the Austrian army. The Austrian forces were reinforced throughout the day and were able to push the French back on Verona.

In early November 1796 Alvinczy began his second attempt to relieve Mantua. Bonaparte’s forces were thinly stretched to meet this attack and Alvinczy drove back French outposts back onto the river Adige. On 11 October Bonaparte ordered the forces of Masséna and Augereau to attack the Austrian advance guard. Appalling weather forced the French to stop at Caldiero, though the French attack resumed the next day. Augereau was given the task of attacking Caldiero itself. Caldiero was held by Austrian marshal Friedrich Franz Fürst von Hohenzollern with around 4,000 men and sixteen guns. Masséna would attack the village of Colognola to the east of Caldiero. This village was held by a large group of *Grenzer* (border troops) and around ten guns. In total the Austrians had some 8,000 troops, with the French being able to field around 11,000.

Masséna began the attack at dawn in terrible weather. The attackers made good progress, though, and took two villages close to Colognola. Meanwhile, Augereau had also begun his attack on Caldiero. A number of assaults were thrown back from the town, but by noon it seemed that Augereau was nevertheless about to outflank the defend-

ers. The attack failed when the French were surprised to find themselves attacked through a marsh by cavalry. Nevertheless, soon after the town fell to the French. By now Austrian reinforcements were starting to arrive on the field. Alvinczy decided to embark on an ambitious envelopment of the French right wing. Trusting that he would be able to hold the French in their attacks, he sent two divisions through the marshes on his left. It would take around two hours for these troops to arrive on the flank of the French. The assaults on Caldiero and Colognola continued but made little headway, for the French were without artillery support because the poor weather did not allow the guns to be moved forward. By midafternoon Alvinczy’s flanking force began to arrive on the right flank at the village of Gombione. Despite the fact that Augereau deployed troops to meet this threat, he was unable to prevent the advance of the Austrians. Bonaparte saw the danger to his flank, but having no further reserves to commit, he ordered a withdrawal. Poor weather and growing darkness prevented an effective Austrian pursuit. The French had lost around 2,000 men and the Austrians slightly fewer. The effect of the battle was to force Bonaparte to withdraw more troops from the siege of Mantua, notwithstanding that he was to win the crucial Battle of Arcola a short time later.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Arcola, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André

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### Caldiero, Second Battle of (29–31 October 1805)

Indecisive Austrian victory over French forces in northeast Italy during the War of the Third Coalition. Expecting Russian reinforcement in Germany, the Austrians had positioned their main army under Archduke Charles east of the river Adige near Verona, where they faced a French army under Marshal André Masséna. Over the course of three days, the armies fought until the Austrians withdrew after receiving news of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich’s surrender at Ulm. This strategically important area of the Adige valley was contested four times: at the first Battle of Caldiero in 1796, and again in 1809 and, at Veggio, in 1813 (all Austrian victories).

Unlike Napoleon’s Grande Armée, the (French) Army of Italy had not been trained in camp for two years, so the

French emperor had replaced Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jourdan with Masséna as military adviser to Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. Masséna's army, comprising seven infantry and two cavalry divisions, was to attack the Austrian army under Charles (whose infantry had been reorganized into the new smaller battalions) to prevent it reinforcing the main Allied armies. On 5 October, Charles received orders to remain in position, while his army continued to construct fortifications around the village of Caldiero (16 kilometers east of Verona), which guarded the main road to Venice. Masséna terminated the existing armistice on 17 October, and the next morning, the divisions under General Gaspard-Amédée Gardanne and General Guillaume Philippe Duhesme crossed the Adige from Verona to seize the eastern suburb of Veronetta. A ten-day lull followed as both sides awaited news from Germany. On the twenty-fourth, news of Mack's capitulation at Ulm reached Austrian headquarters, prompting Charles to plan a brief action against Masséna and then to evacuate the area. About 43,000 French troops would face 48,000 Austrians in entrenched fortifications.

During the night of 28–29 October, French feints were launched across the Adige to divert attention from the main assault force (led by generals Gardanne, Gabriel Molitor, and Duhesme), which emerged from Veronetta and pushed *Generalmajor* Johann Freiherr von Frimont's advance guard back on Caldiero. Supported by flank attacks, Gardanne's division took Stra and toward evening reached the main defensive works, where it was repulsed. That night, Charles planned to preempt a further French assault by launching a counterattack early on the following day. *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Freiherr von Simbschen, with twenty battalions, moved up onto the northern hills, and in the south, the left under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich held the almost-impenetrable marshland east of the Adige with fifteen battalions. In the center, *Feldzeugmeister* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde's thirty battalions occupied Caldiero with grenadiers and cavalry in reserve under *Feldmarschalleutnant* comte Eugene-Guillaume-Alexis Mercy d'Argenteau. Thirty-one guns were in fourteen entrenched positions, with another thirty spread out along the whole position.

The Austrian plan mirrored that of the French, launching flank attacks with the main thrust through the center, joining the right wing on the approach to Veronetta while the left crossed the Adige. As dawn broke on 30 October, the battlefield was shrouded in thick fog, making it difficult to coordinate formations. Simbschen led the Austrian right forward as *Generalmajor* Armand Freiherr von Nordmann moved forward with his advance guard on the left toward Sabionara, but Charles was reluctant to advance his center from Caldiero, and at 10:00 A.M.

the attack was abandoned. An hour later, the fog lifted to reveal the more adventurous French advancing across the plain. Sporadic fighting had started at 7:00 A.M. south of the main road as Duhesme's column tried to outflank the Austrian left. In support, General Jean-Antoine Verdier's division crossed the Adige, reaching as far as the Austrian left-wing artillery positions before being driven back in heavy fighting.

Thinking his right was striking into the Austrian rear, Masséna launched a general attack along the whole front, both sides focusing on the village of Caldiero. General Jean Mathieu Serras took the French 5th Division up on to the Rivoli plateau to sever Austrian links with the Tyrol. Finally advancing at 2:00 P.M., Bellegarde's Austrian center attacked through Stra along the main road in dense formations but was unable to pierce the French center in an hour-long firefight, as cavalry under General Jean-Louis-Brigitte d'Espagne attacked Bellegarde's right flank. Under fire from three sides, Bellegarde's men fell back to the Caldiero entrenchments, pursued by the French. Having issued orders for the Austrian batteries on the high ground to redouble their fire, Charles led his grenadier reserve forward in person and broke the first French battle-line to seize Stra.

Masséna committed his grenadiers to support Gardanne in the center, while Molitor's division renewed the flank attack to the north. Molitor ran into fierce resistance from Simbschen's troops, among whom were the Infantry Regiment no. 7, which took the eagle of the 5th Regiment of Line. To the south, small-scale fighting continued along the causeways, which ran through the marshy fields, until evening without result, for neither side could deploy its cavalry effectively. As darkness fell, the French pierced the Austrian line at the village of Caldiero, prompting Masséna to make one last effort, but it stalled around the fortifications as Charles committed a second grenadier brigade.

Expecting renewed French attacks, the Austrians brought their second reserve up to the center and rotated it with some of their battered battalions. Davidovich was ordered to lead the left in diversionary attacks across the Adige early in the morning. The French launched their next assault at 10:00 A.M. Verdier's division crossed the Adige to attack the southern Austrian positions, but the arrival of Austrian reinforcements drove them back west. During the night of 30–31 October, further news arrived from Vienna of the disaster at Ulm. Charles knew it was essential to break clear of Masséna, and he planned to attack the French the following morning, launching the main attack with his right out of the mountains to force the enemy back across the Adige. However, dawn on 31 October revealed that after losing 8,000 in all, including 1,800 prison-

ers, Masséna had already abandoned his positions. So, after sustaining 5,672 casualties, Charles had won a defensive victory, and at 4:00 P.M., he began his retreat, heading for Hungary, though he would be unable to reach the Allied army before the Battle of Austerlitz.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Masséna, André; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at

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*See* Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

### Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques-Régis de, duc de Parme (1753–1824)

Jean-Jacques Cambacérès was born on 18 October 1753 to a prominent French family at Montpellier, the son of Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès, adviser at the Court of Auditors, Aides, and Finances of Montpellier. Cambacérès studied at the college of Aix-en-Provence, and in 1772 he began practicing law in Montpellier. Two years later he succeeded his father at the Court of Auditors and remained at this position for fifteen years. The Revolution had interrupted young Cambacérès's life as he took part in the elections of the Estates-General. In 1790 he became one of the founding members of the Société des amis de la Constitution et de l'égalité in Montpellier. In November 1791 he was elected president of the Criminal Court of Montpellier and then became the deputy from Hérault to the National Convention in September 1792. Beginning in October 1792, Cambacérès served on the Committee of Civil and Criminal Legislation, participated in King Louis XVI's trial, and supported the death penalty. He kept clear of factional infighting in the Convention and concerned himself with judicial and legislative matters. He supervised preparations of two successive drafts of the Civil Code in 1793–1794.

In July 1794 he indirectly participated in the events of the Thermidor coup, which led to Robespierre's downfall, and briefly served in the Committee of War, making his first acquaintance with General Napoleon Bonaparte. After the dissolution of the Convention, Cambacérès served on the Council of Five Hundred and prepared his third draft

of the Civil Code in June 1796. Because he was not re-elected in May 1797, Cambacérès returned to private law practice for two years and established a reputation as a skillful lawyer. On 20 July 1799 he was appointed the minister of justice and supported Bonaparte during the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). Cambacérès became the Second Consul in December 1799 and was actively involved in the political life of the Consulate, presiding over the Senate, chairing the meeting of the Council of State, and performing the functions of the First Consul in the latter's absence. He facilitated the signing of the Concordat in 1801, the creation of the Legion of Honor, and the establishing of the Life Consulate in 1802.

In 1800–1804 Cambacérès worked on the monumental task of drafting and adopting the famous Napoleonic Code. He was elected to the French Academy in 1803. He opposed the arrest of the duc d'Enghien in 1804 but was overruled by Napoleon. From March to May 1804 Cambacérès provided his legal expertise to Napoleon to pave the way for the proclamation of Empire and was made archchancellor of the Empire and awarded the Grand Aigle de la Légion d'honneur on 2 February 1805. In April 1808 he was given the title of duc de Parme (Duke of Parma). Presiding over the Senate and the Council of State, he exercised extensive powers during Napoleon's absences on campaign in 1805–1813. Although following the Malet Conspiracy Napoleon established the regency of Marie Louise (February 1813), he left Cambacérès to advise the empress on all issues.

During the First Restoration, Cambacérès was allowed to return to private life. After Napoleon returned from Elba in March 1815, Cambacérès was again appointed archchancellor of the Empire, directed the Ministry of Justice, and presided over the Chamber of Peers. During the Second Restoration he was expelled from the French Academy, denied pensions, and forced into exile in Brussels, where he lived until 1818. He died of apoplexy on 8 March 1824 in Paris and was buried at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery. Cambacérès was truly “the second most important man in Napoleonic France” (Woloch 2002, 120); he acted as intimate adviser to Napoleon, took part in many achievements of the Empire, and exercised extensive powers during Napoleon's absences.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Civil Code; Concordat; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Council of Five Hundred; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Louis XVI, King; Malet Conspiracy; Marie Louise, Empress; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Thermidor Coup

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### Cambronne, Pierre Jacques Etienne (1770–1842)

Pierre Jacques Etienne Cambronne, a French general, was born at Nantes on 26 December 1770 and enlisted in the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the Loire-Inférieure in September 1791. Promoted to grenadier in November 1791, he transferred to the 1st Battalion of Mayenne-et-Loire in 1792 and served in the Army of the Ardennes and the Army of the North in 1793. He rose to sergeant major in July 1793 and to lieutenant in September of the same year. In 1794–1795, Cambronne served in the Army of the Cherbourg Coast and took part in the action at Quiberon in July 1795. In 1796 he continued service in the Army of the Ocean Coastline and joined the 46th Line in October 1796. He took part in the abortive expedition to Ireland and, returning to France, he joined the Army of the Rhine and Moselle in 1797, of England in 1798, and of Helvetia in 1799. He distinguished himself leading a bayonet charge in the second Battle of Zürich in September 1799. In 1800–1801 Cambronne served in the Army of the Rhine and fought at Oberhausen on 27 June 1800. Garrisoned at Dunkirk in 1801–1803, he served with the Army of the Ocean Coastline in 1804–1805. He was awarded the Legion of Honor in June 1804 and appointed *chef de battalion* of the 88th Line in August 1805.

He served with distinction in the 1805–1807 campaigns, distinguishing himself at Jena in 1806. In 1808 Cambronne was sent to Spain and then transferred to the Imperial Guard during the campaign against Austria in 1809. He returned to Spain in 1810–1811 and was conferred the title of baron in June 1810. Promoted to colonel major of the 3rd Regiment of the Voltigeurs de la Garde in 1811, he took part in the 1812–1813 campaigns in Russia and Germany. He commanded the 3rd Brigade of General Pierre Dumoustier's division in August 1813, joined the 2nd Regiment of the Chasseurs à Pied de la Garde Impériale in September, and distinguished himself at Hanau in October 1813. The following month, he earned promotion to *général de brigade* and led the 1st Regiment of the chasseurs à pied and the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division. In 1814 he distinguished himself at Bar-sur-Aube, Craonne, and the battles around Paris. In April 1814 Cambronne fol-

lowed Napoleon to the island of Elba, where he became commandant of Porto Ferrajo and commanded local troops.

In March 1815 he commanded the advance guard of Napoleon's small detachment landing in the Gulf of Juan. He captured Sisteron and was generously rewarded with the grand officer rank of the Legion of Honor (1 April 1815) and the titles of count and peer of France (2 June 1815). Napoleon named him lieutenant general on 20 March 1815, but Cambronne refused the rank. During the Waterloo campaign he served as major colonel of the 1st Regiment of the chasseurs à pied and led the famous charge of the Imperial Guard at Waterloo. Facing superior Allied forces, he nevertheless refused to surrender, and according to a well-known but apocryphal account, he defiantly proclaimed, "The Guard dies but never surrenders," whereas other sources claim that in fact he shouted, "Merde!" (Fremont-Barnes 2002, 80). Cambronne was wounded and captured by the British and remained in captivity until 17 December 1815. On his return to France he was initially sentenced to death, but he was acquitted of treason for supporting Napoleon by the military court. Cambronne was put on half-pay for some period before receiving a command in Lille in 1820. In August 1822 he was conferred the title of viscount, but he retired the following year and spent the rest of his life in his native Nantes, where he died on 29 January 1842. His name is inscribed on the northern side of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Craonne, Battle of; Elba; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Hanau, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Jena, Battle of; Peninsular War; Quiberon, Expedition to; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Waterloo, Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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### Camp Followers

Camp followers were civilians who traveled with armies throughout the early modern period. Many people associ-

ate the term with prostitutes, but that is misleading. While prostitutes were camp followers, so were civilian wagon drivers, cooks, supply contractors, laundresses, valets, musicians, and family members of soldiers. Camp followers existed because they fulfilled needs or desires that the army could not or would not supply. In some cases these desires were purely for luxuries, but in many areas, such as transport, cooking, and laundry, camp followers provided essential services, without which the army could not function. Camp followers numbered in the thousands behind every army of the period.

Camp followers' status and numbers varied. All armies had some provision for civilian wagon drivers, cooks, and laundresses, though there were always more of these than was officially allowed. Officers of royal and imperial armies often traveled with wives, mistresses, and an array of lackeys. Finally, prostitutes, gamblers, and hustlers followed every army, eager for easy money. The two armies with the most interesting and unique camp follower arrangements were the French and the British: Both included significant numbers of women and children.

The French Army had a long-standing policy of including *vivandières* (sutlers) in its combat units. *Vivandières* were soldiers' wives who served as official unit sutlers; there were four per regiment. They sold supplemental food and drink to the soldiers, cooked meals for a fee, and often did laundry and sewing as well. They received no pay, rations, or uniform, but they did receive an official license called a *patente de vivandière*, which authorized them to travel with their unit. During the Napoleonic period they were subject to a series of administrative attempts to define and regulate their existence. This was because prostitutes as well as illegal wives (women claimed as wives yet with bogus marriage certificates or genuine wives without permission to accompany their husbands), girlfriends, and mistresses traveling with armies consumed rations, slowed movement, and often replaced ammunition and other basic supplies in wagon loads. However, the presence of *vivandières* was deemed essential to the functioning of the army, and the War Ministry never considered abolishing the *vivandières*. They remained a fixture in the French Army until 1906.

A woman became a *vivandière* by marrying a soldier and obtaining a license from the unit's Council of Administration. Bonaparte's decree of 7 Thermidor, Year VIII (1800) ordered units to choose "women of good manners, married to soldiers or noncommissioned officers on active service, recognized as the most active, the most useful to the troops, and whose conduct and morals are the most regular." Once chosen, the women accompanied their units on campaign, supplemented army rations, sewed, cooked, and washed uniforms and provided a social center for their

unit at their tent or wagon. This meeting place was referred to as the *cantine*, so *vivandières* were increasingly known as *cantinières* as the nineteenth century progressed.

*Vivandières* were not combat troops, yet they often fought ferociously in combat. In 1805 a cannon ball killed Madeleine Kintelberger's husband and wounded her right arm. Four of her six children were blinded by an exploding caisson. Surrounded by Russian cavalry, she fought on despite her wound. She received eight saber cuts to the head and neck and was pierced twice with lances. The frustrated Russians finally shot her once in each leg, then took her prisoner along with her children. However, *vivandières*' main role was to obtain supplies and to sell them to the troops when the army logistical system could not keep up, which was most of the time. Prior to the battle, the *vivandières* sold liquor to the troops, though many *vivandières* were patriotic enough to give alcohol away, saying "You can pay me tomorrow." During and after the battle, *vivandières* nursed the wounded.

*Vivandières* and their soldier-husbands also had children, and Bonaparte was quick to capitalize on this manpower pool. Starting in 1800, he authorized two children per regiment to serve as *enfants de troupe*, or "children of the regiment." These were boys only, who had to be sons of a *vivandière* and a soldier, and had to be at least two years of age. Up until age sixteen, these boys received uniforms, half pay, rations, and fuel distributions, and in exchange they served as drummers, buglers, or apprentices to regimental craftsmen. At age sixteen they enlisted as private soldiers. Thus the French army made efficient use of a reliable pool of recruits who were born and raised to military discipline and who made excellent and loyal soldiers. They were often in the thick of combat as young as twelve years old, and many were killed, wounded, or captured.

The British Army adopted a different approach. "Wives on the strength" were wives of private soldiers who exchanged laundry and sewing services for rations, a place to sleep, and a small pittance from the troops for their services. Each regiment could have six wives per hundred men accompany it on campaign. These wives often had children, who lived among the troops but had no official status. Wives were sometimes forbidden from traveling on campaign, but they did so anyway. In the British retreat to Corunna in the winter of 1808–1809, many wives and children died of hunger and exposure, and many were captured, though the French soldiers usually returned them under a flag of truce. Thus, while the British had a system for organizing and regulating camp followers, only the French formally made them part of military units and used them extensively on campaign and in battle.

*Thomas Cardoza*

*See also* British Army; Corunna, Retreat to; French Army

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**Camperdown, Battle of (11 October 1797)**

A major Anglo-Dutch naval encounter fought near the strategic port on the island of Texel, on the coast of Holland, ending in the decisive defeat of the Dutch fleet. In the spring of 1797 Admiral Adam Duncan lay off Texel observing a Dutch fleet of fifteen ships of the line and a number of smaller vessels. With a scratch force of only two ships, the *Venerable* (74 guns) and the *Adamant* (50), he maintained the ruse that support lay in the distance by repeating ghost signals, thus persuading the Dutch to remain in port. In the middle of June Duncan's command increased with the arrival of reinforcements, enabling him then to confront the Dutch whenever they might put to sea. At the beginning of October Duncan entered Yarmouth Road to take on supplies and repair storm damage, leaving five ships to watch the coast of Holland. On 9 October, however, word arrived of the departure of the Dutch from port, and by noon Duncan had left Yarmouth with eleven ships of the line and made for Texel, which he reached on the following day, having been joined by three more ships. At 8:30 A.M. on the eleventh the Dutch fleet was sighted off Camperdown (Kamperduin). It consisted of twenty-six ships in all: four of 68 guns, four 56s, two 64s, three 74s, two 72s, two 44s, one 54, three 18s, one 32, two 24s, one 36, and one 6. The British fleet consisted of seven 74s, seven 64s, two 50s, one 40, one 28, one 16, one 10, two 12s, one 8, and one 6, or twenty-four ships in all.

At dawn the Dutch under Admiral Johan Willem de Winter had been in a loose formation, but on seeing British signals and perceiving that Duncan was nearby, de Winter steered toward land. When he sighted Duncan to the northwest he formed his vessels into a close line extending from the southwest to the northeast and waited for Duncan's approach. On first sighting the Dutch fleet, Duncan's force was badly formed, largely the result of the different sailing abilities of his ships. He therefore shortened sail and just after 11:00 A.M., seeing the Dutch draw in from

the shore, gave the signal for his vessels to engage their opposites in de Winter's line. At 11:30, with the Dutch center about 5 miles to the southeast, Duncan made directly for de Winter, though the British ships remained in some disarray and confusion. Just before noon Duncan signaled that he intended to break through the Dutch line and attack from leeward, but the haze made it virtually impossible for his intentions to be made generally known. A few minutes later he issued the order for close action.

With the signal recognized, at approximately 12:30 P.M. the *Monarch* (74), Vice Admiral Richard Onslow's flagship, at the head of the rear division, penetrated the Dutch line between the *Jupiter* (72) and the *Haarlem* (68), firing into both as she went, and taking up a position along the starboard side of the former. The *Powerful* (74), meanwhile, engaged the *Haarlem*. On the leeward side of the Dutch line stood several frigates and brigs, two of which raked Onslow's ship as it broke through and luffed up to the *Jupiter*. The *Monarch* replied with a devastating fire that caused great damage to these smaller vessels. The British rear, meanwhile, soon engaged the Dutch line on the port side, apart from three of de Winter's ships at the head of the rear division—the *Brutus* (74), *Leijden* (68), and *Mars* (44)—which were largely out of range and thus able to avoid the fate that would befall their consorts later that day.

At about 12:50 the *Venerable* (74), carrying Duncan, sought to pass the stern of the *Vrijheid* (74), carrying de Winter, but she was initially prevented by the *Staten Generaal* (74), carrying Rear Admiral Samuel Storiij, who interposed himself. The fire from the *Venerable*, however, forced Storiij's ship to make way, and Duncan's flagship was able to engage the *Vrijheid* on her lee side, while the *Ardent* (64) attacked the same ship on her starboard side. A short time later the *Triumph* (74) engaged the *Wassenaar* (64) while the *Bedford* (74) fought with the *Admiraal Tjerk Hiddes De Vries* (68) and the *Hercules* (64). The *Hercules* caught fire, and though it was extinguished, the risk of total destruction obliged the crew to throw the entire stock of powder overboard. This, and the loss of her mizzenmast, left the *Hercules* defenseless, and she surrendered. After a short fight the *Wassenaar* surrendered to the *Triumph*, which then carried on to engage the badly damaged *Vrijheid*. This vessel nevertheless continued to fire and, with the help of other ships to her rear, obliged the *Venerable* to maneuver to a new position by wearing on a starboard tack. Finally, after a sustained and heroic effort, in which she was completely dismasted and lost the use of her starboard battery by the collapse of her masts, de Winter's ship struck her colors. Another Dutch flagship, the *Jupiter*, surrendered at about the same time, bringing the battle to a close. Pursuit of the remaining vessels was impossible in such shallow

waters and with a hostile shore only 5 miles away. Duncan therefore sailed for the Nore, in the Thames estuary, which he reached on 16 October.

The British victory at Camperdown was nothing if not fiercely fought. Duncan's force had taken nearly half the opposing fleet: seven line-of-battle ships, two 50s, and two frigates. Though Dutch losses are not known, the *Vrijheid* alone suffered fifty-eight killed and ninety-eight wounded, and losses in officers killed and mortally wounded were particularly high. That, as well as the physical damage to the ships, bore testimony to dogged Dutch resistance. Every captured ship was either dismantled in the action or lost on its journey to England because of high winds and waves. Some of their hulls were so badly damaged that they could not be retained by their captors as anything beyond simple trophies. One of the prizes, the *Embuscade* (36), was driven onto the Dutch coast, recaptured, but taken again in August 1799. Two other captured vessels were lost at sea. Because of the Dutch tactic of concentrating their fire on their opponents' hulls rather than on their rigging, Duncan's fleet had suffered severe damage and relatively high loss of life. Particularly badly hit were the *Ardent*, *Venerable*, *Bedford* (74), *Belliqueux* (64), *Triumph*, and *Monarch*. In all, British losses were 203 killed and 622 wounded.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Naval Warfare; Second Coalition, War of the; Winter, Johan Willem de

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## Campo Formio, Treaty of (17 October 1797)

The Treaty of Campo Formio resulted from Bonaparte's first Italian campaign and is notable for its display of the French general's political daring as well as for its specific provisions.

Bonaparte's first Italian campaign (1796–1797) was one of his most brilliant. He took a ragtag army and successfully defeated a larger, better-equipped, and better-trained army on several fronts. At the end of the campaign he had pushed Archduke Charles of Austria to within sight of Vienna. Though he had no authority to do so, Napoleon entered into negotiations with the Austrians near the town

of Leoben. The preliminary terms were agreed to on 18 April 1797. Final negotiations were conducted in the town of Campo Formio, resulting in the treaty by that name.

Campo Formio, concluded on 17 October, recognized territorial gains made by other revolutionary armies, most notably Belgium (formerly known as the Austrian Netherlands), which had been annexed by France after the victory over the Austrians at Fleurus in 1794. It also gained for France its so-called natural boundaries on the left (west) bank of the Rhine River, as well as Corfu and the rest of the Ionian Islands. Austria gained some territory as well, receiving Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, and the archbishopric of Salzburg. Bonaparte also secured the release by the Austrians of General the marquis de Lafayette, who had for some five years been imprisoned by the Austrians after he tried to join them in 1792.

These continental gains posed a direct threat to British security, for Britain was fearful of a powerful France that included Belgium and Holland, with their ports just opposite the south coast of England across the Channel. Yet France would be hard-pressed to give them up. They were a long-held dream, and any French leader who relinquished them would do so at the risk of losing his position. This dilemma would prove to be insoluble for both William Pitt, the British prime minister, and, later as First Consul and then Emperor, Napoleon. As a result, war between the two countries was virtually inevitable.

The most notable aspect of the treaty was its establishment of the Cisalpine Republic out of Milan, Bologna, and Modena, areas formally held by Austria. This creation of a new country was far beyond the scope of Bonaparte's orders or authority. His gamble succeeded, however, and he was seen by French citizens as a liberator of the oppressed and a deliverer of the Revolution to Europe. Bonaparte organized the new republic's government, provided a constitution, and nominated the members of its new government.

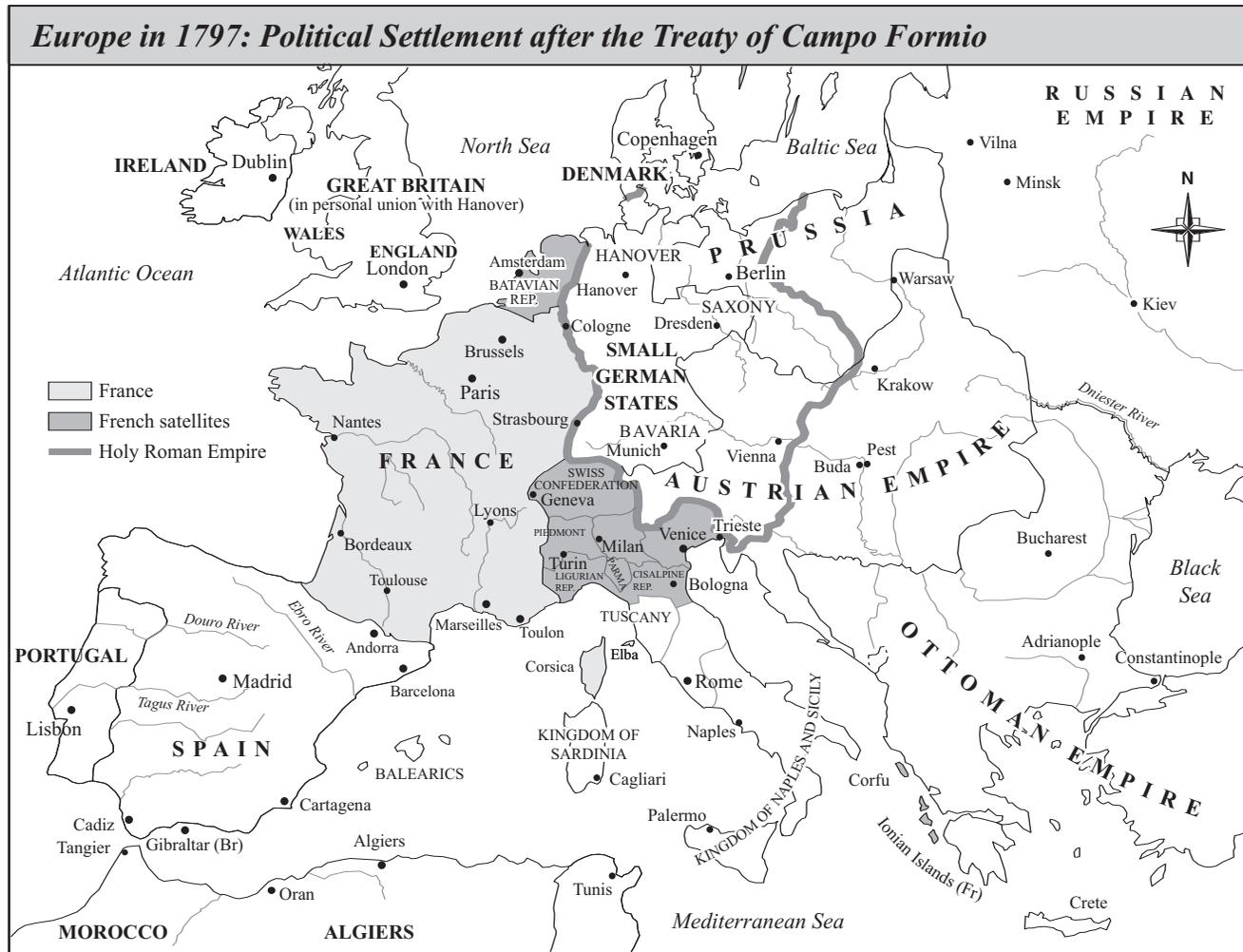
In the space of one year, Bonaparte had completely defeated the Austrian army occupying Italy and had achieved the Peace of Campo Formio, thus establishing himself as a true national hero of France and its greatest soldier. Having met his first military challenge with overwhelming success, and having brought glory and riches to France and great confidence to himself, Bonaparte was hailed in Paris.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cisalpine Republic; Fleurus, Battle of; Ionian Islands; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

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Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 43.

### Canning, George (1770–1827)

With the exception of Lord Castlereagh, George Canning was the most important British foreign secretary in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The most brilliant politician of his generation, a great orator, and a fluent writer, he might have had a leading role in government for far longer had he not antagonized other politicians by his arrogance and sarcasm. In governments that were committed to defending the established order, he was also suspected of always being at heart a radical.

Having been a supporter of the French Revolution in its first, constitutional years, many were surprised when he entered the House of Commons in 1793 as the devoted adherent of the prime minister, William Pitt. He was under-secretary at the Foreign Office under Lord Grenville, Pitt's cousin, from 1796 to 1799, when he became a member of the Board of Control for India. He was also the chief inspiration for and the most notable (though anonymous) con-

tributor of satirical verse and prose to the *Anti-Jacobin*, a weekly publication that combated what were considered subversive ideas in 1797–1798. He supported the union with Ireland in 1801, hoping that it would fulfill his aspiration for Catholic emancipation. When Pitt resigned on the issue, Canning left with him and became the merciless scourge of Henry Addington's administration. From 1804 to 1806 he was treasurer of the Navy in Pitt's last government. Pointedly left out of the so-called Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807), in 1807 he became foreign secretary in the Duke of Portland's cabinet. Advocating vigorous war against Napoleon, he managed to secure the Danish and Portuguese fleets in 1807 but was furious at the Convention of Cintra, Sir John Moore's retreat to Corunna, and the failure of the Walcheren expedition, all of which he attributed to Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state for war and the colonies. The two fought a duel when Castlereagh discovered that Canning was plotting to remove him. Canning went out of office after virtually demanding to be

prime minister in place of Spencer Perceval, who succeeded Portland in 1809, and his terms were too high to join Lord Liverpool's government in 1812. In 1814, however, he accepted a special embassy to Portugal, and in 1816 he entered the cabinet as president of the Board of Control for India. Despairing of reaching higher office, he was about to leave as governor-general of India in 1822 when he was appointed foreign secretary and Leader of the House of Commons in place of Castlereagh, who had committed suicide.

Detaching Britain from European engagements more than Castlereagh might have done, he also insisted on the recognition of the independence of Mexico, Buenos Aires, Colombia, and Brazil, formerly colonies of Britain's allies, Spain and Portugal. This, combined with Canning's domineering manner and support for Catholic emancipation and other reforms, divided the cabinet, with the Duke of Wellington leading the opposing faction.

In 1827, following Liverpool's stroke, Canning finally achieved his ambition of becoming prime minister, twenty years later than he had expected. Only four months later he died, but his stance of championing constitutionalism over European autocracy was continued by Lord Palmerston.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Catholic Emancipation; Cintra, Convention of; Copenhagen, Attack on; Corunna, Retreat to; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; India; Ireland; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Union, Act of; Walcheren, Expedition to; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Canova, Antonio (1757–1822)

Despite avoiding explicitly political subject matter, the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova was nevertheless the pre-eminent exponent of the Neoclassical logic of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. Following apprenticeships in Bassano and Venice, Canova, a native of Possagno, went to Rome in 1780, where he absorbed the Classical models that so influenced his work. During this time Canova's celebrity escalated rapidly, and a young Napoleon Bonaparte, then a general under the Directory, noticed his work during the Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1797. Canova was hostile to the French, especially following the occupation of Rome, and he was unsympathetic to

both their art and their recent political history. Nevertheless, under pressure from the papacy to comply, in 1802 Canova acquiesced to Napoleon's summons to Paris, where he sculpted *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* (marble, 1803–1806, Apsley House, London), a commission that ultimately failed in its propagandistic purpose, since Napoleon aimed to play down the militaristic implications of his allegorical depiction as Mars.

Canova was supported by Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, the supreme advocate of the Classical revival in France, although his popularity in France was relatively slight compared with other European countries, especially Italy and Britain. This lack of popularity was partly due to his perceived friendship with the Emperor, but it was exacerbated in 1815 following a return to Paris as the pope's envoy to negotiate for the return of the Italian art treasures appropriated by Napoleon's armies. Nevertheless, despite Canova's antipathy to France and the French, his association with Napoleon did his reputation little harm, and resulted in numerous commissions.

Although Canova made several funerary reliefs, such as his *Monument to Admiral Angelo Emo* (marble, 1792–1795, Museo Storico Navale, Venice) and *Monument to Admiral Horatio Nelson* (plaster, wax, and terra-cotta, 1806–1807, Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno), his forte was free-standing marble figures, which, as was often remarked, gave sculpture an autonomy of form not seen since classical Greece. Canova was especially renowned for the attention he paid to the surfaces of his figures, which were highly polished and were often tinted with colored washes to imitate the texture and appearance of idealized human skin.

Canova's choice of subject matter was largely mythological, ranging from his *Three Graces* (marble, 1815–1817, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh) to his *Perseus* (marble, 1797–1801, Vatican, Rome), with its unusual combination of materials (marble with a bronze sword). His political commissions, apart from portrait busts such as *Napoleon as First Consul* (marble, circa 1803, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), mostly adhered to this format. Claiming to esteem truth and beauty above all other values, Canova's political worth as an artist lay in his ability to emulate the artworks celebrating the military and cultural achievements of ancient Greece and Rome, a function he fulfilled for clients irrespective of their political or religious affiliation. Indeed, he performed a similar work on his own reputation by designing a memorial church at Possagno, where he was buried alongside many of his own works.

*Richard Taws*

*See also* Art Treasures; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount

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**Cape Colony, First Expedition against (1795)**

The expedition to the Cape Colony was part of the British government's strategy of taking the war to enemy colonies in order to disrupt enemy trade and safeguard that of Britain. On the formation of the Batavian Republic in 1795, the Dutch were forced into an alliance with France, whereupon Britain considered it vital to secure the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, at the southern tip of Africa. Securing the cape would safeguard the route to India and the East Indies for the Royal Navy and British trade, would disrupt the French route to Asia, and would counter the potential danger that Mauritius might be used as a base for French privateers.

An expedition was sent from Britain in March 1795 under the command of Vice Admiral Sir George Elphinstone. His fleet consisted of the 74-gun ships *Monarch*, *Victorious*, and *Arrogant*; the 64-gun ships *America* and *Stately*; and the sloops *Echo* and *Rattlesnake*, both 16 guns. The troops embarked for the expedition comprised the 2nd battalion of the 78th Foot under the command of Major General James Craig.

They arrived in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on 12 June. Opposing them was a Dutch garrison consisting of 800 regulars and 2,000 militia. The British commanders summoned the Dutch governor, General Abraham Sluysken, and demanded he place the colony under British protection, but he refused. Sluysken evacuated the population of Simonstown, but before the Dutch could fire the buildings, a force of British soldiers and marines took the town on 14 July.

Following this minor success, Craig took a force comprising 1,800 men of the 78th, plus seamen and marines, and advanced on Cape Town. On 7 August a Dutch force blocked their route, whereupon Craig advanced, covered by fire from the *America*, the *Stately*, and the two sloops. The naval gunfire was sufficient to drive the defenders away before Craig's force got to close quarters. A Dutch counterattack the following day was repelled, with the seamen ashore playing a major role as infantry in the action.

The Dutch prepared for a counterattack on 3 September but held back when they learned of the arrival of fourteen East Indiamen bringing reinforcements consisting of the second battalion of the 84th, the 95th, and the 98th Regiments under Major General Alured Clarke. With this increase in strength, the British advanced on Cape Town

on the fourteenth, while the *America*, two sloops, and an East Indiaman sailed to Table Bay as a diversion. The colonists harassed the land advance, but this was not sufficient to stop them, and on 15 September the Dutch commander asked for terms. The governor and garrison were conveyed to Britain as prisoners of war. A Dutch attempt to recapture the colony in August 1796 failed, and the Cape remained in British hands until it was returned to the Batavian Republic under the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Cape Colony, Second Expedition against; Craig, Sir James; Netherlands, The; Privateering; Privateers

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**Cape Colony, Second Expedition against (1806)**

The Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa was returned to the Dutch under the Treaty of Amiens. Forces based there, allied to France, could threaten British trade, so in 1805, after the renewal of war, the prime minister, William Pitt, ordered that an expedition be sent to recover the colony.

During the latter part of 1805 a force of 6,000 troops under Sir David Baird was embarked on a fleet of sixty transports and four East Indiamen. Commodore Home Riggs Popham commanded the strong naval force of the *Diadem* (64 guns), *Raisnable* (64), *Belliqueux* (64), *Diomede* (50), *Leda* (38), *Narcissus* (32), *Espoir* (18), *Encounter* (14), and *Protector* (14).

On the evening of 4 January 1806 the fleet dropped anchor to the west of Robben Island in Table Bay. Ships were sent to investigate Blauwberg Bay as a possible landing site, with the *Leda* and the transports of the 24th Regiment approaching Green Island to distract the Dutch garrison. The garrison under General Jan Willem Janssens consisted of a mixed force of 2,200 infantry plus a small contingent of dragoons and artillery. Janssens's force contained many Hessians, Austrians, Hungarians, and Polish recruits among the Dutch units. There was even a contingent of sailors and marines from the French frigate *Ata-*

*lanté* (40 guns), which had been wrecked in Table Bay, plus the crew of the French privateer *Napoléon*.

Some British cavalry and artillery and the 38th Foot, under the command of Brigadier General William Beresford, landed at Saldanha Bay covered by the guns of the *Es-poir* and *Diomedé*, while the main force landed at Blauwberg Bay. The main landing encountered difficulty with the surf, and one boat carrying men of the 93rd Foot was overturned, and thirty-five soldiers drowned. The landing was suspended as evening approached, but it resumed the next morning even though a small force of Dutch arrived on the hills overlooking the bay. However, fire from the ships sent them away, allowing the landing to continue unmolested. On the morning of 8 January two British brigades and the artillery marched off toward Cape Town, driving the Dutch from the hills overlooking Blauwberg. Beyond these heights, Baird's force came up against the main Dutch body, who, after a brief exchange of musketry and artillery fire, were forced to retire by a determined bayonet charge. Dutch losses were 337, while the British lost 15 dead, 189 wounded, and 8 missing.

Janssen's remaining force fell back to Hottentot Holland's Kloof, a ravine east of Cape Town, while Baird bivouacked, intending to continue the advance the next day. However, on the morning of the ninth the Dutch sought terms, and on 12 January Baird took possession of Cape Town. The colony was now in British hands, and as a result of the decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was to remain so after the Napoleonic Wars.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Pitt, William; Vienna, Congress of

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## Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite (1753–1823)

Lazare Carnot made his name as a mathematician and artillery officer under the *ancien régime* before turning to politics during the Revolution. A man of strong republican principles, he sat with the Mountain, a group formed by the more radical Revolutionaries, in the National Conven-

tion, becoming a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Reign of Terror. On the committee he had responsibility for the war effort, and he exercised this with such skill and ingenuity that he turned the war around and was acclaimed with the sobriquet Organizer of Victory. After the fall of Robespierre he continued to serve under the Directory and the Consulate—as one of the five directors after 1795, as minister of war in 1800, and, despite his bitter opposition to the Empire, as an elected member of the Tribunate from 1802 to 1807.

Carnot was a man of true intellectual distinction, a mathematician of some talent who shared the intellectual curiosity of his age. He was born into the provincial bourgeoisie in the small town of Nolay in Burgundy, where his father was a royal notary and an *avocat* in the local *parlement*. He enjoyed a good education, showing a particular talent for mathematics, and—as a nonnoble who enjoyed none of the privileges that came with nobility—he chose to become an army officer in the only arm where he could hope to progress, the artillery. In 1770 he benefited from noble patronage to enter the Ecole de Génie at Mézières in eastern France, where he studied with the distinguished scientist Gaspard Monge before graduating with a commission in 1773. From that point he could make a modest career in the military, though as a commoner he could only be promoted as far as the rank of captain—which, without the advent of the Revolution, is where he would probably have remained. Carnot was far more than a competent artillery officer, however. He was a mathematician of some note who enjoyed the intellectual challenge of finding solutions to algebraic puzzles and who did some notable work solving complex equations. He submitted papers for prize competitions, including prizes offered by the academies in Paris and Berlin, among them a dissertation on the mathematical concept of infinity. And he shared the general enthusiasm of his age for science and the application of science, applying his understanding of mathematics to the science of war, publishing papers on the value of traditional fortifications, on aerostats, and on the theory of machines. He was, in other words, an intellectual before he was an army officer, a son of the Enlightenment, a polymath who read widely in philosophy and literature as well as in the natural sciences, an avid reader who found inspiration in Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and remained a close friend of one of its coauthors, the philosophe Jean d'Alembert.

And with his own ambition thwarted by the demands of noble privilege and the petty rules of precedence, he was exactly the sort of individualist who would throw himself eagerly into revolutionary politics after 1789, recognizing, like many other men of talent, that it was on the political stage that his talents could be best used in the service of the



Lazare Carnot, a feverishly productive member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Terror. His part in raising the *levée en masse* probably saved the French Revolutionary armies from defeat at the hands of their numerically superior opponents. (Engraving by R. G. Tietze after Baron Lejeune from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 1)

nation. In Carnot's case, that conversion did not happen immediately, for though he wrote a thirteen-page address in September 1789 urging the immediate reform of the Royal Corps of Engineers—it appeared under the timely and seemingly revolutionary title *Réclamation contre le régime oppressif sous lequel est gouverné le Corps Royal du Génie, en ce qu'il s'oppose aux progrès de l'art*—that was practically his only foray onto the national political stage under the National Constituent Assembly. If he was involved politically during this early period, it was on the local stage in the town of Saint-Omer. It was in 1791, with the elections to the Legislative Assembly, that he entered national politics, along with his brother as a deputy for the Department of the Pas-de-Calais. In the Legislative Assembly he did not make an immediate impression as an orator, but he quietly served on a number of committees and kept a watching brief on the many military reforms being proposed by the deputies. He sat with the deputies of the Left, showed a healthy suspicion of the motives of the king, and

following the overthrow of the monarchy on 10 August was chosen—as were many of the more radical deputies—to go out on mission to the provinces, in his case to the Army of the Rhine. Thus, when he was elected to the Convention in September he already enjoyed something of a reputation as a critic of the monarchy, a man of generally radical views, and an army officer with a deep commitment to the cause of military reform. His approach and experience would prove invaluable to a country at war.

In the Convention Carnot sat with the Mountain, and though not a member of the Jacobin Club he won the trust of the inner circle of Jacobins by associating himself with many of their more radical policies. In the debate on the fate of Louis XVI he did not hesitate, voting for death and thus condemning himself in the eyes of the Bourbons as an extremist and a regicide. He was also respected by his fellow deputies for his military expertise and for the experience and good judgment he brought to a series of missions, including a vital one to the Army of the North between March and August 1793, which exposed the treason of General Charles Dumouriez and ordered his arrest. By the summer of 1793 France faced a military crisis of huge proportions, defeats and rumors of treason combining to sap confidence and morale. It was in these circumstances that the Committee of Public Safety—a committee composed of civilians and including no one of military experience—turned to Carnot. There were few soldiers among the members of the Convention, few who had the necessary background for the task in hand. That is why the committee asked for the services of Carnot along with another young army captain, Prieur de la Côte d'Or (Claude-Antoine Prieur-Duvernois), like Carnot a military reformer and a staunch Republican. In mid-August Carnot returned from the northern frontier to join the committee, where, along with Prieur and Robert Lindet, he was assigned responsibility for the organization and deployment of the armies.

This was the role in which Carnot would establish his reputation as a great war leader, as the man who turned the war around and imposed himself as the Organizer of Victory. The army he inherited was in a desperate plight, especially along the vital northern frontier against the Austrians: It was poorly trained and equipped and desperately short of horses and munitions; it was threatened with starvation, defeated on the battlefield, and raddled by rumors of treason and allegations of cowardice. It was Carnot's task to resolve personnel problems, to root out inadequate officers, and to establish some sort of strategic overview that could turn the army into an effective military force. The task was a massive one, given the huge size of the army and the troops' lack of battle experience: The *levée en masse* was intended, after all, to enlist three-quarters of a million

young recruits. They had to be armed and clothed, and provisions had to be found and paid for, all at a time when peasants were wary of the government's new paper currency, the assignats, and when the sans-culottes were staking the claims of Paris and the cities above those of the military. Carnot had to organize logistical support for armies that were constantly on the move and that increasingly had to contend with civil as well as foreign emergencies—in 1793 alone troops were being redeployed at home to face the federalist revolt in Lyons and throughout much of the Midi, treason in Toulon, and civil war in the Vendée and the departments of the West.

He also had to deal with politics inside the army, too, as radicals like Louis Lavalette tried to radicalize the military and Maximilien Robespierre sought to purge the officer corps of aristocrats and political moderates. Carnot dealt with political reality as he found it. He was won over to the radical idea of a mass army and to the tactic of the bayonet charge, the benefit of speed that came with use of the bayonet (*arme blanche*). He sought to inspire the troops with news and propaganda, himself publishing a successful newspaper for the armies, *La soirée du camp*, which imitated the tropes and style of Jacques-René Hébert's sans-culotte icon *Le Père Duchesne*. In short, he showed himself to be a skilled communicator, a motivator of men. But he was also careful to hold himself aloof from the more Robespierriest elements on the committee and to root out the more extreme radicals from the offices of the Ministry of War. He distanced himself from Robespierre's more extreme social policies, and he disliked Louis de Saint-Just's terrorist approach to the military. This helped to ensure his survival in 1794 when the more loyal Robespierrists were purged at Thermidor.

Carnot not only survived; he flourished, as a republican who had dissociated himself from the more extreme excesses of the Terror. Eight months later he was returned to the Council of Ancients, where he was chosen as one of the five directors with responsibility for running the war. He presented himself as a champion of the army and of public order, urging the harsh repression of the Babouvistes, the egalitarian radicals who were followers of Gracchus Babeuf, and promoting Napoleon Bonaparte to command the Army of Italy. Carnot's career stumbled with the royalist coup at Fructidor, when the royalists took their revenge on their republican opponents by sentencing fifty-three deputies and two directors—Carnot and François Barthélemy—to be deported to the prison hulks of Cayenne, and Carnot was forced to flee to Geneva for safety. Amnestied by Bonaparte after Brumaire, he returned to government as minister of war from April to October 1800, but his strongly republican ideas and his openly stated belief that the years of war were bankrupting

France did not endear him to the First Consul, who seemed happy to accept his resignation from office. He did not withdraw from politics, but he rapidly became a somewhat peripheral and disgruntled figure. Elected to the Tribunalate in 1802, he showed himself increasingly alienated by Napoleon's personal ambition and voted against both the Consul for Life and the proclamation of the Empire. Unlike many former Revolutionaries, Carnot had little appetite for office under the Empire. When the Tribunalate was dissolved in 1807, he retired into private life with a pension from the government in recognition of past services. He took no part in the Napoleonic Wars until the final months, when, in 1814, as a Frenchman, a patriot, and an officer, he felt duty-bound to offer his services for the defense of the nation. He still proclaimed his republican principles, yet he ended his career as a *général de division* in the armies of the Emperor, directing the defense of Antwerp against the Allied armies in a desperate bid to prevent the fall of France and the reimposition of monarchy. Knowing that by 1814 there was no chance of a republic, Carnot used what influence he had in pursuit of a constitutional settlement. He pleaded with Louis XVIII to establish liberal institutions and a constitutional government, but he then turned back to Napoleon, accepting his assurances of greater liberalization and accepting office as minister of the interior during the Hundred Days.

After the Second Restoration Carnot knew that he could expect no mercy; he stood twice condemned, as a regicide in 1793 and as a traitor to the Bourbon cause. He therefore chose voluntary exile, this time in Germany, where the respect in which he was held as a mathematician and a man of the Enlightenment ensured that he found employment; he ended his long and turbulent career as a professor of mathematics in Magdeburg. Like many of his republican peers, he was never allowed back into France, and he died in Magdeburg in August 1823 at the age of seventy.

Alan Forrest

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Conscription; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Council of Ancients; Directory, The; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; First Coalition, War of the; French Army; French Revolution; Jacobins; Levée en Masse; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Netherlands, Campaign in the; Propaganda; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Second Coalition, War of the; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana (1761–1811)

About the only Spanish general to have received favorable treatment at the hands of British historians of the Peninsular War, La Romana was in reality a difficult individual who inflicted much damage on the Patriot cause. In 1807 he was sent to Denmark with a Spanish division requisitioned by Napoleon for garrison duties, and the outbreak of the Peninsular War saw him win instant renown by declaring for Ferdinand VII and successfully concentrating his troops on the island of Langeland, where they were picked up by the Royal Navy. Whether this renown was deserved is another matter, however: there is some suggestion that he was forced into revolt by pressure from below.

Be this as it may, La Romana was much angered by the situation that he found when he returned to Spain in the autumn of 1808. With the authority of the army overthrown and power in the hands of what he perceived as a revolutionary government, he set his sights on becoming a military dictator who would restore the old order. To add fuel to the fire, meanwhile, his old division was destroyed at Espinosa de los Monteros, while La Romana himself was badly defeated at Mansilla de las Mulas when he was given command of the much-battered Army of the Left in place of Joaquín Blake. Escaping with what was left of his troops in a skillful fighting retreat to southern Galicia, he there earned the nickname “Marqués de las Romerías” (Marquess of the Pilgrimages) on account of his endless evasion of the French.

With northwest Spain completely cut off, the Junta Central now gave La Romana supreme political authority in the provinces of Galicia, León, and Asturias, but this gesture of confidence did not appease the marqués, who persistently defied the authority of the Junta Central and in addition overthrew the Junta of Asturias in a de facto

military coup. In an attempt to defuse the situation, the Junta Central co-opted him to its own ranks as a representative for Valencia, but in September 1809 La Romana issued an extremely provocative proclamation in which he demanded the immediate formation of a regency. When the Junta Central collapsed in January 1810, moreover, he took an active part in the revolution that took place in Seville, but escaped its consequences by reappointing himself to the command of the Army of the Left, which was now based in Badajoz.

At the head of this force he twice attempted to attack the French forces in Andalucía (Andalusia), but in each case was beaten back with some loss. Asked by Wellington to send some troops to reinforce the defense of Lisbon, he traveled there with two divisions, but his presence proved superfluous, and he was soon marching back to Badajoz. On 23 January 1811, however, he suddenly collapsed and died, ostensibly from heart disease (it is also possible that he was a syphilitic).

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Blake, Joaquín; Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of; Ferdinand VII, King; Junta Central; Peninsular War

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### Carra St. Cyr, Claude (1760–1834)

A veteran of the pre-1789 army, Claude Carra St. Cyr led a brigade at Marengo and served as a divisional commander in Marshal Masséna's IV Corps at Aspern-Essling and Wagram. His most prominent role during the Napoleonic era, however, was as the ill-fated military commander in Hamburg in the spring of 1813. Carra St. Cyr decided to evacuate the French garrison from the city, a move Napoleon attributed to panic, and it was left to Marshal Davout to restore French control there. Carra St. Cyr's performance brought him lasting disfavor in the eyes of Napoleon. Carra St. Cyr is often confused with a more prominent general and Napoleonic marshal, Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr.

Carra St. Cyr was born at Lyons on 28 July 1760. He entered the army in 1774, served in North America under the marquis de Lafayette, and, as a supply officer, reached the rank of captain. He resumed his military career in 1793 as an aide to General Jean Aubert-Dubayet, and he served a tour of duty in Constantinople when Aubert-Dubayet became France's ambassador there. He saw combat at the Battle of Marengo (14 June 1800), rose to the rank of *général de division* in 1803, and led the 2nd Infantry Division under Masséna at Aspern-Essling and Wagram in 1809. Carra St. Cyr was left to guard French supply lines in

Germany during the 1812 campaign against Russia. He commanded the French garrison and served as military governor of Dresden, in Saxony, then took over the same post at Hamburg.

In the wake of the retreat from Russia in late 1812, Carra St. Cyr's position at Hamburg took on crucial significance, since control of the city was the key to the French position in northern Germany. Carra St. Cyr not only feared a revolt by the local population, but he also believed a large Russian force was approaching the city. The French general decided that his force of some 3,000 men could not hold Hamburg. On 12 March he ordered a withdrawal to Bremen, first seizing 100,000 francs from Hamburg's municipal treasury to pay his forces. In fact, there were only weak bands of German irregulars within striking distance when Carra St. Cyr fled. Hamburg remained in the hands of a locally raised militia and a small force of Cossacks for two and a half months until Davout restored French control there in late May. Outraged at Carra St. Cyr's performance, Napoleon ordered him to be placed in confinement at Osnabrück, and the disgraced general was left without further employment.

Following the fall of Napoleon, Carra St. Cyr entered the service of Louis XVIII and held the post of governor of French Guiana from 1814 to 1819. He died at Vailly sur Aisne on 5 January 1834.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Germany, Campaign in; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Hamburg, Defense of; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Russian Campaign; Wagram, Battle of

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### **Cassano, Battle of (26–28 April 1799)**

A number of separate engagements, known collectively as the Battle of Cassano, took place between 26 and 28 April 1799, as Field Marshall Alexander Suvorov's Austro-Russian army attempted to force the line of the Adda River, watched by General Jean Moreau's Armée d'Italie. Suvorov's victory opened the gates of Milan to him, put an end to the first Cisalpine Republic, and paved the way for the Allied reconquest of Piedmont. The planning and execution of the operations on the Adda brought new evidence of Suvorov's superior strategic and tactical skills.

The Austrian spring offensive in northern Italy had forced the French general Barthélemy Schérer behind the

Adda, where he could cover Milan and wait for expected reinforcements from Switzerland (under André Masséna) and Naples (under Jacques Macdonald). His army, exhausted and reduced from 46,000 to 27,000 men, was strung out across an overextended 70-mile-long defensive line along the western bank of the river, from Lecco to Pizzighettone. The town of Lecco, on the eastern bank, was still in French possession.

Meanwhile, the Allies had been reinforced by the arrival of a Russian contingent of 20,000 men under Suvorov. In compliance with the advice of the Austrian foreign minister, Johann Freiherr von Thugut, the Russian commander had taken command of the whole army, with the Austrian *Generalmajor* Johann Gabriel, marquis Chasteler de Courcelles, as his chief of staff. After detaching Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova, the former commander in chief, with 23,000 men to blockade Peschiera and Mantua, Suvorov moved west with an army of 50,000 Austro-Russians, including a large body of Cossacks. The citadel of Brescia fell on 21 April, and Bergamo, three days later. By then, Moreau had replaced a tired Schérer. It was too late, however, for Moreau to substantially alter his predecessor's improvident deployment. Allied operations began early in the morning on 26 April. To the north, a Russian column of 3,000 light troops and cavalry under Peter Bagration descended from the heights to take Lecco and the bridgehead nearby. The French garrison under General Louis-Stanislas-Xavier Soyez nevertheless reacted very swiftly and bravely maintained their position for hours. As night fell, the Russians were redirected some miles downstream to Brivio, where *Generalmajor* Philipp Freiherr Vukassovich's column had managed to ford the river without opposition, establish a bridgehead, and send scouting parties toward Milan. Farther south, strong Allied forces (Russians under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Fürst Rosenberg and Austrian divisions under *Feldmarschalleutnants* Zopf and Karl Peter Ott Freiherr von Bartokez) gathered at San Gervasio.

During the night of 26–27 April, engineers succeeded in throwing a pontoon bridge in front of Trezzo. A lively engagement developed at dawn on the western bank between the villages of Trezzano and Vaprio, as Paul Grenier's division, with reinforcements under Claude Victor arriving later, tried against the odds to check the rising tide sweeping down from Trezzo. By late afternoon, however, the French center was forced to retreat toward Milan. Meanwhile, at Cassano d'Adda, 5 miles south of Vaprio, the 106th Demibrigade offered stubborn resistance to Michael Freiherr von Melas's attempt at crossing the river. The arrival of Suvorov on the spot, however, induced two Austrian divisions to launch a decisive and successful assault on the entrenched bridgehead. By evening, the French were in retreat everywhere, with the Allied army holding both

sides of the Adda. Only Jean Sérurier's Franco-Piedmontese division continued to hold its position in the Paderno-Verderio area. On the twenty-eighth, however, Sérurier's troops were entrapped by superior forces under Vukassovich. All lines of retreat being cut, Sérurier was forced to surrender his command.

French losses, including the prisoners taken at Verdorio, ranged between 5,000 and 6,900, while the Allies had 761 killed, 2,913 wounded, and 1,212 taken prisoner. On 29 April Austro-Russian troops entered Milan.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Cisalpine Republic; Cossacks; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajo; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Moreau, Jean Victor; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### **Castaños, Francisco Javier de (1758–1852)**

The victor of Bailén, which resulted in the surrender of a French army in Spain, Francisco Javier de Castaños was born in Madrid in 1758. The scion of a noble family that enjoyed much favor at court, he became a cadet at the age of ten and thereafter enjoyed a distinguished military career. Renowned as an avuncular figure who did all he could to provide for the welfare of his men, he saw service against the British, the Moors, and the French alike and eventually became captain general of the military district that encompassed Gibraltar.

Deeply disturbed by the French occupation of Madrid, in April 1808 he opened secret negotiations with the governor of Gibraltar, Sir Hew Dalrymple, in the hope of securing British intervention, and on 30 May he raised his troops in open revolt. Securing command of all the regular forces in Andalucía (Andalusia), he succeeded in engineering (albeit more by luck than by judgment) the victory of Bailén. As such he became the hero of the hour, but as one of the few representatives of the regime of Manuel de Godoy who had managed to retain high office, he had many enemies, and at the same time many of his subordinates in the Army of Andalucía (later the Army of the Center) were disgruntled that he had received the bulk of the credit for Bailén despite not being present on the field.

Chief among his enemies was the aristocratic faction centered on the Palafox brothers, and this group engi-

neered his defeat at Tudela and, with it, his removal from command. For most of the next year, Castaños was confined in a monastery in Seville, but in 1810 he was rehabilitated and made a member of the Council of Regency established to replace the Junta Central.

Freed for command by the formation of a second regency in October 1810, in March 1811 he was appointed to take over the Spanish forces on the frontiers of Extremadura (Estremadura) following the death of the marqués de la Romana. As such, he was present at Albuera, although he took little part in the battle, surrendering the command of his men to Joaquín Blake. (It is, however, possible that he played a major role in persuading Sir William Beresford to stand and fight rather than retreating into Portugal.) Transferred to Galicia in 1812, he collaborated with the Marquis (later the Duke of) Wellington in the campaigns of Salamanca, Burgos, and Vitoria.

Regarded by the liberals who dominated politics in the Spanish capital of Cádiz as a reactionary who was hand in glove with traditionalist opposition to their policies, he was in June 1813 dismissed from his command, the result being a major crisis in Anglo-Spanish relations. Made Duque de Bailén after 1814, he served in a series of high offices both under King Ferdinand VII and during the regency of Maria Christina, and, a veritable grand old man, he ended his career as the tutor of the young Isabel II.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Blake, Joaquín; Burgos, Sieges of; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Junta Central; Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José; Salamanca, Battle of; Tudela, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Castiglione, Battle of (5 August 1796)**

This engagement was fought between Bonaparte and the Austrian general Dagobert Graf Würmser in northern Italy. The battle took place around the town of Castiglione and involved around 27,000 French and 25,000 Austrians. The battle is seen as one of the classic examples of Bonaparte's concept of the "strategic battle." Bonaparte planned to pin the center of the Austrian line and then strike the flanks of the enemy. In reserve he would have an elite force capable of delivering the decisive blow. Bonaparte's plan

also made use of ordering outlying detachments to march to the scene of the fighting as quickly as possible to surprise and unnerve the enemy. This relied on good staff work and also on Bonaparte's ability to inspire his subordinates to operate independently. The French attacked the center of the Austrian line, and by early afternoon the divisions of generals Pascal-Antoine Fiorella and Hyacinthe-François-Joseph Despinois had arrived to the north and south of the Austrian position. Würmser was forced to withdraw across the Mincio River.

The Battle of Castiglione was the culmination of Würmser's attempt to relieve Mantua, which had been besieged by the French for a number of weeks. Würmser split his army into three parts to force the French away from the city; he commanded the central and largest column. In this he was successful, and he caught the French forces dispersed. Bonaparte responded quickly and defeated the right wing of the Austrian attack led by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vitus Freiherr von Quosdanovich at Lonato.

Würmser was unaware of the predicament of his subordinate and continued his advance. He managed to relieve Mantua and then marched to join Quosdanovich, not realizing that he was heading toward the main body of the French army, which Bonaparte was concentrating around Castiglione. On 3 August the Austrian *Generalmajor* Anton Freiherr Liptay was forced back by General Pierre Augereau's troops close to Castiglione. Liptay withdrew to the high ground to the east of the town and was only saved by the arrival of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich with his division. Augereau believed that the French could inflict a decisive defeat on the Austrians at this point and claimed that it was due to his influence that Bonaparte agreed to fight at Castiglione; however, the only evidence we have for this is Augereau's own account.

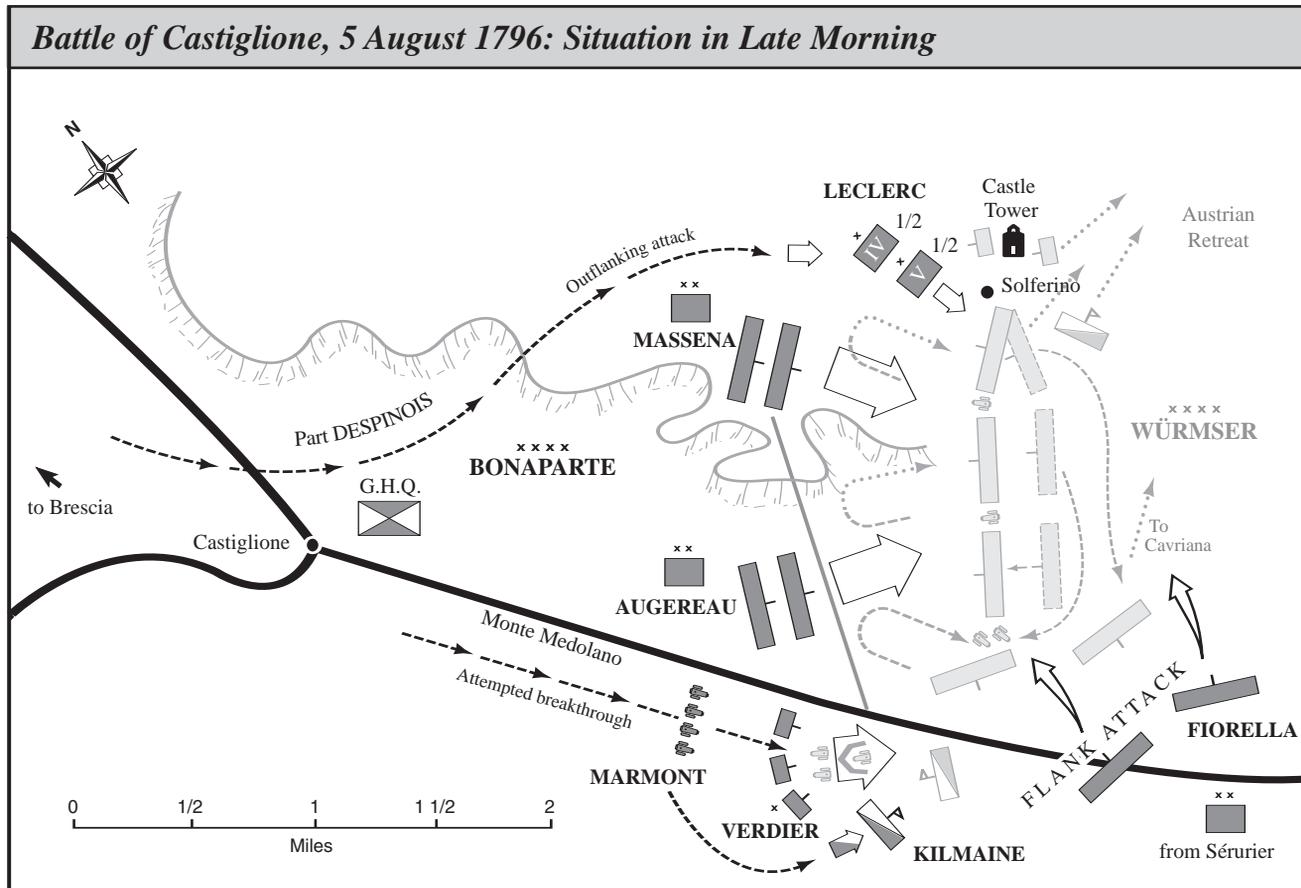
By 4 August Würmser had moved his forces to reinforce Liptay. He decided to occupy the high ground around Solferino, which averaged around 100 feet but at its highest point was over 500 feet above the village. On this position there was a small castle and La Rocca tower. His forces also fortified a small hill to the south of his line at Monte Medolano. This was only a few feet higher than the surrounding ground, but it did have a good field of fire to the west. The Austrians deployed a number of guns in a redoubt on the crest of the hill. Würmser was content at this moment to fight a defensive battle, as he had already achieved his primary goal of relieving Mantua and only had to avoid defeat to maintain the strategic advantage. While Würmser was deploying his forces, Bonaparte was awaiting the arrival of more of his troops. The crucial forces were those of Jean Sérurier's division, which was near the town of Marcaria, about 12 miles to the south of Castiglione. Sérurier himself was no longer in command of

this force, as he was suffering from a bout of malaria and command of his division had passed to Fiorella.

Bonaparte had ordered Fiorella to move to attack the left flank of the Austrian line around Monte Medolano. If this attack could be combined with an assault on the left and center of the Austrian line, then Bonaparte could roll up the Austrian line. Until Fiorella could arrive on the field, Bonaparte intended to launch a series of attacks on Würmser's center designed to lure his forces forward in order to place them in a more advantageous position for his flank attack. Würmser was aware of the location of Fiorella's command and had ordered forces under General Johann Mezaros and parts of the garrison of Mantua to prevent Fiorella from advancing to the battlefield. However, Fiorella moved before Mezaros had put his forces into motion. The commander of the garrison of Mantua was also too concerned with replenishing his supplies and removing equipment from the abandoned French siege lines to prevent the advance of Fiorella.

On the morning of 5 August André Masséna and Augereau were ordered to begin their attacks on the Austrian center. French forces amounted to around 18,000, 10,000 in Masséna's division and 8,000 under the command of Augereau. The French moved to the attack, deploying skirmishers to their front and creating a lot of noise in an attempt to unnerve the Austrian line. Prior to Bonaparte's arrival in Italy the French forces there had operated under the belief that they were inferior to the Austrian troops. Bonaparte, however, had altered this point of view. He merged the republican spirit of his troops with a greater sense of martial pride. After a short time the French withdrew, trying to encourage the Austrians to follow. To a certain extent Würmser was lured forward by Bonaparte, but his forces around Monte Medolano did not move from their strong position, although his right wing did advance for approximately a mile. Würmser also maintained a strong reserve line.

On the right flank of the French line Bonaparte had deployed his reserve forces under the command of General Charles Kilmaine. This force was composed of the cavalry commanded by General Marc-Antoine de la Bonninière, comte de Beaumont, amounting to 900 men, and the grenadier battalions under General Claude Verdier, totaling 800 troops. Bonaparte now decided that it was time to commit the grenadiers to attack Medolano. To reinforce this attack he ordered Auguste Marmont to take command of a twelve-gun battery. Marmont skillfully deployed his guns and was able to bring the Austrian defenders under a very effective fire. Verdier advanced with his grenadiers and in a stiff fight took possession of the hillock. The cavalry also moved to support the French infantry. Masséna and Augereau now renewed their attack on the Austrian



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 197.

line. The fighting was fierce, and the Austrian brigade commander, Liptay, was severely wounded. Liptay's division had suffered casualties in a defeat two days before and had not fully recovered, thus compounding an already-difficult predicament at Castiglione.

Around this time Fiorella had advanced to the town of Guidizzolo, where he found the baggage of the Austrian headquarters. He was initially repulsed by the troops guarding the wagons, but their small number meant that he could only be held up for a short time, and the Austrians were soon pushed aside. Fiorella now moved to Cavriano, which was less than a mile from the main Austrian position. Würmser was able to deploy three battalions from his second line to meet the threat, and for a short time the Austrian line was stabilized.

Bonaparte, confident that his flank attack was about to meet with success, ordered Masséna's troops once more to assault the right of the enemy line. Meanwhile, Augereau maintained pressure on the Austrian center. Würmser was now coming to the conclusion that his position was becoming untenable, and he began to prepare orders for the retreat of his forces. It was at this point that Despinois's division launched an attack on the Austrian right flank.

These troops had been marching from Brescia, which was around 11 miles to the west of the battlefield. Having reached Castiglione by the afternoon, Bonaparte ordered them to move onto the flank of Masséna's division. Despite the fact that these troops were weary from their march, they were more than a match for the Austrians, who had now been fighting for a considerable period of time. In a mixed formation of column and line, Despinois ordered his troops forward. Their advance quickly gained the high ground and then assaulted the castle and La Rocca tower at Solferino. This attack finally unhinged the defensive position of the Austrians, and the French took a large number of prisoners.

Würmser now tried to shore up his line with the remnants of the brigade that had held the castle and tower at Solferino and a further weak brigade under the command of Freiherr Anton Schubirz. However, Masséna's forces were now taking advantage of Despinois's attack and were coming close to splitting the Austrian line in two. Masséna was also threatening the Austrians' main line of retreat toward the Mincio River. Fortune, however, favored Würmser at this point, for he received welcome reinforcements under the command of Colonel Karl Philipp Frei-

herr von Weidenfeld, who had been ordered to march to Solferino the day before. He had been able to hear the sound of the fighting and had encouraged his troops forward as quickly as possible. He attacked elements of Masséna's division and caused enough casualties and disorder among the French to prevent their continued advance. Weidenfeld was in the forefront of the fighting and acted as an inspiration for the Austrians on the right wing. He was decorated for his leadership at this point of the battle.

Weidenfeld's actions allowed the bulk of the Austrian army to withdraw to Borghetto on the Mincio about 4 miles to the east of the original Austrian defensive line. On reaching the river they crossed to Vallegio, on the far bank, under the protection of a number of hussar squadrons. The bridge was only a very narrow wooden construction, and if the French could have brought the crossing under fire, the Austrians' retreat would have been seriously jeopardized. The French, however, were not able to carry out an effective pursuit owing to their lack of cavalry and the fatigue of the troops. Bonaparte himself was exhausted, having been in the saddle constantly for the previous eight days. The bridge was demolished after the Austrian rear guard had crossed.

Austrian losses amounted to around 3,000 casualties, but Würmser was forced to leave his artillery behind, which amounted to twenty guns. The French had lost around 1,500 men. Augereau was, at a later date, to be remembered by Bonaparte for his contribution to the battle with the title of comte de Castiglione. Würmser hoped to be able to hold the line of the Mincio, but owing to the loss of a large proportion of his artillery, this was to prove difficult. Würmser wanted to await the arrival of reinforcements. He also hoped for the rapid arrival of Quosdanovich, who was expected to march around Lake Garda, following his defeat by the French. Bonaparte, however, was not prepared to allow Würmser a chance to reorganize his forces, and he attacked immediately. This assault forced Würmser to withdraw further, and Mantua was once more placed under siege.

Bonaparte had won an important victory at Castiglione. Despite the fact that his concept of a strategic battle had been successful, Bonaparte was not completely satisfied with the result of the engagement, because he had hoped to completely envelop the enemy and destroy him. He was to employ the same basic plan on a number of future occasions. Apart from their losses, the Austrians were able to withdraw intact, and Würmser would soon return to the offensive.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Lonato, Battles of; Mantua, Sieges

of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Masséna, André; Second Coalition, War of the; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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### **Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769–1822)**

Viscount Castlereagh (as he became in 1796 and then second Marquis of Londonderry, in 1821) was one of three closely connected Irish aristocrats, the others being Richard, Marquis Wellesley, and his brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, who played leading roles in the age of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Castlereagh was the most important British foreign secretary in the Napoleonic era, a leader in the union of Ireland with Britain in 1801, and the principal minister who mobilized the country after the renewal of war in 1803.

An outstanding student at Cambridge University, Stewart did not take his degree, which was not unusual but which in his case may have been owing to his unwillingness, as an Ulster Presbyterian, to accept the requirement of testifying to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. A conventional aristocratic European tour at the beginning of the French Revolution provided useful experience for his future career. A later visit to Paris in 1791, when he observed the National Assembly debating, hardened his hostility to the principles of the French Revolution. He was nevertheless a moderate opponent of the government as a member of Parliament in the Irish House of Commons after 1790. It was here that he became a friend of his contemporary Arthur Wellesley (later Wellington), who as an aide-de-camp to the lord lieutenant of Ireland,

was a more reliable supporter of the administration. In 1794 Stewart was weaned completely from opposition when the prime minister, William Pitt—whom he had admired as a parliamentary speaker and whose government included both Stewart's step-grandfather, the first Earl of Camden, and his heir—presented him with a seat in the British House of Commons. Thereafter, although no great orator, he staunchly supported Pitt and his policies and denounced the French Revolution in both parliaments.

Castlereagh's future nevertheless seemed to lie in Ireland, particularly after his step-uncle, the second Earl of Camden, became lord lieutenant in 1795. In 1796 Castlereagh led the capture of the Belfast leaders of the United Irishmen, a couple of months before a planned insurrection in conjunction with a French army. Part of the expeditionary force reached Bantry Bay in December, though owing to weather and disputes among the commanders it did not land. Despite repression and the decline in Protestant enthusiasm for separation that followed, the governments in Dublin and London remained fearful of another attempt. At the height of this anxiety, in March 1798 Castlereagh was promoted, at first temporarily, from a minor Irish post to chief secretary for Ireland, an office from which Irishmen were conventionally excluded on grounds of partisanship. As second in command to Camden, Castlereagh bore the responsibility and blame for the brutal military campaign against the United Irishmen, which may have saved the capital from capture by the rebels. When disorganized insurrections in both the north and south broke out in June, they were also savagely overpowered.

By the time General Joseph Humbert landed in the west of Ireland with just over 1,000 French troops in August, it was a classic case of too little, too late; despite his military brilliance he was soon defeated, and the peasants who joined him were victims of ruthless reprisals. Another French force of 3,000, accompanied by the United Irish leader Wolfe Tone, was stopped at sea by the Royal Navy in October; Tone committed suicide in jail in Dublin while awaiting execution. Since Bonaparte had taken the army assembled for the invasion of Britain to Egypt in the summer, Ireland was secure for the present, and attention turned to a more permanent solution to the problem of discontent. Castlereagh was joined in this by Lord Cornwallis, the experienced general and Indian administrator, who replaced the overwrought Camden as lord lieutenant (and commander in chief of the army) at the height of the crisis in June. Both favored clemency for and conciliation with the Catholics, who were by no means revolutionary but who were blocked from being members of Parliament and from holding public office by the Protestants in and out of the Irish parliament.



Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh. As British foreign secretary in the closing years of the Napoleonic Wars he played a pivotal role in the diplomacy that led to the formation of the Sixth Coalition (1813–1814) and to the restoration of the balance of power in Europe after Waterloo. (Library of Congress)

Castlereagh's and Cornwallis's answer to the Irish problem, which was strongly supported by Pitt's ministry, was a parliamentary union with Britain. There would then no longer be a separate Irish legislature to challenge the British government, and the more liberal union parliament could safely grant complete Catholic emancipation—including the right to sit in Parliament and hold other offices in addition to the right to vote (which Irish Catholics had had since 1793)—to what would be a minority in the enlarged state. But any open commitment to Catholic relief would have been fatal to the proposal in the Irish Parliament and the British cabinet. The amalgamation was to be a Protestant one, though Castlereagh, Cornwallis, and Pitt made informal promises that emancipation would follow the union.

Even with the lure of greater security against the French Revolution and domestic threats, it was no easy task to get the Irish legislators to vote themselves out of business. In order to carry the bill against stiff opposition, Castlereagh provided £1.26 million in compensation to the patrons of the 200 seats (of 300) in the House of Commons that would be abolished as well as lavishly dispensing offices, pensions, and honors, including promotions within the peerage and British titles. Pitt and his ministers were ap-

palled at the extent of the bribery but acquiesced in it as the price of Castlereagh's success. Castlereagh also bore the blame, then and later, from those who claimed that he had sold out his country. The Parliament of the United Kingdom came into effect on 1 January 1801, with Ireland having 100 members of Parliament (of 658), 28 members of the House of Lords elected for life by Irish peers, and 4 (Anglican) bishops sitting in the Lords by rotation each session. Ireland, however, was still governed by a separate administration headed by the lord lieutenant and chief secretary. And George III, who had been alerted by strong upholders of the Protestant constitution within the cabinet, adamantly refused to consider Catholic emancipation, which he considered a violation of his coronation oath. Pitt, who was not unhappy to be leaving for other reasons, seized on this issue to resign as a matter of honor and was soon followed by Castlereagh (and Cornwallis) on the same grounds. Henry Addington formed a ministry that would maintain Catholic disabilities and seek peace with France.

In July 1803, four months after the Peace of Amiens with France, Castlereagh joined Addington's government as president of the Board of Control for India. He was encouraged in this by Pitt, who was endeavoring to direct the ministry from the sidelines. Pitt particularly wanted Castlereagh to resolve the difference between Lord Wellesley, the imperious governor-general of India, and the East India Company, which wanted more trade and less war and expense. Castlereagh loyally supported Wellesley in Parliament but soon came to the conclusion that he should be replaced by a less bellicose ruler, as he was by Cornwallis in 1805. Castlereagh continued in the same office when Pitt became prime minister again in 1804. In July 1805, when the threat of invasion was lifted as Napoleon marched his army from Boulogne to central Europe, he also became secretary of state for war and the colonies. Castlereagh organized a force for a landing at the mouth of the Elbe, but this depended on Prussia, which vacillated until the project was destroyed by Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz on 2 December.

Castlereagh resigned when Pitt died in January 1806 but returned in 1807 as secretary of state for war and the colonies in the Duke of Portland's administration. In the next two years he improved the militia for home defense and increased the size of the regular army by offering bounties to recruits from the militia. In the summer of 1807 he was responsible, in conjunction with the Royal Navy, for the attack on Copenhagen that seized the fleet Denmark had refused to surrender. The fleet was held for the duration of the war, though at the cost of driving that country into the arms of Napoleon.

The revolt of Spain and Portugal against France in the spring of 1808 raised high hopes of an early victory over Na-

poleon. Castlereagh sent an expeditionary force to Portugal commanded by his former colleague in the Irish parliament and now chief secretary for Ireland, Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), who, on returning from India in 1805, had taken Castlereagh's advice to enter the House of Commons in order to defend his governor-general brother. The high expectations for the campaign were dashed by the Convention of Cintra, by which Wellesley's superiors agreed to the removal of the French army from Portugal in British ships. After the recall of the generals involved for an inquiry, the remaining commander, Sir John Moore, retreated across northern Spain to his own immortal death, but the army at Corunna was also evacuated. Castlereagh, as the minister who had chosen the commanders, was considered to share in their ignominy, not least by his rival George Canning, the foreign secretary. By early 1809 Canning was plotting to remove Castlereagh and replace him by the seemingly more dynamic Lord Wellesley.

Oblivious of this, Castlereagh maintained his confidence in both the Peninsular War and Wellesley, who, after his acquittal by the court of inquiry, was sent back to Portugal in the spring as commander of the British forces, this time resigning his seat in Parliament. The prospects now seemed even better when Austria at the same time rose against Napoleon. To aid the latter Castlereagh organized a strike across the North Sea to seize the island of Walcheren at the mouth of the Scheldt, destroy the French fleet at Antwerp, and encourage the Dutch to fight the French. Unfortunately for the British, the tardy campaign was not launched until the end of July, after Napoleon had defeated the Austrians at Wagram. The failure of the operation, from a combination of poor leadership, French opposition, and malaria, was the last straw for Canning, who insisted that Castlereagh be removed and Wellesley be brought into the ministry. When Castlereagh was finally informed of the first part of this, he immediately resigned and challenged Canning to a duel from which Canning, who had never fired a pistol in his life, was lucky to emerge with a slight thigh wound. Castlereagh refused to return to office with such duplicitous colleagues when Spencer Perceval, under whom Canning also refused to serve, shortly became prime minister.

Two and a half years later, in February 1812, Castlereagh replaced the foreign secretary since 1809, Lord Wellesley, who hoped to form a government of his own when the Prince Regent (George IV after 1820) received the full powers of monarchy a year after George III lost his mental capacity. In the change of effective ruler Castlereagh insisted on the freedom to speak in favor of Catholic emancipation, as he had not for the past decade. Castlereagh continued in the same post and also became leader of the House of Commons under Lord Liverpool, who replaced the assassinated

Perceval as prime minister in June and allowed cabinet members to express their individual views on Catholic disabilities. Being Leader of the House of Commons and chief government spokesman there, since most of the other leading ministers were in the House of Lords, was a heavy increase to Castlereagh's departmental responsibilities. Although he was a poor speaker, he was respected for his courteousness and personal integrity, which let him be effective even when presenting measures to which he was not wholeheartedly committed.

However unpromising the outlook in the summer of 1812, it transpired that Castlereagh had entered his last and most memorable office at the final turning point in the war. By the end of the year Napoleon had retreated from Moscow and was being pursued west by the Russians joined by the Prussians. Wellington had entered Madrid, though his army was not strong enough to hold it, the Americans were being kept at bay in Upper Canada, and even the Luddite agitation declined as manufacturing prosperity returned with the collapse of the Continental System. The possibility of an alliance of the major powers to force France back into its borders had come again.

But the challenge once more was to ensure that the partners stuck together and did not come to separate terms with Napoleon and, in the longer term, that they agreed on a settlement that would prevent a similar war. In March 1813 Sweden promised its army in return for a British subsidy and possession of Norway in compensation for Finland, which it had earlier lost to Russia. In August, encouraged by Wellington's victory at Vitoria close to the French border, Austria also declared war. After their victory at Leipzig in October, Russia, Austria, and Prussia offered Napoleon terms, which he rejected, and at that point Castlereagh decided to go to the Continent at the beginning of 1814 to try to hold the Allies together in person. By the time he arrived Napoleon had defeated his divided opponents at the Battle of La Rothière on 1 February but again refused a proffered settlement. After difficult negotiations and a large British financial contribution, Castlereagh got the three rulers to bind themselves together by the Treaty of Chaumont on 1 March 1814. When Napoleon abdicated a month later, Castlereagh was hailed as one of the architects of victory.

In the summer of 1814 he returned to the Continent for the Congress of Vienna, which would decide the European peace settlement. His main aim was to ensure British security from attack from Belgium (which was joined to Holland), to restrain France by strong neighbors, and to create stability by balancing the interests of the other powers. As disputes over Poland and Saxony led to the brink of war at the beginning of 1815, Castlereagh's hand was strengthened by the success of the negotiations at Ghent

ending the war with the United States on 24 December; this freed the best part of Wellington's Peninsular Army, which had been sent there in the previous spring, to return to Europe. The outlines of the general settlement had been agreed on by the end of January when Castlereagh was recalled to lead the House of Commons, which was demanding government retrenchment, lower taxes, and protectionist corn laws, and replaced at Vienna by Wellington, who was then British ambassador to France.

The return of Napoleon and the support he received in France led to the renewal of the Treaty of Chaumont and his defeat at Waterloo. The renewed danger also concentrated attention wonderfully on building a stable and secure peace when Castlereagh returned to Paris in the summer to participate in the new peace treaty. The victorious Quadruple Alliance (Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) agreed to enforce the arrangement for twenty years, by force if necessary. They also accepted Castlereagh's proposal for periodic congresses to discuss common issues, though the British government refused to accede to or be guided by the vague principles of the Russian emperor's Holy Alliance. Castlereagh attended the first congress at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, which finalized French reparations, ended the occupation of that country, and included it in the alliance system, but not the Congress of Troppau (1820) or the Congress of Laibach (1821), which were directed against revolutions in Spain and Italy.

Perhaps influenced in particular by Canning, who had entered the cabinet as president of the Board of Control in 1816, Castlereagh was distancing himself and his country from repression as distinct from preserving the international peace. He did intend to attend what turned out to be the last congress at Verona in October 1822 and drafted instructions refusing to support the other powers (Austria, Russia, and Prussia) in authorizing France to invade Spain in the hope of restoring King Ferdinand VII, who was being held captive by the army, which forced him to accept the liberal constitution of 1812.

At home after 1815 Castlereagh had to defend the ministry's repressive legislation in the Commons and bore the brunt of fierce criticism that should more properly have fallen on the home secretary, Lord Sidmouth. But whatever Castlereagh's reservations, he believed that the measures were constitutional and shared the fears of revolution of most of those who had been in office in the past thirty years. In 1821 he succeeded his father as Marquis of Londonderry, though as an Irish peer he could not continue as a member of the House of Commons. That autumn he accompanied George IV on state visits to Ireland and Hanover. Worn out by his parliamentary, Foreign Office, and other duties, and perhaps being blackmailed for

alleged homosexuality (which was then illegal), he committed suicide on 12 August 1822 by cutting his throat with a penknife. Radicals jeered the hearse as he was carried to be buried in Westminster Abbey next to Pitt.

The more articulate, showier, and verbally more liberal foreign policy of his successor, Canning, which was continued by Lord Palmerston, was for a long time regarded as far more admirable than Castlereagh's cooperation with the crowned absolutists of Europe. But the problems of the twentieth century brought a greater appreciation of the difficulties faced by the moderate Castlereagh and his achievement as one of the chief architects of a lasting peace.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Canning, George; Catholic Emancipation; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Cintra, Convention of; Continental System; Copenhagen, Attack on; Corunna, Retreat to; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; George III, King; Holy Alliance; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; La Rothière, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Moore, Sir John; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Quadruple Alliance; Tone, Wolfe; Union, Act of; Vienna, Congress of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Walcheren, Expedition to; War of 1812; Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, First Marquis; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Castricum, Battle of

*See* North Holland, Campaign in (1799)

## Cathcart, William Cathcart, First Earl (1755–1843)

British general, best known for his untiring services as a diplomat during the crucial campaigns of 1813–1814. Cathcart went to Eton in 1766 before accompanying his fa-

ther to Russia, where the latter served as British ambassador. He studied law at Dresden and Glasgow and in 1777 became a cornet in the 7th Dragoons. He was made one of Major General Spencer Wilson's aides-de-camp and served with distinction during the American War of Independence at the attacks on forts Clinton and Montgomery in October 1777. He fought at the Schuylkill River in 1778 and at Guilford Courthouse. At the end of 1778 he was given command of a body of loyalist volunteers who served at various outposts. As a major in 1779 he was acting quartermaster general in America while awaiting General William Dalrymple's arrival. He served at Savannah, the siege of Charleston, and the actions at Springfield and Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but he had to return to Britain in October when ill health began to plague him.

He was warmly received by the king, who promoted him to lieutenant colonel of the Coldstream Guards. Cathcart was raised to the Scottish peerage as the tenth Baron Cathcart in 1789, and three years later he received the colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards. In 1793 he served as a brigadier general under the Earl of Moira and was later sent to Holland with reinforcements for the Duke of York. In October 1794 he received a promotion to major general and commanded a brigade in Lieutenant General Sir David Dundas's division. He fought with distinction at Bommel in the winter of that year and in the retreat that followed. He received great acclamation for his defeat of a numerically superior enemy at Buren in January 1795. In 1802, as a lieutenant general, he was given command of the home district and served as commander in chief in Ireland from 1803 to 1805.

Cathcart was to go to Russia as ambassador, but when Napoleon's invasion forces at Boulogne suddenly began their march into Germany, Cathcart was sent to Hanover in command of an expeditionary force to ease the pressure on the Austrians and Russians operating in Moravia, in western Austria. The campaign proved virtually bloodless, and as a result of the death of William Pitt and of the Allied defeat to the south, Cathcart's forces were withdrawn from the Continent. In the spring of 1807 he led an expedition to the Baltic that bombarded and occupied Copenhagen in September. He became Viscount Cathcart in November and received a fortune in prize money as a result of the recent campaign. In 1812 he was appointed ambassador to Russia and British military commissioner to the Russian army. He performed well in securing, in conjunction with his colleagues at Berlin and Vienna, good relations between the Allied sovereigns and their armies in the great campaigns of 1813–1814, and he served as a liaison between the Allied commanders. Cathcart received various decorations for his valuable services, both at home and abroad, including his creation as Earl Cathcart. After the

war he returned to Russia as ambassador and remained at that post until 1820.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Copenhagen, Attack on; Flanders, Campaign in; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Hanover; Kjöge, Battle of; Pitt, William; Third Coalition, War of the; York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina (1729–1796)

Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia from 1762 until 1796, initially favored the ideas of the Enlightenment that culminated in the French Revolution, but after the regicide of King Louis XVI she reversed her liberal policies and ruled autocratically for the remainder of her reign.

Catherine was born on 2 May 1729 as Sophie Friederike Auguste Prinzessin von Anhalt-Zerbst in Stettin, Prussia (now Szczecin in Poland). Her parents were Prince Christian August von Anhalt-Zerbst and Johanna of Holstein-Gottorp. In 1743 Sophie was chosen by Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia to marry Karl Ulrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, grandson of Peter the Great and heir to the Russian throne as the Grand Duke Peter. She arrived in Russia in 1744, converted to Russian Orthodoxy, assumed the title of Grand Duchess Catherine Alekseyevna, and married Grand Duke Peter in August 1745. However, the marriage was a failure, and the next eighteen years of Catherine’s life were full of humiliation and misery. Nevertheless, a smart and charming woman, Catherine completely immersed herself into all things Russian—as opposed to her husband, who worshiped Frederick II of Prussia—and through her intelligence, personal appeal, and love of Russia she gradually gained considerable support at the imperial court. She gave birth to a son named Paul on 20 September 1754, although it is likely he was the son of one of her lovers. After Tsarina Elizabeth died on 5 January 1762, Peter acceded to the throne of Russia and made the fateful decision to support Frederick II of Prussia, withdrawing Russian troops at a crucial moment during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). The new ruler openly professed his loathing for Russia and began introducing Prussian-style reforms, which quickly discredited him and alien-

ated the nobles. On 9 July 1762 Catherine, supported by the Imperial Guard, led a coup d’état against her husband, who was imprisoned and later murdered.

After her coronation in September 1762 Catherine began her reign by reversing many of her husband’s policies. She initiated a promising program of reform that modernized the education system and administration throughout Russia. The political and legal reform policies evolved from Catherine’s embrace of some Enlightenment ideals. She welcomed François-Marie Voltaire and Denis Diderot to her free-thinking court at St. Petersburg, which emulated the brilliance found at Versailles. She even toyed with the idea of emancipating the serfs and drafted a constitution. However, she soon realized the impracticability of introducing liberal reforms in autocratic Russia. Interest in the Enlightenment did not prevent her from exiling Alexander Radischev for his frank description of life in Russia in 1790. Her reign also suffered major hardships, including plague and bad weather that affected western Russia. The Pugachev Revolt of 1773–1774 further exacerbated her underlying autocratic tendencies. Instead of freeing the serfs, she imposed serfdom on the Ukrainians and contributed to a more systematized control over the serfs throughout the empire.

Catherine continued her reforms until the French Revolution attacked the principle of monarchical power. As an absolutist monarch she could not agree to the demands for a constitution that were imposed on Louis XVI. After Louis’s execution, the tsarina’s fear of the radical turn taken by the French Revolution resulted in her rejection and reversal of many of the liberal reforms she had initiated; she perceived that revolutionary ideas would pervade Russia and threaten her power. Domestically Catherine’s reaction was to expel French citizens, recall Russians from France, break off diplomatic relations with France, confiscate French commercial goods, and prohibit French printed materials such as books and newspapers.

During the course of the French Revolution Catherine increased her absolutist tendencies. She made peace with her enemies and shared in the 1793–1794 Partitions of Poland. In the period from 1789 to 1791 Catherine fought two successful wars, against the Ottoman Empire and Sweden, annexing considerable territory along the Baltic and the Black seas. At the time of the Treaty of Basle between France and Prussia (5 April 1795), Prussia left the First Coalition and thus was opened the possibility that Prussia might wage war on Russia and its ally, Austria. Catherine’s strategy of assembling forces on the Prussian and Polish frontiers in June 1795 led to an agreement with Austria. Prussia had no choice but to agree to the Third Partition of Poland. In the same year Catherine received British support in the form of an Anglo-Russian alliance that prom-

ised mutual aid in case of war. She also sent Russian naval squadrons to support the British in the North Sea.

Catherine died on 6 November 1796 at her palace in Tsarsko Selo outside St. Petersburg. Catherine's legacy included the Russian westward and southward expansion that annexed more than 200,000 square miles of new territory. Poland disappeared from the map, the Crimea was annexed, and a Russian presence was established in the Caucasus. She helped found new towns and renovate old ones. Her private life was and remains infamous for her numerous lovers. None of them wielded as much influence, or made such a lasting mark, as Prince Gregory Potemkin. Disliking her son Paul, Catherine sought to have her grandson Alexander placed on the throne, but her last testament was never made public and Paul ascended the throne in late 1796.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Basle, Treaties of; First Coalition, War of the; Louis XVI, King; Paul I, Tsar; Poland, Partitions of; Russia; Russo-Polish War

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## Catholic Emancipation

The major issue dividing British politicians between 1801 and 1812 was not the war against Napoleon but, rather, the admission of Catholics to the political community. Since the Glorious Revolution of 1688, England (Britain after the union with Scotland in 1707) had officially been a Protestant state. Roman Catholics could not vote and were precluded from holding office by the requirement that officeholders accept the declaration against belief in the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Until 1 January 1801 this affected fewer than 100,000 people, most of whom would in any event not have had a vote as being ineligible based on property-holding requirements. But the situation was transformed by the parliamentary union with Ireland since two-thirds of Ireland's population of about 4.5 million was Catholic.

In 1793, at the beginning of the war against Revolutionary France, the British cabinet had practically forced the (Anglican) Irish Parliament to conciliate the Catholics

by granting them the vote. Although no promises were made, the prime minister, William Pitt, clearly stated that it would be safe for Catholics to receive full rights in the larger United Kingdom, a view that was shared by the lord lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, and the chief secretary for Ireland, Lord Castlereagh. Not all the cabinet ministers agreed, and George III insisted that the concession would violate his coronation oath. Pitt could not fulfill his moral commitment, and he gave this as his official reason for resigning in February 1801. He was replaced by Henry Addington, who formed a ministry that would leave the Protestant constitution alone. When Pitt returned as prime minister in 1804, he had to promise the king that he would not raise the issue of Catholic emancipation. After Pitt's death in 1806, the so-called Ministry of All the Talents, led by Lord Grenville, was pulled down by the king in 1807 over its proposal to open the higher ranks of the army and navy to Catholics. The Duke of Portland then constructed a government that would not touch the Catholic issue, which was continued by the evangelical Spencer Perceval after 1809. Following Perceval's assassination in 1812, Lord Liverpool, himself an opponent of Catholic emancipation, made it easier for colleagues of diverse views to work together by declaring that there would be no official policy on the matter. Members of the administration were free to express their individual opinions, but since the cabinet was carefully balanced between both sides, any change was effectively prevented. By 1825 this arrangement was breaking down within the government, and there was a slight majority in the House of Commons in favor of emancipation, though there would not have been in the country.

The restrictions on Catholics' voting and holding office (with some exceptions relating to the Church of England) were removed in 1829 during the Duke of Wellington's period in office, following the election of the Catholic Daniel O'Connell, who could not take his seat in the Commons. Foreseeing a flood of members who would be similarly disbarred and the prospect of civil war in Ireland, Wellington decided on repeal. Largely owing to his authority the bill passed the House of Lords, but it fatally split his followers, paving the way for Lord Grey's Whig administration in 1830 and the parliamentary reform act of 1832.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; George III, King; Great Britain; Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron; Ireland; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Union, Act of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence (1773–1827)

Armand-Augustin-Louis de Caulaincourt, the brother of General Auguste Jean Gabriel de Caulaincourt, was born on 9 December 1773 to a prominent French noble family at the chateau of Caulaincourt near Saint Quentin. He enlisted in the royal cavalry at age fourteen and rose to the rank of *sous-lieutenant* in 1789. He remained in France during the Revolution and served with distinction in the republican armies, first in the Army of the North in 1792–1793, then in the Vendée in 1794–1795, and later in southern Germany, earning promotion to *chef de brigade* of the 2nd Carabinier Regiment on 30 July 1799. In 1801 Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, a Caulaincourt family friend, suggested to the First Consul, General Napoleon Bonaparte, that he dispatch Caulaincourt on a diplomatic mission to St. Petersburg. Upon returning to France, Caulaincourt became Bonaparte's aide-de-camp in July 1802.

Promoted to *général de brigade* on 29 August 1803, Caulaincourt was involved in the kidnapping of the Bourbon duc d'Enghien—believed to be behind a royalist plot against Bonaparte—for he was instructed to transmit to the Baden authorities Talleyrand's note justifying the passage of French troops across the border, which was a violation of Baden's neutrality. This event came to haunt him later, and Caulaincourt could never escape accusation of involvement in the eventual execution of the duke at Vincennes. In June 1804 he was appointed grand master of horse, responsible for the stables, pages, messenger services, and imperial escorts, and he proved to be one of Napoleon's most loyal servants. Caulaincourt was promoted to *général de division* on 1 February 1805. Serving on Napoleon's staff, Caulaincourt took part in the 1805–1807 campaigns in Moravia, Prussia, and Poland. After the Treaty of Tilsit, he served as the French ambassador to Russia between November 1807 and May 1811, working incessantly on improving relations between the two empires. He was conferred the title of duc de Vicence in June 1808 and was involved in negotiations at Erfurt in October of the same year.

Recalled from Russia in 1811, Caulaincourt counseled against the invasion of Russia but accompanied Napoleon on the campaign. He witnessed the battles at Smolensk, Borodino, and at the Berezina River and accompanied the Emperor on his fourteen-day journey across Europe to Paris, which he described in fascinating detail in his mem-

oirs. He was appointed a senator on 5 April 1813 and took part in the campaign in Germany. In late May he assumed the duties of Grand Marshal Géraud Duroc, who had been mortally wounded on 22 May. During this campaign Caulaincourt was charged with all diplomatic negotiations with the Allies and took part in the summer talks connected with the Pleischwitz armistice and the conference at Prague, where he tried to negotiate peace terms with the Allies but failed to prevent Austria's entrance into the war. After the French defeat at Leipzig, he became the minister of foreign affairs on 20 November and represented Napoleon at the Congress of Châtillon-sur-Seine from 5 February to 19 March 1814, where he tried to secure from the Allies honorable terms of peace for France, the Allies offering to let Napoleon retain his throne and to permit France to retain its boundaries of 1792 in exchange for an end to hostilities. However, following his series of brilliant victories, Napoleon was reluctant to accept the conditions Caulaincourt secured from the Allies.

In April 1814 Caulaincourt stayed with Napoleon at Fontainebleau and delivered the Emperor's notice of abdication to Tsar Alexander I. He attended Napoleon after the latter's attempt to commit suicide with poison on the night of 12 April. Four days later, Caulaincourt took part in the ratification of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which gave Napoleon full sovereignty over the island of Elba. On Napoleon's return to France in 1815, Caulaincourt was again appointed minister of foreign affairs on 21 March and resumed the hopeless task of negotiating with the Allies. After Waterloo he served in the Provisional Government between 22 June and 9 July. After the Second Restoration, his name appeared on the proscription lists, but it was erased on Alexander's personal intervention with Louis XVIII. Between 1815 and 1827, Caulaincourt lived in retirement in Paris. He left extensive memoirs that provide fascinating and enlightening insight into the last years of the Empire as well as on Napoleon's daily life and thoughts. He died on 19 February 1827.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Borodino, Battle of; Caulaincourt, Auguste Jean Gabriel, comte de; Consulate, The; Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Frioul; Elba; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Erfurt, Congress of; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Germany, Campaign in; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Maison, The; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Caulaincourt, Auguste Jean Gabriel, comte de (1777–1812)

Born in 1777, Auguste Jean Gabriel de Caulaincourt was the younger brother of Armand-Augustin-Louis de Caulaincourt, who also served in the French Army. Auguste began his service in 1792 in the cavalry. He was wounded at the Battle of Marengo in 1800. In June 1804 he became an aide-de-camp to Louis Bonaparte. He fought at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805 and in 1806 became King Louis's master of horse while serving him in Holland. Caulaincourt returned to France in 1808 and was promoted to *général de brigade*. He then served in Spain and was promoted to *général de division* in 1809, but he returned to France because of ill health. In 1810 he was created a count. Caulaincourt joined the Grande Armée for the invasion of Russia in 1812. He was in charge of the Imperial Headquarters until, at Borodino, he replaced General Louis-Pierre Montbrun, who had been killed leading II Cavalry Corps. Caulaincourt assumed command of this formation and led it—at the cost of his own life—in the charge that captured the Great Redoubt.

*Dallace W. Unger Jr.*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bonaparte, Louis; Borodino, Battle of; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Maison, The; Marengo, Battle of; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign

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## Cavalry

Cavalry formed part of armies from the earliest period of organized warfare until the early twentieth century. Alexander the Great used heavy cavalry to demoralize and light cavalry to pursue his enemies. Hannibal and Scipio Africanus used cavalry against the flanks and rear of the enemy, using the cavalry's speed of maneuver and power of

shock in the attack to demoralize and defeat. However, as anticavalry missile weapons became more effective (particularly the English longbow), the cavalry needed increased armor, and it lost its advantage of speed. It was not until the seventeenth century—the time of Oliver Cromwell and King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden—that speed was once more a factor in favor of cavalry operations.

The main element of a cavalry unit was the horse. To mount men on good horses was the intention of every cavalry officer, and the horses had to be able not only to carry the rider and his equipment but also to stand up to the privations often attendant upon military operations. British officers preferred hunters, which were strong and fast, but in Spain heat and lack of a regular water supply took their toll. Napoleon was particularly interested in the horses of the cavalry, and he remounted a number of his cavalry on captured German horses in the campaign of 1806 when he saw that these had made good mounts for the Prussian and Saxon cavalry.

The colonels of the French cavalry were responsible for purchasing or otherwise providing remounts for their regiments, and in the main, they did a good job. Heavy cavalry got heavy, almost draught horses; light cavalry got lightweight hunting-type horses. Perhaps the best-mounted cavalry were the Russians, whose horses were strong, well proportioned to the size of the riders, active, and hardy. The Cossacks, by contrast, were mounted on nondescript, pony-type horses, which could nevertheless maintain 5 miles an hour at the walk for miles and were as fast as any hussar horse in a charge or a chase.

It was always recognized that cavalry could only be used effectively in good open country and against an enemy vulnerable to mounted attack. The cavalry's speed of reaction made it possible to use it when the opportunity presented itself, but in warfare involving siege, cavalry was of little value. The great improvement came with Frederick the Great, whose reforms in the mid-eighteenth century enabled him to use cavalry for annihilation; Frederick, however, saw the value of attaching artillery as part of his cavalry formations because although cavalry had speed and its troopers were well drilled, they needed the extra-long-range cover that artillery could provide.

By the end of the eighteenth century it was quite clear that cavalry attacks against unbroken infantry were almost unfeasible; instead, Napoleon used cavalry to reconnoiter, to screen his flanks and the movements of his main body of troops, and to annihilate a broken enemy. He used a cavalry screen to cover his movements prior to the Battle of Austerlitz and the Battle of Jena, and he used Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry in an annihilating attack in the pursuit after Jena. He used the younger General François Kellermann's cavalry for demoralization at the Battle of Marengo.

Napoleon was a master in the use of cavalry and said: “The use of cavalry demands boldness and ability, above all it should not be handled with any miserly desire to keep it intact. . . . I do not wish the horses to be spared if they can catch men. . . . Take no heed of the complaints of the cavalry, for if such objects may be obtained as the destruction of a whole hostile army, the state can afford to lose a few hundred horses from exhaustion” (Napoléon I 1858–1870, 6:346). Napoleon hardly ever used cavalry for raiding or for any large-scale operations far from the main body of his army. He kept his heavy cavalry and dragoons in reserve to use them for the coup de grâce upon a demoralized and wavering enemy.

However, Napoleon also used his cavalry as a means of deception. In 1805, en route to Ulm, he sent his cavalry reserve corps ahead of his infantry, creating the impression that he would attack frontally through the Black Forest. Instead, having given this false impression, he then moved the cavalry to the left to cover the right flank of his army as it approached the Danube. He did, however, use cavalry for deep reconnaissance and protection. After the successful completion of the Ulm campaign, dismounted dragoons were sent to scout toward Pilsen, and other divisions were watching the frontier to the southeast. Another division was carrying out a reconnaissance in force toward Vienna, and two cuirassier divisions formed the advance guard to screen the army as it moved forward.

Cavalry in the Napoleonic period were armed with lance and saber and almost always also carried firearms (pistols and cavalry carbines). Napoleon came to rely upon massed cavalry more as the quality of his line infantry began to decline, although in the early part of the Napoleonic Wars there is little doubt that his cavalry was the best on the battlefield. Nevertheless, against well-trained and disciplined infantry deployed in square, cavalry had little chance of success. Horses and riders en masse made a good target for volley fire at short range even by the muskets of the period, not renowned for their accuracy, and once a trooper was dismounted, he was essentially out of the battle.

How the cavalry was used depended upon the size of the army of which it was a part. In many cases there were too few cavalry to form an independent command, but in the Grande Armée Napoleon formed divisions of heavy cavalry for assault, and light cavalry performed other tasks, including support for infantry corps.

The charge with cavalry was predominantly carried out in line, although the column came into use later as it was easier to control. The intention in a charge was to ensure that maximum speed was reached just as the attacking cavalry struck its target. The charge began at a trot, increased speed at a canter (but maintained control), and

only broke into a gallop at the last possible moment commensurate with the need to hit the enemy en masse at high speed. The cavalry also trained to receive charges, and it was considered negligent in the extreme to receive enemy cavalry at the halt. The cavalry always tried to be in motion to receive a charge, the faster the better.

Cavalry have always had a reputation for being eager to charge, and equally to be very difficult to control once galloping. The British were not masters of control, and the Duke of Wellington issued orders that the cavalry should charge in two lines, one of which was in reserve. Further, if necessity demanded that a single line charge, about one-third of the line was to be ordered to pull up as soon as possible and to go into reserve as soon as the enemy was seen to be broken. Essentially Wellington saw that to control cavalry there must always be a reserve. The reserve was to attack 500 yards behind the front line if attacking cavalry, 200 yards behind when attacking infantry (to prevent reloading by the infantry between the two charges). What every cavalry commander was aware of was that a charging line of horses and men would soon develop into a rabble unless closely controlled, and the prospect of a cavalry charge ending in the disappearance of the cavalry in pursuit was not to be countenanced.

The cavalry charged using its edged weapons: saber or lance. Firearms were only used in skirmishing and on outpost duty, where cavalry had the advantage of being able to send reports on the enemy with much greater speed than infantry. The light cavalry carried out most outpost duty, reconnaissance, and raids. On outpost duty its main role was to observe the enemy and to prevent enemy patrols from penetrating the outpost line, a task well performed by the 1st Hussars of the King’s German Legion who, during the Peninsular War, held a 40-mile front against all French patrols from March to May 1811.

All the nations involved in the Napoleonic Wars employed cavalry; some were more successful than others. As noted above, French cavalry, with its particular élan, was superior to that of almost all other nations in the early period and was used later on as a main arm as infantry quality declined. The French cavalry was divided into heavy (for executing charges) and light (mainly for skirmishing, although also able to execute a charge). The heaviest were the cuirassiers, protected by a heavy breastplate and armed with sabers. Due to the weight of the riders and their equipment, these troops were used almost exclusively for the charge. Alongside them were the carabiniers and dragoons, both carrying saber and firearms but also capable of fighting on foot if required.

The most flamboyant cavalry were the hussars, of which there were fourteen regiments in the French Army.



French hussars at the charge. Cavalry performed many functions, including reconnaissance, foraging, and skirmishing, but at its most dramatic, as above, it could sometimes decisively alter the fortunes of battle. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after Edouard Detaille from *Epochs of the British Army* by Lt. Col. H. S. Spalding. London: W. H. Allen, 1891)

Theirs was the traditional cavalry role: to protect flanks, to attack a vulnerable enemy, and to attack enemy cavalry. They were often used in combination with *chasseurs à cheval*, similar in organization and role.

In 1811 the first lances were issued to French cavalry, and the *chevau-léger-lanciers* came into being. The “Polish” (nominally Polish, but with other nationalities included) regiments of the French Army had already used lances to good effect, and the lancers were intended to support the heavy cavalry corps. They were only so employed in 1812, otherwise being used as normal cavalry.

British cavalry was divided into the Household Cavalry, the heavy cavalry, and the light cavalry. The Household Cavalry regiments were heavy dragoons, whose moment of fame was at Waterloo, having been little used previously. The heavy cavalry consisted of thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the light cavalry units consisted of

light dragoons, of which four regiments were renamed as hussars in 1806. There was little training for British cavalry, and Wellington observed: “I consider our cavalry so inferior to the French for want of order, that although I considered one of our squadrons a match for the French, yet I did not care to see four British opposed to four French, and still more as their numbers increased. . . . They could gallop but they could not preserve their order” (quoted in Haythornthwaite 1996, 106).

Prussian cavalry before the disaster of Jena in 1806 consisted of the Garde du Corps, twelve cuirassier regiments (later fourteen), and ten hussar regiments, the last including the *Bosniak* (lancer) regiment, raised from Prussia’s territory in Poland. These troops had been employed by Frederick the Great as shock troops, but in the campaign of 1806 they were so dispersed that they were rendered ineffectual. After 1806 the Prussian cavalry was

reduced by Napoleon to four cuirassier, six dragoon, seven hussar, and two uhlan (lancer) regiments.

Russian cavalry in 1803 consisted of six cuirassier regiments, but by 1812 it had increased by four regiments, together with thirty-six dragoon regiments (seven of which were converted from cuirassier regiments in 1803). The dragoons were reduced to a total of eighteen later in 1812. In the reduction, eight mounted *Jäger* regiments were created. There were also seven hussar and twelve uhlan regiments. In addition there was the Chevalier-Garde Regiment, a cuirassier regiment, and the Cossacks, who created their own legend during the French retreat from Moscow in 1812.

One result of Napoleon's disastrous Russian adventure was the loss of much of his cavalry in the retreat, and this loss hampered his ability to plan in 1813. What cavalry he had left was limited in numbers, and the majority of those he did have lacked training. He noted that it was impossible to "carry on anything but a defensive war, covering oneself by entrenchments and natural obstacles, if one has not a cavalry equal in strength to that of the enemy," for "if you lose a battle your army is lost." Furthermore, "an army superior in cavalry will always have the advantage of being able to cover its movements, of being well informed as to the enemy's movements, and giving battle only when it chooses. Its defeats will have few evil consequences and its successes will be decisive" (Napoléon I 1858–1870, 6:346). These words encapsulate not only Napoleon's concept of war but also the important role of the cavalry in all armies of the period.

*David Westwood*

*See also* Artillery (Land); Austerlitz, Battle of; Austrian Army; British Army; Cossacks; French Army; Germany, Campaign in; Infantry; Jena, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis; Murat, Joachim; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion; Peninsular War; Prussian Army; Russian Army; Russian Campaign; Ulm, Surrender at

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## Ceva, Battle of (16 April 1796)

On 16 April 1796 the advanced guard of Bonaparte's Armée d'Italie attacked a Piedmontese (Sardinian) entrenched camp at Ceva, a fortified town in the upper Tanaro River valley and one of the southwestern doors to Piedmont and the Po River valley. Though the Piedmontese gained a tactical victory, by the end of the day they were forced by the general strategic situation to withdraw to Mondovi, where a more decisive battle was soon to take place.

At the end of the opening stage of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign, the French had attained their main goal of separating the Austrian army from the Piedmontese. The next objective was now to fall on the latter and force the Court of Turin to ask for an armistice. However, the fresh memory of the unexpected Austrian counterattack at Dego and of the stubborn Piedmontese resistance at the Cosseria Castle made Bonaparte cautious. Thus, he spent most of 16 April in reconnoitering toward Acqui and Sassello to be sure of the Austrians' retreat. Meanwhile, he switched generals Pierre Augereau, Barthélemy Joubert, and Jean-Baptiste-Dominique Rusca and most of the artillery to the west, toward Ceva, so as to make preparations for the offensive against Piedmont. Jean Sérurier's division would continue to descend the upper Tanaro valley.

The entrenched camp at Ceva was an excellent defensive position. At its southern end, a citadel lay on a knoll dominating the walled town and the Tanaro valley. Reporting to the Directory, Bonaparte had often emphasized its key role within the Piedmontese defensive network. From Ceva the camp stretched northward for about 4 miles fol-

lowing a ridge up to La Pedaggera and Bricchi Berico. A number of redoubts and *flèches*, arrow-shaped earthwork defenses, linked together by a number of other earthworks, had been built on the heights all along the line, which to the east was covered by the Bovino stream, vineyards, and thick vegetation.

As the French approached, the Piedmontese commander in chief *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli started preparations to withdraw his army farther east to another entrenched camp just before Mondovi. He had probably realized that *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu was now definitely out of supporting distance and that the camp at Ceva, though almost impregnable, could be easily outflanked to the north. Diplomatic issues were also at play. King Victor Amadeus III was looking for peace and neutrality, and a strategic retreat might serve his goals far better than a dull resistance. As a matter of fact, Colli left at Ceva only 6,000 men under General Giuseppe Felice Count Vitali.

At about noon, the French launched a number of uncoordinated attacks. To the north, Joubert's column, fearing being outflanked from Mombarcaro, soon retreated in disorder. Meanwhile, two attack columns of Augereau's division advanced toward La Pedaggera and Bric Bastia. After an initial failure, the French, with some artillery support, succeeded in taking the latter. Farther south, Rusca advanced to exploit a gap in the Piedmontese deployment, but a counterattack from the Mondon Redoubt pushed him back. Their line restored, the Piedmontese forced the enemy to evacuate Bric Bastia. At this point, Augereau decided to give up.

At the Battle of Ceva the French sustained 600 casualties, the Piedmontese 150. During the night Vitali's rear guard abandoned the camp and joined the rest of the army at Mondovi, leaving a small garrison in the Ceva citadel.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Mondovi, Battle of; Sardinia; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de

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## Champaubert, Battle of (10 February 1814)

The battle of Champaubert was fought approximately 60 miles west of Paris during the campaign in France in 1814

between Napoleon's forces and Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's Army of Silesia. Napoleon's victory in this battle ushered in the Six Days campaign, during which his forces delivered several severe blows to the Allies. Napoleon had at first intended to strike at *Feldmarschall* Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg's Army of Bohemia before facing Blücher, but once he discovered that Blücher's forces were strung out as they pushed westward toward Paris (and that Schwarzenberg was retreating to Troyes), he changed direction in order to meet the threat from the north where Blücher stood in relative isolation south of the Marne.

Napoleon concentrated his troops at Nogent, where, upon hearing news that General Dmitry Osten-Sacken (not to be confused with his father, General Fabian Osten-Sacken, who was also serving on campaign in France) and more than 15,000 troops were at Montmirail, he led his weary and hungry main force of about 30,000 troops and 120 guns through heavy rain to the village of Champaubert. In the meantime, he left the defense of the Seine to marshals Victor and Oudinot, with orders to protect the bridges across the river in anticipation of future action against Schwarzenberg. Blücher was also in the process of moving his forces: He had intended himself to attack Napoleon at Sézanne and had turned toward Montmirail after receiving information that Napoleon was heading toward Champaubert. Unfortunately for Blücher, his troops were scattered over several villages: Sézanne, Montmirail, and La-Fère-Champenoise, to name a few. Just south of Champaubert, at the village of Baye, the Russian general Zakhar Dmitrievich Olsufiev, with only about 5,000 troops, was isolated from the rest of the Allied forces and nearly unprotected from Napoleon's attack.

On the morning of 10 February Napoleon's cavalry had reached the Allied forces at Champaubert, and though massively outnumbered, Olsufiev chose to hold his ground in the mistaken belief that Blücher might arrive to relieve him. By midafternoon, however, the French corps under Marmont and Ney had nearly completely overrun the Russian positions, and by the time Olsufiev decided to attempt to retreat toward Etoges, it was too late: Enemy cavalry on both flanks rendered all prospect of escape fruitless. Olsufiev, wounded in the fighting, was among those captured in the battle, though 1,000 of his troops managed to escape. Napoleon had not only won the day, inflicting 4,000 casualties on the Russians at a cost of 200 of his own, he had also achieved a central position between elements of the Army of Silesia—a circumstance that Napoleon was to exploit the following day at Montmirail.

Champaubert marks a turning point in the 1814 campaign. Before this battle Napoleon appeared nearly beaten: Prussian troops were gaining ground in the north, allies such as Joachim Murat, the King of Naples,

were deserting him, and Paris was panicking at the prospect of foreign invasion. Napoleon's victory at Champaubert and his subsequent victories at Montmirail, Château-Thierry, and Vauchamps energized the French (and Napoleon himself) and ensured that Allied victory would not be without obstacles.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Château-Thierry, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Montmirail, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Six Days Campaign; Vauchamps, Battle of; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier (1762–1800)

The French general and army commander Jean-Etienne Championnet was born on 13 April 1762 at Valence (Drôme) and would distinguish himself during the siege of Gibraltar in 1782. In July 1789 he joined the National Guard of Valence and quickly rose through the ranks, becoming sergeant in December 1789, lieutenant in March 1790, and premier *adjutant général* in September 1791. In 1792 Championnet rose to *chef* of the 6th Volunteer Battalion of Drôme and took part in operations against insurgents in Jura and other eastern departments. In November 1793 he transferred to the Army of the Moselle and served at Kaiserslautern, Bischwiller, and Haguenau. On 23 December 1793 he took command of a detached corps and fought at Landau and Worms. For his actions, he was promoted to *général de brigade* by the representatives on mission (in French, *représentants en mission*, political commissars or deputies of the Convention sent on specific missions to various regions or armies) to the Army of the Rhine and Moselle on 6 February 1794. Later that year, he commanded divisions on the left flank of the army and was promoted to *général de division* by the representatives on mission on 10 June 1794 (confirmed by the Committee of Public Safety on 2 December 1794). He took part in the Battle of Fleurus on 26 June, and his resolute fighting in the center contributed to the French success.

Over the next three years, Championnet took command of several divisions (4th, 9th, 7th, and 3rd, respectively) in the Army of the Sambre-and-Meuse, and he distinguished himself at Düsseldorf, Königstein, Amberg, and Würzburg. In early 1797 he temporarily commanded the Army of the Sambre-and-Meuse and later was in charge of the advance guard of the Army of Mayence (Mainz). In 1798 he briefly led the right wing of the Army of England, and he later replaced General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr as the commander in chief of the Army of Rome (18 October 1798). In January 1799 he occupied the Kingdom of Naples and proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic. Appointed commander in chief of the Army of Naples (24 January), he soon quarreled with the Directory and was dismissed and arrested in March. After brief court proceedings, Championnet was acquitted and given command of the Army of the Great Alps (Grandes Alpes) in July 1799. During the 1799 campaign during the War of the Second Coalition, Championnet took command of the Army of the Alps, which constituted the left flank of the Army of Italy. Later that year, he replaced General Jean Moreau in command of the Army of Italy (21 September), but he was defeated at Genola on 4 November and resigned his command the following month. Championnet died of illness at Antibes on 9 January 1800.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fleurus, Battle of; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Moreau, Jean Victor; Naples; National Guard (French); Public Safety, Committee of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Second Coalition, War of the; Würzburg, Battle of

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### Chappe, Claude (1763–1805)

Claude Chappe was a priest and engineer during the French Revolution. He devised an instrument to enable systematic communications, called the semaphore, that would be utilized by the French Revolutionary armies.

Chappe was born on 25 December 1763 into a prominent French family in Brûlon. He was the grandson of a French baron, thus ensuring noble status in the *ancien*

*régime*. The youthful Chappe had a knack for engineering. However, given his station, he was groomed for ecclesiastical service. With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, Chappe, like his four brothers, lost his sinecure. As a result of this loss of privilege, he opted to pursue scientific endeavors.

Aiding this endeavor was the election of one of his brothers, Ignace Chappe, to the important Legislative Assembly. This paved the way for the Chappe brothers, especially Claude, to actively promote the construction of a 120-mile-long relay line from Paris to Lille. The purpose of this line was to carry messages across military lines. The utility of the device lay in its ability to send messages across longer distances undetected by the enemy. The semaphore, as it came to be known, gave the French a decided advantage over their opponents in their campaigns during the French Revolutionary Wars.

Essentially, Chappe's contraption was a relay tower with two arms and a cross arm. The arms varied in length from 3 to 30 feet long. The relay towers were stationed anywhere from 7 to 15 miles apart. In addition, each tower had a telescope to magnify incoming relayed messages.

In 1792, when the French Revolutionary Wars began, the French opted to employ Chappe's invention. In that year Chappe sent the first messages from Paris to Lille. The semaphore would be employed again in 1794 when it was used to notify Parisians of the successful liberation of the Condé sur l'Escaut from the Austrians. The revolutionary aspect of the semaphore was that the message of the capture of Condé sur l'Escaut reached Paris a mere hour after the occurrence of the event. It was clearly a remarkable moment for Chappe as well as for the future of military communications. Eventually, Napoleon would use the semaphore to signal his military transports and coordinate his massive army and navy. The success of Chappe's invention was widely recognized and led others to copy the machine. In time, many European powers devised their own semaphore systems.

In 1805 Chappe fell down a well at his hotel. Some scholars have claimed that he committed suicide, despite his success, because of depression over an illness as well as over the efforts of other countries to copy his invention. After Chappe's death the era of swift military communication entered a new stage.

*Jaime Ramón Olivares*

*See also* Semaphore

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## Chaptal, Jean Antoine (1756–1832)

Jean Antoine Chaptal was born in Nogaret, Lozère, France. His parents were small landowners, and Claude Chaptal, his uncle, was a renowned, wealthy, and successful physician at Montpellier. Although his parents were supportive, Chaptal's uncle exercised the greatest influence on his education and career. With his uncle's financial backing, Chaptal studied medicine at the colleges of Mende and Rodez and obtained a medical degree in 1777. Chaptal then persuaded his uncle, who wanted him to go into general medical practice, to allow him to go to Paris to continue his studies. In Paris Chaptal pursued his interests in both medicine and chemistry, but he developed a keener preference for the latter. In fact, his enthusiasm and talent for chemistry were recognized with a professorship at Montpellier University in 1781.

That same year, Chaptal married Anne-Marie Lajard, the daughter of a wealthy cotton merchant, and obtained a large dowry. In addition, after his uncle's death, Chaptal received a large inheritance. He used his wealth to build a chemical plant to manufacture various substances, including the first commercially produced sulfuric acid in France. Chaptal's innovations in chemical science made him internationally famous, and the governments of Spain and the United States made unsuccessful offers of employment. The French government applauded his efforts, presenting him with letters of nobility. During the French Revolution, Chaptal was professor of organic chemistry at the Polytechnic Institute in Paris. He was put in charge of the manufacture of gunpowder, and he began writing books that expounded on applied chemistry. In 1790 he published *Éléments de chimie* (Elements of Chemistry), in which he renamed the element azote as *nitrogen*.

After the Revolution, Napoleon, who recognized Chaptal's talents, appointed him minister of the interior (1801–1804). In this capacity, Chaptal established several vocational schools, reorganized hospitals, and built a chemical factory near Paris. In 1804 Napoleon awarded Chaptal the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor for his accomplishments. In 1807, Chaptal published *Chimie appliquée aux arts* (Chemistry Applied to the Arts), which was the first book to deal with the field of industrial chemistry. In the years that followed, he made improvements in the manufacture of saltpeter for gunpowder, agricultural techniques, dyeing processes, and wine fermentation. In 1811, as director general of commerce and manufactures, Chaptal introduced the metric system of weights and measures in France. That same year, Napoleon honored Chaptal once again, bestowing on him the title of comte de Chanteloup.

After Napoleon's fall from power, Louis XVIII made Chaptal a member of the Academy of Sciences. Until three years before his death, he continued to expand on his ideas in his various publications. Ultimately, Chaptal's efforts went a considerable way toward bringing about the development of modern industry in France.

*Rolando Avila*

*See also* Davy, Humphry; Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel; Gay-Lussac, Joseph-Louis

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## Charleroi, Siege of

*See* Flanders, Campaigns in

## Charles IV, King (1748–1819)

King of Spain from 1788 to 1808, Charles (Carlos) IV is generally portrayed as a half-wit and cuckold who was out of his depth as a statesman and in thrall to his domineering wife, María Luisa of Bourbon-Parma, and to the notorious royal favorite Manuel de Godoy. This picture, however, is unfair. Charles was not especially intelligent, and he was also prone to bouts of indecision. Yet he was in some respects very shrewd. As is well known, in the first years of his reign he first elevated Godoy from the rank of trooper in the royal bodyguard to that of captain general and then made him chief minister. According to popular tradition, the reason was that Godoy had become the lover of the queen, who was in consequence eager to shower favors upon him, but this story is a complete fabrication: Godoy was never María Luisa's lover. Instead, Charles had been alienated by the attempts of rival factions in the Spanish administration to manipulate the king and queen. To avoid this, he settled upon advancing a new man who would be utterly dependent on the throne. Nor was his choice a foolish one: Godoy was not the disaster of legend but a man of some vision and a genuine reformer who believed in pursuing the agenda of "enlightened absolutism" established by Charles's much more dynamic father, King Charles (Carlos) III.

But Charles was terrified of the ever-present specter of the French Revolution, so traditionalists who were opposed to any further reform were frequently able to gain his ear. In consequence, Charles never gave Godoy the support he needed. Many promising initiatives were stifled at birth, while advances in one direction were contradicted by

retreats in another. Even so, his reign saw important changes, most notably the major start made on the expropriation and sale of the lands of the Catholic Church. Coupled with the impact of war with first France and then Britain, however, the effect of these changes was to destabilize the body politic, and the growing tumult gave rise to a series of conspiracies that ultimately caused Napoleon to intervene in Spain and led to the overthrow of Charles himself in a military coup in March 1808. After abdicating all his rights to the throne to Napoleon at Bayonne, Charles lived under the Emperor's protection in France, but in 1814 he moved to Rome, where he died some five years later.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bayonne, Conference at; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Spain

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## Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen (1771–1847)

The Erzherzog Carl (Archduke Charles), the victor over Napoleon at Aspern-Essling (1809), is widely regarded as the greatest of Austrian military commanders during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. A member of the Habsburg family, he became famous for his military writings and several great battlefield victories. Charles was also the leader of the reformers at the imperial court, seeking to modernize the army and its administration during two separate periods (1801–1804 and 1805–1809). Nevertheless, he remained a conservative figure, uncertain about the radical changes sweeping Europe.

Charles Louis John was born on 5 September 1771 in Tuscany, the third son of Grand Duke Leopold, later Emperor Leopold II, and Maria Ludovica (the daughter of King Charles III of Spain). As a member of the Habsburg imperial family, he was the grandson of Empress Maria Theresa and the nephew of Emperor Joseph II. Charles began his official education under the tutelage of Franz Graf von Colloredo and the Marquis Federigo Manfredini, men who respectively represented two distinct intellectual currents in the monarchy at that time. The "Theresian" baroque recalled the devout sixteenth-century Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation, while the "Josephinian" Enlightenment saw state-oriented utilitarian rationalism. Charles thus became a somewhat awkward mix of the two ideas, both a traditionalist and a reformer.

As the third son of Leopold (his eldest brother being the future Holy Roman Emperor Francis [Franz] II, later Emperor Francis I of Austria after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806) and suffering poor physical health, Charles was originally destined for the church and received religious training. When he was a youth it was realized that he suffered from epilepsy, brought on by bouts of nervous anxiety, which reduced him to near inactivity, although it seems to have vanished by 1804. Nevertheless, Charles was keen to be a soldier and he was allocated as his tutor the Prussian colonel Carl Frederick von Lindenau, a traditional eighteenth-century officer. The two would become lifelong friends, and Lindenau would have a significant influence on Charles's military philosophy.

At his father's coronation in February 1790, Charles met his aunt, the *staathalter* (governor) of the Austrian Netherlands, Archduchess Maria Christina and her husband Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen. The childless couple arranged to adopt him, making him heir to large estates in Bohemia and Hungary.

War broke out in April 1792 and Charles had his first experience under fire at La Grisuelle, in June. Emperor Francis promptly promoted his brother to *Generalfeldwachmeister* (major general), and he commanded a brigade in the abortive invasion of France. When the army fell back into the Austrian Netherlands, Charles commanded a grenadier brigade at the first major battle of the period, Jemappes. In March of the following year, he led the Austrian advance guard in the victory at Aldenhoven, where he played a critical role, followed by his successful direction of the right wing in the victory at Neerwinden. Rewarded with the Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, the archduke was appointed *staathalter* of the Austrian Netherlands, although the territory was lost within a year. Promoted to *Feldzeugmeister* in April 1794, Charles twice captured the village of Fleurus in the eponymous defeat (26 June), and the following year he returned to Vienna. There he dedicated himself to studying military science under Carl von Lindenau and *Oberst* (Colonel) Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, while writing his first treatise: *On the War against the New Franks*. In it the archduke blamed Austrian caution and poor leadership for the failure to defeat the poorly trained French troops.

Charles's desire for army command was realized in the spring of 1796, when he took command of the Imperial Army in Germany with the special appointment of *Reichsgeneralfeldmarschall*, the highest-ranking general since Prince Eugene of Savoy nearly a century earlier. In his greatest campaign, largely planned by his senior staff officers, *Oberst* Heinrich Freiherr von Schmitt and Major Anton Mayer Freiherr von Heldensfeld, the archduke initially retired in the face of two superior French armies, be-

fore using interior lines to attack them in detail. After defeating General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Amberg and Würzburg and driving him back over the Rhine, he beat Jean Victor Moreau at Emmendingen and Schliengen to clear Germany of French forces. In the meantime, Bonaparte had stormed across northern Italy. Emperor Francis ordered Charles to take command of the demoralized Austrian army there, but after little fighting, he could only urge peace. As a result, the archduke fell from favor with his brother and his hawkish advisers. Sidelined after the war, Charles established his headquarters in Prague as commander of the troops in Germany, but he was excluded from decision making in Vienna.

During the War of the Second Coalition Charles commanded the Army of Germany (80,000 troops), but this time it was a secondary theater. After opening victories at Ostrach and Stockach in March over Jourdan, the archduke was ordered to close down the Congress of Rastatt. The murders of two French diplomats there forced the archduke to abandon plans to advance into Switzerland in defiance of Vienna. Only in June was he permitted to advance on Zürich, where he defeated Masséna at the first Battle of Zürich. In anticipation of an Allied offensive in Germany, Charles was ordered back to the Rhine, but his poor relations with the Russians and their defeat at the second Battle of Zürich led to recrimination and Charles's medical retirement to Vienna. Appointed governor of Bohemia, he was ordered back to the army in Germany after the Austrians were routed at the Battle of Hohenlinden by Moreau in December 1800. The only option open to Charles was to seek an armistice at Steyr on 25 December.

The crushing defeat of 1800 resulted in the permanent removal of Charles's staunchest opponent at court, Johann Freiherr von Thugut, and opened the way for reform. On 9 January 1801 Francis, realizing that Charles was the only man popular and capable enough to enact reform, appointed him president of the Hofkriegsrat. Between 1801 and 1804, known as the first reform period, Charles attempted to rationalize the running of the Austrian administration, although a ten-month ride around Bohemia for his health in 1801–1802 led to the detailed work being done by his civilian adviser, Matthias Fassbender. Taking the new appointment of minister of war and marine within the new Staats und Konferenzministerium (a cabinet chaired by the emperor), he started the process of military reform, while maintaining influence over foreign policy. Charles established a new permanent chief of staff, reporting directly to him, to lead the operational staff, established regulation reform committees, and reduced the periods of enlistment, which had previously been twenty-five years (effectively for life). However, the Ministerium soon collapsed, and the war party regained the upper

hand, influencing the emperor to restore the old organizational arrangements. As war loomed in 1805, Charles attempted to mass the Austrian army in Italy, while seeking to ensure the appointment of Mayer as chief of staff in the smaller army in Germany, but he was outmaneuvered by the war party, who imposed Mack as de facto commander there. Fearing defeat in Germany, Charles stood cautiously in position in Italy and managed to secure a marginal victory over Masséna at the three-day second Battle of Caldiero. Unable to reach the main Allied army, he halted on receiving news of Austerlitz.

After the Treaty of Pressburg, Charles again called for reform of the army. The second reform period, lasting from 1806 to 1809, consolidated the plans of the first period into new regulations. Tactically, these did not represent significant changes, just efforts to make maneuvering easier and to acknowledge the changes brought about by larger armies and the increased power of artillery, while compensating for Austria's loss of cavalry superiority. Plans were also made for increasing the size of the regular army with reserve battalions, although these were not executed at this stage and Charles was reluctantly forced to accept the *Landwehr* (militia) in 1808. Charles was a conservative, and his vision of change remained confined within the limits of his rational, supranational, and dynastic orientation, which required that its sole binding force, the army, had to be preserved. With Chief of Staff Mayer, in 1806 he wrote the *Fundamentals of the Higher Art of War for the Generals of the Austrian Army*, with a particular emphasis on officer training, replacing the 1769 regulations, and began a series of training journals for officers, the *Contributions for the Practical Instruction of Officers of the Austrian Army*. Both characterized war as a science, with specific rules and guidelines laid down for all forms of military activity.

Charles had been an advocate of an accommodation with France, but Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808 prompted him to shift his view and he did little to prevent the drift toward renewed war. However, by February 1809 Charles's initial enthusiasm for war waned as he realized that the army was not ready; but he hoped an early move would gain an initial victory. Although he was ready in March, the war party intervened to force a change of chief of staff and a new base along the Danube to protect Vienna. The advance began in April, but failures in the senior command led to defeat at the battles of Abensberg and Eggmühl, followed by retreat toward Vienna. Napoleon, however, had taken Vienna by 12 May, and Charles was forced to reassemble his army north of the Danube and await the French emperor's next move. The French began crossing the Danube on 18 May, but in a surprise advance followed by the Battle of Aspern-Essling, Charles secured

the first defeat suffered by Napoleon. During the fighting, Charles displayed great courage and personally rallied the center of his line when it was threatened with a French assault. Awaiting Napoleon's next move and hoping for peace, Charles was surprised by the second French crossing of the Danube, but on 5 July he managed to halt the advance. Realizing he had no choice, he and his staff planned an offensive for the following day, but late orders prevented its proper coordination and defeat ensued on the second day of fighting at Wagram. An armistice was concluded at Znaim on 12 July, and Charles resigned his last field command on 23 August.

In his last thirty-eight years, Charles was never again involved in a senior role. Emperor Francis and the more conservative elements at court distrusted his popularity and his interest in reform. During the Waterloo campaign of 1815, Charles was appointed military governor of the fortress at Mainz, and it was here he met his future wife, Princess Henrietta von Nassau-Weilburg, whom he married in 1815 and who bore him six children. In 1814 Charles had published his most significant and original work, *Grundsätze der Strategie* (The Principles of Strategy). Well received and widely translated, notably into French by Antoine Jomini, it mixed an account of the 1796 campaign with an attempt to describe it in terms of mathematical principles. In 1822 his adoptive father, Duke Albert, died, leaving Charles a palace in Vienna and substantial holdings in Bohemia, where he later built the Weilburg residence. After Henrietta's devastating death in 1829, Charles dedicated himself to the education of his children and to gardening, until his death at the age of seventy-six in 1847.

Lee W. Eysturlid

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Amberg, Battle of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austria; Austrian Army; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Colloredo, Franz Graf von; Eggmühl, Battle of; Emmendingen, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Francis I, Emperor; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Holy Roman Empire; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jemappes, Battle of; John, Archduke; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Neerwinden, Battle of; Ostrach, Battle of; Pressburg, Treaty of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Schliengen, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, First Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Vienna; Wagram, Battle of; Würzburg, Battle of; Znaim, Battle of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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### Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de (1768–1848)

A famous French writer, founder of Romanticism in French literature, and statesman, Chateaubriand was born to a prominent French noble family and grew up at his family castle of Combourg. In April 1791, during the Revolution, he traveled to America but returned to France after hearing about the royal family’s attempt to flee in June 1791. Disillusioned by the Revolutionaries, he briefly served in the émigré Prince Condé’s corps but was wounded at the siege of Thionville and was discharged. He went to Britain in May 1793 and published his first major work, *Essai historique, politique, et moral sur les révolutions* in 1797. After Bonaparte’s takeover of the government in 1799, Chateaubriand returned to France and supported the Consulate. He initially worked as a freelance journalist and continued to write his books. His next work, *The Genius of Christianity* (1802), made Chateaubriand one of the most prominent writers in France. In 1803 Bonaparte appointed Chateaubriand first secretary to the embassy in Rome and then minister to Valaise. However, Chateau-

briand disapproved of the execution of the Bourbon prince, the duc d’ Enghien, in 1804, resigned from his post, and became a bitter anti-Bonapartist.

He spent the next years traveling in Europe and the Middle East, engaged in literary work and in numerous love affairs. In 1811 Chateaubriand was elected to the French Academy. After Napoleon’s fall, he was created a viscount and a member of the House of Peers. He became ambassador to Berlin in 1821 and to London in 1822. He represented France at the Congress of Verona in 1822 and served as minister of foreign affairs to the ultraroyalist premier comte de Villèle in 1823–1824. He actively supported the French intervention to suppress the revolution in Spain. However, this campaign undermined Chateaubriand’s prestige. After serving as an ambassador to Rome in 1828–1829, he left public life in 1830 and spent his final years with Madame Jeanne-Françoise-Julie-Adélaïde Récamier, writing his *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*, his most important and lasting legacy.

Alexander Mikaberidze

*See also* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d’; Consulate, The; Emigrés; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d’

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### Château-Thierry, Battle of (12 February 1814)

The third action of the Six Days campaign in eastern France, the Battle of Château-Thierry, resulted in a victory for Napoleon’s troops over the Prussians and Russians under generals Johann Graf Yorck von Wartenburg and Dmitry Osten-Sacken, respectively, as well as the continuation of French momentum against the Allied forces. Two days earlier, Yorck had captured Château-Thierry, and after the Allied defeat in the battles of Champaubert (10 February) and Montmirail (11 February), his forces had returned northward to Château-Thierry in their retreat. At the onset of the Six Days campaign, Napoleon had ordered Marshal Macdonald to pursue Yorck and recapture the city (to prevent an Allied retreat across the Marne), but Macdonald was unable to reach Château-Thierry before the Allies could cross the river and fortify themselves, much to Napoleon’s disappointment.

Napoleon himself and the majority of his troops, together with Mortier, pursued the retreating Allied forces from the battlefield at Montmirail to Château-Thierry,

leaving Marshal Marmont in reserve at Vertus. He hoped to knock the forces of Yorck and Sacken out of the campaign before turning to confront Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher leading the Army of Silesia (Russians and Prussians) and *Feldmarschall* Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg of the Army of Bohemia (mostly Austrians).

In the headlong flight to Château-Thierry, a French corps under Marshal Ney caught up with Yorck's rear guard, broke the Allied cavalry line, captured a great deal of baggage, nine pieces of artillery, and two Russian infantry regiments on the Allied right. In the process the French also seized the hills overlooking the Marne. Although the Prussian infantry made a stand at Château-Thierry, it served little purpose save that of protecting their retreat across the Marne. The Allies lost some 3,000 troops (approximately 1,250 Prussians and 1,500 Russians) and the guns and baggage captured at the outset of the action, as well as their strategic position in the village, while the French lost only around 600 men.

Owing to lack of a pontoon train, Napoleon remained in Château-Thierry the evening of the battle while engineers repaired the bridge over the Marne. It was a mixed victory for Napoleon, however. He had won the day, but the surviving Allied troops escaped across the Marne beyond the river Ourcq, destroying the bridge behind them, and were poised to regroup. He left Marshal Mortier to continue the pursuit of Yorck and Osten-Sacken and planned to face the emerging threat from Schwarzenberg near the Seine. First, however, he decided to confront Blücher yet again, at Vauchamps.

The Battle of Château-Thierry highlighted the paradox of Napoleon's efforts: He could win engagements with daring tactics and seasoned troops, but the discrepancy in numbers was beginning to tell, and soon there would be too many Allied forces to face. By the end of March the Allied troops had reached Paris.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Champaubert, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexander; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Montmirail, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Six Days Campaign; Vauchamps, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Châtillon, Congress of

*See* Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of

## Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of (1 March 1814)

An important treaty concluded in 1814 whereby the Allied powers agreed to prosecute the war against France to its conclusion without any seeking to make a separate peace with Napoleon. As the Allied armies entered France in January 1814, Napoleon's armies were no longer stronger than the combined forces of the Sixth Coalition, but the Emperor still believed he could prevail in battle. Allied forces were not fully integrated under a unified command, and a common strategy to defeat Napoleon did not exist. The Allies were split over who would replace a defeated Napoleon. It was possible that French forces might inflict a tactical defeat on the forces of one member of the coalition, which might emerge as a strategic victory for the French if that defeat led that member to withdraw from the coalition and seek a separate peace.

Amid the fluid battlefield situation in the campaign in France, diplomatic discussions between the Allies and Napoleon were conducted. Battlefield successes and failures guided the negotiating tactics of both sides. In the Frankfort Proposals of 9 November 1813, the Allies had offered Napoleon the “natural frontiers” of France as an incentive to end the conflict. Still believing in the inevitability of military success, Napoleon rejected the offer. But by January 1814, French military prospects looked grim. Marshal Joachim Murat had defected to the Allies, and Allied forces were entering France from several directions. Even if Napoleon ever regretted rejecting the offer of the “natural frontiers,” with military fortunes now swinging their way, the Allies never again tendered the offer. Napoleon's withdrawal from La Rothière following Gebhard von Blücher's attack on 1 February reinforced the belief in eventual Allied victory.

But Napoleon reversed his fortunes by achieving several tactical victories in February, notably at Champaubert on 10 February, at Montmirail on 11 February, and at Montereau on 18 February. These successes did not change the strategic situation, but they emboldened Napoleon to order Armand-Augustin-Louis Caulaincourt, his representative at the Châtillon Peace Congress, to accept nothing less than the previously offered and rejected “natural frontiers.” But with Allied forces deep inside France, the Allies were only prepared to offer Napoleon the pre-1792 borders of France, the so-called ancient frontiers. Napoleon's de-

mand for the natural frontiers doomed any hope for a settlement that might have retained a Bonaparte on the French throne.

The ebb and flow of the campaign continued when the Allies resumed their advance on Paris on 1 March. On the ninth, Blücher defeated Napoleon at Laon. The tide swung irrevocably to the Allies, who, prodded by Lord Castlereagh's masterful diplomacy, put aside national interests and agreed to the Treaty of Chaumont, published on 9 March but concluded on 1 March. The coalition agreed that Napoleon could retain his throne only if he were willing to accept the offer of the ancient frontiers, in return for a cease-fire. If the terms were rejected, the Allies agreed to fight the war against France to a successful conclusion, with each of the powers committing 150,000 troops to victory. Britain promised to contribute a subsidy of £5 million to the effort. More importantly, each member of the alliance further agreed that it would not seek a separate accommodation with Napoleon, thus eliminating any possibility of his breaking up the alliance.

Napoleon continued to believe that a military campaign could bring diplomatic success, and he rejected the offer. He still believed he could win a battlefield victory of strategic importance, which would cause the coalition to collapse. Napoleon's rejection created a consensus among the coalition that he had never had any intention of negotiating in good faith. Allied unity ensured that the war would be fought to a final conclusion and that the Bourbons would be restored to France, limited to its pre-1792 borders. Through other provisions in the treaty, the Allies agreed to an enlarged Netherlands that would include Belgium, an independent Switzerland, restitution of the Italian states, some type of confederation of German states, and a Spain under the restored Bourbons. The Allies also agreed to plan for a twenty-year period whereby they would collectively keep the peace, which suggested they believed that France would eventually renew hostilities. Further details of the Treaty of Chaumont were fleshed out at the Congress of Vienna and became the basis of the Quadruple Alliance.

In April 1814 the Emperor abdicated and accepted exile to the island of Elba, while the Allies restored the Bourbons to the French throne. On 7 March 1815, while still in conference at Vienna, the Allies learned that Napoleon had left Elba for France. Declaring Napoleon an outlaw on 13 March, the Allies began preparations to march and destroy him once and for all. Europe found itself at war, not against France but, rather, against Napoleon himself. The return of Napoleon threatened to expose the weakness of the coalition. Though their armies had not been demobilized, it would be some time before the Russians and Austrians could bring their armies to the borders

of France. It thus fell to the British and Prussians to initially deal with Napoleon when he took the field in June.

In an atmosphere characterized by vengeance, Castlereagh arranged a reaffirmation of the Treaty of Chaumont. Drafted 18 March 1815, it was ratified by the four major powers—Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—on 25 March. The other nations represented at Vienna were invited to join the treaty. In the renewed Treaty of Chaumont, all parties agreed that they would take up arms against Napoleon and would not cease until he was finally deposed. Britain agreed to subsidize its allies, for a total of £5 million. The reaffirmation of Chaumont demonstrated the strength and unity of the Allies and hid much of the apprehension that might have found its way into the minds of the individual members of the coalition upon Napoleon's return to Paris.

*Thomas D. Veve*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis, marquis de, duc de Vicenza; Champaubert, Battle of; Elba, Fontainebleau, Treaty of; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; La Rothière, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Montereau, Battle of; Montmirail, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Quadruple Alliance; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Troyes, Agreement at; Vienna, Congress of

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### **Cherasco, Armistice at (28 April 1796)**

An agreement between France and Piedmont ending the latter's participation in the War of the First Coalition. In April 1796 General Bonaparte launched a successful offensive against Austro-Piedmontese forces in northern Italy, defeating them at Montenotte and Dego. The French then pursued the Piedmontese army of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli, who was defeated at Mondovi and asked for an armistice on 23 April. However, Bonaparte ignored the offer until his troops captured the key fortresses of Cherasco and Alba two days later. In the

ensuing negotiations, Bonaparte agreed to halt his advance on the Piedmontese capital, Turin, in return for the right to garrison local fortresses and free passage for his troops. King Victor Amadeus of Sardinia-Piedmont was the first to ratify the treaty, which was later confirmed by the Directory.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mondovi, Battle of; Montenotte, Battle of; Sardinia

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### **Chernishev (Chernyshev), Alexander Ivanovich, Prince (1786–1857)**

Russian general and commander. Born to a prominent Russian noble family, Alexander Chernishev was educated at home by a Jesuit priest, Perron, and began service as a junior page at court in 1801. He transferred as a cornet to the Chevalier Guard on 2 October 1802 and served as an adjutant to General Fedor Uvarov. Chernishev participated in the campaigns of 1805–1807 and distinguished himself at Austerlitz and Friedland, for which he received the Order of St. George (4th class), on 1 June 1808. He was dispatched on several diplomatic missions to France in 1808, where he became close to Napoleon. Chernishev served as the Russian observer to the French army during Napoleon's campaign against Austria in 1809, witnessed the battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram, and was appointed a *flügel-adjutant* to Tsar Alexander I on 18 June 1809.

In 1810–1812 Chernishev served on numerous diplomatic and secret missions to Napoleon and worked as a Russian spymaster in Paris. He successfully infiltrated the French Ministry of War and obtained many secret documents on Napoleon's preparations against Russia. He was promoted to colonel on 18 November 1810 and left France in 1811 after his undercover operations were discovered by the French secret police. During the campaign of 1812 he accompanied Alexander and then served on the staffs of Mikhail Kutuzov and Pavel Chichagov. In November and December 1812 he commanded a cavalry detachment and participated in the pursuit of the French army. He became a major general and adjutant general on 4 December 1812. In

1813 Chernishev distinguished himself at Marienwerder, Berlin (for which he was awarded the Order of St. George [3rd class], on 1 March 1813), Lüneburg, and Kassel and commanded a cavalry detachment during his famous raid into Westphalia. In 1814 he fought at Soissons and was promoted to lieutenant general on 4 March. The following year, Chernishev again commanded a cavalry detachment during the Hundred Days and captured Châlons.

After the war, Chernishev served on the committee to reorganize the Don Cossack Host in 1819–1821. He took command of the Guard Light Cavalry Division on 30 April 1821, served on the commission investigating the Decembrists in 1826, and was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire on 3 September 1826. He was appointed to the Senate in 1827, was appointed *chargé d'affaires* of the minister of war on 7 September, and rose to general of cavalry on 14 October of the same year. Chernishev became the deputy chief of the general staff on 15 February 1827 and a member of the State Council in 1828. He served as the minister of war from 13 May 1832 to 7 September 1852. He was appointed *chef* of the St. Petersburg Uhlans Regiment on 14 April 1833, received the title of Prince of the Russian Empire on 28 April 1841, and became *chef* of the Kabarda Jäger Regiment on 23 April 1843. For his services, the St. Petersburg Uhlans and the Kabarda Jägers were renamed the Chernishev Uhlans and Jäger Regiments, respectively, on 6 April 1844.

In 1848 Chernishev became the head of the State Council (15 November), the chairman of the Committee of Ministers, and the president of the Caucasian and Siberian committees. He was conferred the title of His Highness Prince (*svetleishii kniaz*) on 3 September 1849. Chernishev was relieved of all positions because of poor health on 17 April 1856. He traveled to Italy to recuperate but died at Castellamare di Stabia on 20 June 1857. Chernishev was one of the most decorated Russian officers. During his career he received the Russian Orders of St. Andrew the First Called with diamonds, of St. Vladimir (1st class), of St. Alexander of Neva with diamonds, of St. Anna (1st class) with diamonds, and a medal inscribed "For L [50] Years of Distinguished Service"; the Polish Order of the White Eagle, the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, Order of the Black Eagle, and Pour le Mérite; the Austrian Orders of St. Stephan and of Maria Theresa (3rd class); the Swedish Orders of the Sword and of the Seraphim; the Bavarian Order of Maximilian Joseph (2nd class); the Dutch Order of Wilhelm (2nd class); the French Legion of Honor and Order of St. Louis; the Hessian Orders of the Lion and of Military Merit; the Sardinian Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus; and the Portuguese Military Order of St. Benedict of Avis (1st class).

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich; Cossacks; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count; Wagram, Battle of

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## Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich (1767–1849)

Russian general and army commander. Pavel Chichagov was the son of Admiral Vasily Chichagov and studied in the Naval Corps before starting service as a sergeant in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment in 1779. In January 1782 he transferred to the 1st Marine Battalion and, in 1782–1784, he took part in the campaign in the Mediterranean Sea as an aide-de-camp to his father. Chichagov became a naval lieutenant on 17 September 1783 and captain lieutenant on 25 April 1787 before serving on the ship of the line *Iezekil* under Rear Admiral Timofei Kozlyaninov in Danish waters in 1788. During the Russo-Swedish War of 1788–1790, he distinguished himself serving on the ship of the line *Rostislav* in the naval engagements at Eland, Vyborg, and Revel. For his services he was promoted to captain 2nd class and awarded the Order of St. George (4th class, 29 May 1790) and a golden sword. He had the honor of delivering news of the victory at Vyborg to Tsarina Catherine II, for which he was promoted to captain (1st class) on 8 July 1790.

After the war Chichagov studied in Britain from 1792–1793. He took command of the captured Swedish ship of the line *Sophia-Magdalena* on 19 July 1793, and in 1794–1796 he commanded the *Retvizan* in the Baltic Sea. Chichagov rose to captain brigadier on 24 November 1796 and took part in the naval maneuvers at Krasnyi Gorky in June 1797, receiving the Order of St. Anna (2nd class). However, he was discharged because of a disagreement with Tsar Paul I in October 1797. Paul pardoned him two years later and promoted him to rear admiral on 20 May 1799. Yet Chichagov was soon thereafter falsely

accused of treason and imprisoned in the Petropavlovsk Fortress on 2 July 1799. After investigating the case, Paul acquitted him and restored his rank on 13 July. Late that year Chichagov participated in the expedition to Holland and fought at the Helder and Texel. For his services he received the Order of St. Anna (1st class) and a golden sword with diamonds (a gift from King George III of Britain).

Returning to Russia, Chichagov became an adjutant general to Alexander I on 24 May 1801, a member of the Committee on Navy Reorganization on 5 September 1802, vice admiral on 25 November, and the deputy minister of the navy on 12 December. Over the next five years, Chichagov introduced a series of reforms to modernize the Russian navy. He was appointed minister of the navy with the rank of admiral on 1 August 1807. He became a member of the State Council on 25 November 1810, though he resigned because of poor health on 10 December 1811 and served as an adjutant general to Alexander. The following year Alexander appointed him the commander in chief of the Army of the Danube and of the Black Sea Fleet and governor-general of Moldavia and Wallachia on 16 July 1812. However, as the Treaty of Bucharest between Russia and the Ottoman Empire was concluded before Chichagov arrived at army headquarters in the Danubian Principalities, he did not participate in military operations against the Turks.

On 30 September 1812 the Army of the Danube merged with the 3rd Reserve Army of Observation, and Chichagov took command of the newly created 3rd Western Army. He drove the Austrian troops to the Bug and advanced to Kamenetz and Visoko-Litovsk. Chichagov attempted to cut Napoleon's line of retreat on the Berezina River on 25–26 November, but he failed and was largely blamed for this fiasco, although generals Kutuzov and Wittgenstein should have shared the responsibility as well. He captured Smorgon on 7 December and pursued the French into Poland in January 1813. In that year he was relieved of command, ostensibly for poor health, but in reality he was harshly criticized and widely blamed for mishandling the operation on the Berezina. Chichagov was offended by such criticism and requested an indefinite furlough in March 1814, settling in France. He was relieved of all positions but remained a member of the State Council for the next twenty years. In 1834 he disregarded Tsar Nicholas I's decree limiting residence abroad to five years and was discharged from the Russian service on 29 October 1834. He was also dismissed from the State Council and his property was requisitioned. Chichagov died on 1 September 1849 in Paris. His interesting memoirs were published posthumously in Paris.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; North Holland, Campaign in; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Turkish War; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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### Chippewa, Battle of (5 July 1814)

One of two principal actions of 1814 fought along the U.S.-Canadian border during the War of 1812. With the end of the war against Napoleon, British reinforcements were sent to America to assist the weak forces operating along the U.S.-Canadian border, whose security depended on British control of the Niagara River valley. Before troops could arrive from Europe, however, the Americans made a push against Niagara, taking Fort Erie on 3 July and crossing into Canada. The opposing forces camped a mile and a half apart on the night of 4 July and the battle took place on a plain, three-quarters of a mile wide, between a creek to the south and the narrow Chippewa River (now the Welland River) to the north. On the west lay heavy woods and to the east flowed the Niagara River, approximately a mile above the falls. The 1,300 Americans under Major General Jacob Brown stood behind the creek, while the 1,500 British, under General Phineas Riall, were deployed just north of them.

The battle opened when Riall's Indian allies began to issue a harassing fire from the woods on the American left. The Americans drove them out with 700 Indians of their own and 300 militia, but in doing so they encountered British regulars. After a stiff fight, Riall's men drove the Americans off. Brown's troops now advanced across the creek into the plain and deployed into line under artillery fire. Riall, believing himself opposed only by militia, was shocked to discover that these were regulars, and when the Americans launched an attack on an exposed flank, Riall's force was driven back across the Chippewa River, promptly destroying the bridge behind them. British losses were 148 killed and 321 wounded. The Americans lost 60 killed and 235 wounded.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Lundy's Lane, Battle of; War of 1812

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### Chouans

The Chouans were counterrevolutionary partisan fighters in the western provinces of France. The word *chouan* literally means “owl” and may derive from the hoot of an owl, which these groups used as a rallying cry. The areas most affected by these insurgents were north of the Loire River, in areas of Maine, Brittany, Normandy, and northern Anjou. The term *chouannerie* described the activities of the insurgents. The regions most affected by *chouannerie* included the modern departments of Maine-et-Loire, Sarthe, Mayenne, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Côtes-du-Nord. The efforts of these different bands reached a peak between the years 1793 and 1796. Many republican commanders saw their reputations shattered in attempting to contend with the Chouans.

Not to be confused with the more organized Royal and Catholic Army of the Vendée, which attempted to fight the Republic as a regular army, the Chouans were true partisan fighters. While the Chouans participated in counterrevolutionary activities from early on, their pervasiveness grew in the provinces listed above as the effective organization of the royalist insurrection faltered, especially in the aftermath of the failed expedition to Quiberon Bay.

Tactically, Chouans were known for classic guerrilla-style methods. They would appear, attack isolated patrols of republican troops, and then melt back into the civilian populace. Thus, while the army columns dispatched into the regions by the republican government killed large numbers of innocent civilians and were responsible for widespread destruction of property, they succeeded more in temporarily dispersing the Chouans than in actually defeating them. Once government troops left an area, the partisans would simply reemerge. Chouan tactics proved so effective that several commanders saw their careers come to an end in contending against them. The young General Napoleon Bonaparte, for instance, refused an offer to command in the region. General Louis Lazare Hoche eventually rose to become the most successful commander at putting down the insurgents, and he wrote a manual based on his experiences.

Socially, Chouans were drawn from the peasants who lived in the hinterlands surrounding the cities of the various regions. As with many guerrilla groups, the motivations of the participants varied. Some members of the Chouans fought in opposition to the taxation imposed by the government, while others did so out of loyalty to Catholicism. Some took up arms in defense of the monarchy, others out of fear of conscription. Finally, mixed in with those fighting against some or all of the changes brought about by the Revolution, there were some who joined the insurrection purely for personal gain and cov-

ered their criminal activities under the veil of fighting for a cause.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Guerrilla Warfare; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Quiberon, Expedition to; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Cintra, Convention of (31 August 1808)

The Convention of Cintra allowed the French army under General Jean Junot to evacuate Portugal and return to France on board British ships. It caused a major political row in Britain and nearly ended the career of the future Duke of Wellington, who signed the cease-fire that preceded the convention.

After the uprisings against the occupying French armies that took place in Spain and Portugal in May and June 1808, British forces were sent under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley to aid the Portuguese. Battles were fought against the French at Roliça (17 August) and Vimeiro (21 August), but Junot's army remained intact, in occupation of the Torres Vedras passes, Lisbon, and the Tagus forts while a Russian fleet under Admiral Dmitry Senyavin was anchored in the Tagus River. Wellesley was superseded in command first by Sir Harry Burrard and then Sir Hew Dalrymple, and it was the latter who received General François Etienne Kellermann under a flag of truce. It was Kellermann's suggestion that the French army be allowed to leave Portugal in British ships, which appealed to Dalrymple, who did not believe the British and Portuguese were strong enough to oust the French from Lisbon.

The terms of the cease-fire, signed by Wellesley and Kellermann on 22 August, were that the French would hand over the frontier and the Tagus forts but that they should be allowed to leave with their personal baggage, weapons, and horses. Kellermann also proposed that Senyavin's fleet be allowed to leave on the same terms as would apply if Lisbon were a neutral port. Finally, it was stipulated that no action would be taken against those Portuguese who had collaborated with the French.

Vice Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, in command of the blockading British fleet, refused to accept the terms apply-

ing to Senyavin's fleet, but the convention was eventually signed by Dalrymple on 31 August. It included the added stipulation that the French would be evacuated at British expense. The French interpreted the convention as giving them the right to remove all the plunder they had taken in Lisbon, and the commissioners appointed to oversee the implementation of the convention were only partly successful in preventing the wholesale plunder of Lisbon. The French also removed money from the Portuguese treasury and refused to pay bills owed by them in Lisbon. The French army finally left Portugal on 18 September.

The Portuguese authorities strongly objected to the convention, which had been drawn up without consulting them. Dalrymple and Burrard were recalled on 25 September and the command in Portugal was given to Sir John Moore. A board of inquiry was set up on 1 November, met on 14 November, and reported on 22 December 1808. The three generals were exonerated, but the board was not unanimous in approving the terms of the convention. George III then wrote a formal letter of censure to Dalrymple, who was retired in January 1809. Wellesley returned to politics but got a renewed opportunity for command in the Peninsula after the destruction of Moore's army in the Corunna campaign.

*Malyn Newitt*

*See also* Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Junot, Jean Andoche; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger"; Madrid Uprising; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Roliça, Battle of; Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich; Vimeiro, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Cisalpine Republic (1797–1799)

The Cisalpine Republic was created in June 1797 when, following his victories over the Austrians in northern Italy, Bonaparte united Lombardy with Reggio, Modena, Massa, and Carrara. In late July the Cisalpine was enlarged with the addition of the short-lived Cispadane Republic. In the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria recognized the Cisalpine, which expanded with the annexation of areas that had belonged to the Venetian Republic. The Cisalpine, the most important "sister" republic in the Italian Peninsula, lasted

for twenty-two months and had a population of 3.5 million, a national flag, and an army. Its constitution, modeled on the French constitution of 1795, established a Directory and a bicameral legislature. The authorities divided the state into twenty departments with uniform administration.

The government launched various liberal reforms, including the revocation of feudal privileges, tithes and entails, and the establishment of free internal trade and equality between male and female heirs. The authorities diminished the church's power by abolishing religious orders and confiscating ecclesiastical lands, most of which they sold to wealthy landowners. They also established freedom of religion and required the clergy to swear allegiance to the state. The legislature discussed many other proposals but never enacted them because of lack of time, insufficient resources, or their radical nature. Those issues included a progressive tax, public secular education, judicial reorganization, price controls, and a minimum wage.

The independence of the Cisalpine was largely nominal, however; the French were ultimately in control. Neither Bonaparte nor the Directory wished to see a large, powerful Italian state. They imposed territorial limits that denied the Cisalpine access to the sea as Genoa became a separate Ligurian Republic (June 1797). Bonaparte ignored requests by the new democratic government of Venice to join the Cisalpine and delivered that city to the Austrians. Nor were Piedmont and Ancona added to the Cisalpine.

A treaty with France forced the Cisalpine Republic to maintain a costly army and to pay for the upkeep of 25,000 French troops, thereby causing a huge deficit. A commercial treaty between the two states favored French products. The French constantly intervened in the Cisalpine's internal affairs. Bonaparte had nominated the state's directors and legislators to prevent democrats from gaining power and to ensure the moderates' control. Increasingly, the French established a more authoritarian system. Four coups by the French purged radicals and opponents from the Cisalpinian legislature. In August 1798 the French ambassador, Charles-Joseph Trouvé, removed several directors and legislators and proclaimed a new, less democratic, constitution that increased the Directory's authority. The government suppressed journals and popular societies and arrested several "patriots." Under such precarious fiscal and political conditions, the Cisalpine authorities were unable to consolidate the new state.

Victories by the Second Coalition and the rise of counterrevolutionary forces throughout the Italian Peninsula brought about the demise of the Italian republics. The Cisalpine was the first one to fall. Following the triumph of the Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov over the

French at Cassano d'Adda (April 1799), the Austrians entered Milan and established a new government.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cassano, Battle of; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italy, Kingdom of; Ligurian Republic; Sardinia; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Venetian Republic

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### Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of (15 June–9 July 1810)

A minor Spanish fortress in León, Ciudad Rodrigo was an important Patriot base, and it also blocked the main road into northern Portugal. Thus, in the summer of 1810 the French resolved on its capture as an initial step in Marshal Masséna's advance on Lisbon and attacked it with the corps of Marshal Ney. Led by the tough and determined Andrés Pérez de Herrasti, the 5,000 defenders fought bravely, but they were unable to prevent the French from storming the fortified convents that constituted the city's outer defenses. Matters were not helped by the fact that Ciudad Rodrigo was overlooked by two hills known as the Greater Teson and the Lesser Teson on which siege artillery could be mounted.

With Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington's army only a few miles away on the Portuguese frontier, the besiegers might have been driven off, but, much to Spanish anger, the British general deemed this to be too risky and refused to move. As a result, Ney was left to carry on unhindered. Despite fierce resistance, the result was never in doubt: By 9 July a very wide breach had been blown in the northern walls, and most of the Spanish artillery had been silenced. All, then, looked set for the city to be stormed, but at the last minute the defenders raised the white flag. Some days earlier, however, the garrison's small cavalry force had managed to break out under the cover of darkness under the command of Julián Sánchez, thereby ensuring that Spanish resistance in the region would continue.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Masséna, André; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Sánchez García, Julián; Siege Warfare; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of (8–19 January 1812)

In January 1812 British troops besieged and captured Ciudad Rodrigo, a fortified city in Spain, located near the frontier with Portugal. The city was of strategic importance because of its location at the main crossing site of the Agueda River, the last natural barrier before the Portuguese border. Together with the city of Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo guarded the invasion route into Spain. The French had taken the city in the summer of 1810 after a twenty-five-day siege.

In late 1811 a reduction in the numbers of French forces in Spain led Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington to prepare for attacks on Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Napoleon began to withdraw troops from the Iberian Peninsula in preparation for the invasion of Russia. In addition, the French removed a significant number of men from the

vicinity of Ciudad Rodrigo and sent them to participate in the attack on Spanish-held Valencia in the east. Wellington hoped to take Ciudad Rodrigo quickly, before the French could reinforce the relatively small garrison that guarded the city.

While the city was well fortified, a major weakness for those defending Ciudad Rodrigo was the presence of two nearby hills, known as the Greater Teson and the Lesser Teson. The location of the two ridges made them perfect for the placement of siege artillery. Indeed, the French had created a breach in the city walls from the hills in 1810. Aware of the strategic importance of the hills, the French had built the Renaud Redoubt to protect the city.

Wellington began his siege on 8 January 1812. British troops launched a surprise attack on the redoubt, capturing it from the French. The next day, they began the construction of siege works. By the thirteenth they had completed the first parallel, or siege trench, and they placed their siege guns there. They also began to build a second parallel on Lesser Teson and ordered an attack on the French outpost at the Convent of Santa Cruz. The French soon launched a counterattack that succeeded in retaking



British infantry storm the fortress at Ciudad Rodrigo during Wellington's campaign in Spain. (Unsigned engraving from *British Battles on Land and Sea* by James Grant. Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, n.d.)

the convent and destroying much of the work on the second parallel. The British responded by taking the Convent of San Francisco. By 18 January, they had erected four batteries and began to use thirty large guns to bombard the city walls. By the next day, the attackers had created two breaches.

The British began their assault on the city on the night of 19 January. The attack started with diversionary maneuvers. These were followed by the main assault on the two breaches. The attack on the main breach met with stiff resistance from French guns and mines. Despite the French resistance, British forces took the breach and entered the town. The attack on the smaller breach was mismanaged and unorganized. However, the attackers at the second breach met with relatively little resistance and also succeeded. The defenders retreated to the town square and surrendered. British troops then looted and pillaged Ciudad Rodrigo until the following day.

The British suffered about 1,100 killed and wounded in the siege and attack on the city. Several high-ranking officers died in the assault. Major General Robert Craufurd, commander of the Light Division, was mortally wounded. So too was Major General Henry MacKinnon, the commander of the main assault, who died in a large mine explosion. The French garrison of 1,900 troops suffered some 600 casualties.

Ronald Young

- See also* Badajoz, First Siege of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Craufurd, Robert; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Valencia, Siege of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of
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## Civil Code

The Civil Code, first promulgated under Napoleon, was the name for a body of laws covering private relationships. At first it was called the *Code civil des français*, then the *Code Napoléon*, and later the *Code civil*.

The Civil Code was imposed on the areas that Napoleon conquered and governed. It has had a great influence upon the development of the civil law tradition in Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere. Codes, whether civil, crimi-

nal, or some other type, are developed by legal scholars. They are subsequently adopted by legislatures. This was also true of Napoleon's code.

Napoleon's civil code covered private, interpersonal, nonpolitical relations, including areas of contracts, torts, property transactions, family law, inheritance, commerce, corporations, and the procedures in courts that were to be used for trying disputes that arise in civil law cases (civil procedure). There were several factors motivating the development of Napoleon's civil code. The code ultimately reflected these motivations.

A major factor was the demand for reason in organizing life in Enlightenment and French Revolutionary political theory. There was also the confusion of laws existing in the *ancien régime*. The French legal system of the *ancien régime* was hardly worthy of the name. It was a hodgepodge of many kinds of law. In northern France the law was a kind of customary, or common law, tradition. In southern France the old Roman legal tradition was the basic source of law. In addition there were 368 local codes. For practical purposes attorneys could only practice in one locality, because even considerable knowledge of the laws in one locality was useless elsewhere. Furthermore, the Catholic Church exercised enormous power over the laws governing marriage and the family.

Throughout France feudalism had created privileges, monopolies, or other vested interests and had added expenses, fees, or tolls to all manner of commerce or legal business. These vested interests were viewed as unjust and detrimental to the poor and lower middle class. In addition, the aristocracy received preferential treatment under the law, so inequality was a common complaint. Finally, judges were products of the upper classes and were often viewed as biased in their decisions.

The French Revolution sought to sweep away the feudal burden of rights and privileges favoring the aristocracy, the rich, and the powerful. It sought rationality, unity, equality, and justice for all. Napoleon, a product of the Revolution, also shared in this aspiration. However, he had an additional motive. Adopting a single civil code, universal in its claims of social control and its applications to all persons, would strengthen the bonds of nationhood, and it could be easily imposed upon any political unit.

The Revolution had opened the way for a uniform legal system in France. In 1791 the National Assembly had called for a uniform legal system of the laws common to the whole of France. Previous attempts to write a code had been unsuccessful. Napoleon's work of codification of the laws would also solidify the accomplishments of the Revolution.

During the Consulate, Napoleon chose Jean-Jacques Cambacérès, who had worked on earlier attempts at for-

mulating a code, to head the Commission of Legislation of the Council of State, the group made responsible for writing a code. Napoleon also appointed the members of the commission. It included distinguished jurists from all the regions of France. The commission met 102 times to discuss the code. Napoleon presided over fifty-seven of its sessions. He was active in its discussions, most often in support of the rights of women. Whenever the commission failed to make progress, he prodded it to complete its work of producing a finished code.

The commissioners envisaged a uniform set of laws. These were to be the best of the old made into new laws appropriate for a new society founded in a rational vision of the good society as defined by natural law. The code was to possess the virtues of unity, clarity, and simplicity. Most of it extended the aspirations of the Revolution. Equality before the law, freedom of conscience, freedom to work, and a secular state were given legal sanction in the code.

The code was completed by 1801, but it did not go into effect until 21 March 1804. The French legislature rejected part of the code, and under the Tribunate it was rejected as not Revolutionary enough.

Published as the *Code civil des français*, the code was renamed the *Code Napoléon* in 1807. The code consolidated, extended, and modified the changes wrought by the French Revolution. It permanently changed the legal, social, and economic order in France. In areas such as the rights of women, although it gave women more rights than they had had in pre-Revolutionary times, it reduced those rights from those enjoyed by women during the Revolution. In areas such as wills it reversed the Revolutionary ban and allowed for inheritance, but with restrictions.

The Civil Code, as promulgated, was composed of a “Preliminary Title” and three books. The “Preliminary Title” described the promulgation and the application of the code once it took effect.

The books were subdivided into titles covering different topics. Each title was further subdivided into chapters and then into sections. The books each contained laws covering three major topics: persons, property, and actions involving persons and property. The organization of the code into books covering persons, property, and actions followed the organization of Roman law as received through the institutional system devised by the Roman jurist Gaius.

Book I, the law of persons, had eleven titles. Title I of the code covered the topic of the enjoyment and deprivation of civil rights. More specifically, it defined how citizenship was acquired and how it could be lost and recovered, and in the latter case, whether citizenship had been lost by voluntary action or as a consequence of judicial action. Title II covered public acts of interest to the state,

namely, birth, marriage, and death. Official records were to be made of these seminal events in life. Title III covered matters of legal residency (domicile). Title IV covered persons absent for extended lengths of time, especially as absence affected their property. Title V handled marriage, while Title VI covered divorce or legal separation. Titles VII and VIII covered paternity and adoption. Titles IX, X, and XI covered paternal power and guardianships.

Book II had four titles. These described and otherwise defined property. Title I described immovable property while the other titles dealt with usufruct and manorial services.

Book III was the longest part of the code. It covered numerous actions involving persons and property already defined in the previous two books. Its title was “Of the Different Modes of Acquiring Property.” Property was the foremost concern of the 2,228 articles of the code.

Title I of Book III contained four chapters covering the succession of property. The chapters described how the law, in cases where death occurred simultaneously among a group of people, would presume the order of death so that property could be distributed. Title I also excluded from succession those who committed felonious acts such as murder in hopes of inheriting the deceased’s property.

Title II of Book III covered donations of property and wills. Entail was forbidden. This title also forbade professionals such as physicians attending the sick from accepting their property. Nor could ship’s officers inherit from a will made while the deceased sailed with them.

Title III of Book III devoted extensive attention to contracts. The six chapters of Title III on contracts covered the enforceability of contracts in law, the conditions essential to the making of contracts, contractual consent, the capacity of the contracting parties, and the purpose of the contract. Other chapters of the title on contracts covered the obligations created by contracts and the damages due for nonperformance. Other matters covered in the title also treated conditions or factors that could dissolve a contract. Also given extensive treatment was the making of oaths in contracts.

Title IV covered voluntary actions that created a “quasi contract.” These “quasi contracts” included liability for damages caused by one person to another’s property or person.

Title V treated at length the “community” formed by marriage. The code viewed a couple as forming a community by an act of marriage. Thereafter, all their property entered into their common community unless it had been excluded in writing before a notary prior to the marriage. The husband was the legal head of the community. This title put limits on the rights of wives to make contracts without spousal permission.

Title VI decreed the manner for making contracts for sales of real estate or of consumable goods. It specified the obligations of the purchaser and those conditions that would warrant not fulfilling the contract.

Title VII was short and covered barter.

Title VIII covered the renting or hiring of things such as houses or farms. Chapter III of Title VIII extensively covered a variety of labor contracts.

Title IX covered partnerships. It also covered contracts made as part of betting. These were distinguished in different chapters from contracting life annuities.

Titles X–XV covered loans, deposits, securities, and pledging as part of security loans.

Title XVI covered the numerous ways that actions could warrant arrest for financial malfeasance. These included cases of the fraudulent sale of property in which the seller falsely claimed to have title to the property.

Title XVII covered pledging.

Title XVIII dealt with mortgages.

The remaining titles covered suits for “ejectment” (evictions) or other types of suits.

The code mandated that judges were to determine the facts of a case and then to apply the code. Failure to do so was viewed by the code as an act denying justice and warranting prosecution.

The Civil Code was introduced into areas under French control in 1804. These included Belgium, Luxembourg, parts of western Germany, northwestern Italy, Geneva, and Monaco. As Napoleon conquered other territories, the code was introduced there as well. These additional territories included Italy, the Netherlands, the Hanseatic towns, and Switzerland. How lasting an influence the code had in these areas was directly dependant upon how long the code was in effect there.

Other codes besides the Civil Code were also developed during Napoleon’s reign. After the Civil Code was adopted, the next codes to be adopted were the Code of Civil Procedure (1806), the Commercial Code (1807), and the Code of Criminal Procedure (1808). The Penal Code was adopted in 1810. A rural code dealing with agriculture and life in rural areas was formulated but never adopted.

In exile on St. Helena Napoleon said that his fame as a general would fade but that his accomplishments as a law-giver would outlive it. His code has had a global influence, one of the few documents to exercise such influence. In Louisiana and Quebec the Civil Code was adopted in part and is called the Napoleonic Code.

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*See also* Cambacérés, Jean-Jacques Régis de, duc de Parme; Confederation of the Rhine; Consulate, The; Divorce; France; French Revolution; Italy, Kingdom of; Netherlands, The; St. Helena; Switzerland

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### **Clausewitz, Karl Maria von (1780–1831)**

Regarded as the great military philosopher, not only of this period, but also of history, Karl Maria von Clausewitz was a soldier, a teacher of military theory, and a German patriot who was active in the movement to free Germany from French domination. He enthusiastically supported the military reforms advocated by generals Gerhard von Scharnhorst and August von Gneisenau and fittingly served as a staff officer in Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher’s army in the Waterloo campaign, seeing out the end of the Napoleonic era first hand.

Clausewitz was born in 1780 in the town of Burg near Magdeburg in Germany into a family of Polish origin, many members of which were priests. Before becoming a low-ranking civil servant, Clausewitz’s father had served as a lieutenant in Frederick the Great’s army. As one of a number of children, Clausewitz lived a modest childhood, for Prussian civil servants did not enjoy the best remuneration. He joined Prince Ferdinand’s Infantry Regiment no. 34 of the Prussian Army as a *Gefreiterkorporal*, as cadets were then designated, in 1792, the year of the start of the French Revolutionary Wars. These events were to have a marked influence throughout Clausewitz’s life. As an ensign, he first saw action the next year in the siege of Mainz, a major fortress on the central Rhine River in Germany. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1795, the year the Prussians opted out of the war with France, and spent 1801–1803 in Berlin, studying at the Military Academy. One of his instructors was Scharn-

horst, who was to become a close friend and mentor in the coming years.

As a young man Clausewitz showed his future potential as a teacher, being appointed personal tutor to Crown Prince August of Prussia on Scharnhorst's recommendation. He was promoted to *Stabskapitain* (junior captain) at the same time. A year later, Clausewitz served as a staff officer at the Battle of Auerstädt and was taken prisoner at the capitulation of the army at Prenzlau under Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (Prince Hohenlohe), having fought at the head of his battalion of grenadiers. He spent ten months interned in Nancy in France, accompanying Crown Prince August. The two are known to have discussed military matters, with Clausewitz greatly influencing the prince. The foundation of Clausewitz's later life and achievements had now been laid.

Clausewitz returned to Prussian service in April 1808, going to the royal court then in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in East Prussia. Here, with the rank of a full captain, he played an active role in the reform movement led by figures such as Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein, Scharnhorst, Hermann von Boyen, and Karl Wilhelm Georg von Grolman. He held an appointment in the administration of the Prussian War Ministry beginning in 1809, and then was transferred to the General Staff in July 1810, obtaining his majority a month later. Thanks to Scharnhorst's influence, he escaped this tedium the next year, and beginning in October 1810 Clausewitz taught staff duties and the war of outposts at the Military Academy in Berlin. While in Berlin that year, he married Marie von Brühl.

His work was so highly regarded that Scharnhorst recommended him for the post of personal tutor in the science of war to the then-fifteen-year-old Crown Prince August. Clausewitz carried out this appointment from 1810 to 1812. His reputation as a teacher grew, and his teaching plan shows the origins of his later work *Vom Krieg* (On War). During this period in Berlin, Clausewitz took the opportunity of attending Professor Kiesewetter's lectures on philosophy, which taught him dialectical methodology.

When Prussia agreed to an alliance with France early in 1812, Clausewitz was one of a number of officers, including Gneisenau and Boyen, who left the service of Frederick William III in protest. This was one of the most difficult decisions he made in his life, for he had to face the considerable conflict of interests existing between his duties as a Prussian officer and his political sense as a German patriot. Clausewitz felt he had to justify his actions and wrote a memorandum criticizing the effects of the alliance with France and calling for the preparation of a war to overthrow Napoleon. Some were pleased to see this troublemaker go; others saw great wisdom in his words.

Fate now took Clausewitz eastward, to Russia, in whose army he had obtained a commission as lieutenant colonel. His mission was to raise a legion from German prisoners of war from Napoleon's Grande Armée to serve alongside Russian forces in what became known as the Russo-German Legion. This was delayed, and Clausewitz was for a time appointed an aide to General Karl von Pfüel, one of many German officers now advising Tsar Alexander I of Russia. Clausewitz had come across Pfüel, formerly an officer in the service of the German state of Württemberg, when he was on the Prussian General Staff in 1806. Pfüel left the army after a dispute with the tsar, and Clausewitz was then transferred to the headquarters of Count Pahlen, under whose command he fought against Napoleon at the battles of Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Borodino in the fall of 1812. Clausewitz was then appointed chief of staff of the garrison of the Baltic city of Riga, under the command of Graf Essen, but he remained in the headquarters of Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein, which he joined in November 1812.

Once Napoleon's Grande Armée had disintegrated on the retreat from Moscow, the Prussian contingent under General Johann von Yorck, part of the corps under the French marshal Jacques Macdonald, became isolated. Clausewitz was posted to the vanguard of the force pursuing it. The Russians maneuvered between the Prussians and the remainder of Macdonald's men. Clausewitz headed the delegation that negotiated its withdrawal from the war, signing the Convention of Tauroggen on 31 December 1812. This act of rebellion signaled an uprising that spread through northern Germany in the coming months, opening what later became known as the War of Liberation.

The tsar then posted Clausewitz to the Prussian headquarters, where he acted as a liaison officer. His request for an appointment in the Prussian Army was ignored, as Frederick William bore a grudge against those officers who had quit his service in protest in the spring of 1812. Clausewitz remained at Prussian headquarters until after that summer's armistice. The death of Scharnhorst, his friend, mentor, and patron, from of a wound received at the Battle of Lützen in May 1813 greatly affected Clausewitz, who recorded his thoughts in a memorandum published in 1832.

Clausewitz was perturbed by the armistice that commenced on 4 June 1813, after that spring's indecisive campaign. The armies of the two protagonists, Napoleon and a Prusso-Russian force, were exhausted and needed rest, reequipping, and reinforcing. Diplomats vied for an alliance with Austria, whose support would be likely to be decisive in the coming campaign. Clausewitz feared the politicians would come to a compromise, leaving Napoleon able to remain in power.

Clausewitz continued to seek an appointment in the Prussian military, hoping to be posted to the staff of the Army of Silesia, commanded by the old warhorse Blücher with Clausewitz's old friend Gneisenau as chief of staff. However, Clausewitz was not considered the right man for the task in hand. Instead, General Philipp Friedrich von Müffling received the appointment, since, with his caution and reserve, he was seen as a good counterweight to the impulsive Blücher and the ambitious Gneisenau.

During the fall campaign of 1813 and that in France in 1814, Clausewitz continued to serve in the Russo-German Legion, now in British pay. In 1813 the legion was attached to Lieutenant General Graf Wallmoden-Gimborn's corps in the Army of the North under the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, who had previously served Napoleon as Marshal Bernadotte. Wallmoden's corps consisted of a mixture of local levies, legions, and free corps, with just a smattering of regular troops. It fought in northern Germany, mainly along the upper reaches of the river Elbe, around Hamburg, which was a sideshow to the war going on in and around Saxony. It was under Clausewitz's direction that a French force under General Marc-Nicolas-Louis Pécheux was driven back to Hamburg in an action on the Göhrde on 16 September 1813. After the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October), the Army of the North moved into the Netherlands, where it saw action. Clausewitz was then transferred to Blücher's headquarters, but he remained in Russian service until after the first Treaty of Paris, concluded at the end of the campaign of 1814.

Clausewitz was eventually again appointed to a post in the Prussian Army, but it took Napoleon's escape from exile on Elba on 1 March 1815 for this to happen. At the end of that month Clausewitz returned to the service of his king as a full colonel on the General Staff. A few weeks later he became chief of staff of III Army Corps under Johann Freiherr von Thielmann. This corps formed part of Blücher's Army of the Lower Rhine and was deployed in the Netherlands. During the Waterloo campaign, Clausewitz fought at the battles of Ligny (16 June) and Wavre (18–19 June). At Wavre, his corps held up the wing of Napoleon's army under Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, preventing it from intervening at Waterloo.

When Thielmann was placed in command of the Military District of the Lower Rhine, a province that had been awarded to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna, Clausewitz continued to serve him as chief of staff. Based in the fortress-city of Coblenz (Koblenz) on the Rhine, Clausewitz held this position from fall 1815 to spring 1818.

In May 1818 Clausewitz was transferred to Berlin, where he held the post of head of administration of the War Academy, which gave him little satisfaction, as the task was too mundane for a man of his intellect. In September

of that year he was promoted to major general. He held his appointment in Berlin until August 1830. Clausewitz then returned to a more active post with the army, becoming inspector of the 2nd Artillery District in Breslau, Silesia. He owed this appointment to the intervention of Prince August, who was now in command of the Prussian artillery. Clausewitz left his incomplete manuscripts in Berlin. They remained there, sealed, until his death.

In March 1831 Clausewitz was appointed chief of staff of an army of observation mobilized along the border with Poland. He had the opportunity of serving under his old friend Gneisenau, who commanded this force, with its headquarters in Posen. Fortunately, hostilities did not break out, so Clausewitz spent his time on administrative matters. He also followed the war between the Russian governors of Poland and the local insurgents, calculating their movements, anticipating their future direction, and speculating on possible clashes. He reported the events to Gneisenau on a daily basis, and the two men continually had detailed discussions on the situation. Although he was one of the greatest military geniuses of history, this was the closest Clausewitz was ever to come to commanding an army in the field. History was not to associate his name with a great battle.

A cholera epidemic broke out in the fall of 1831, and Gneisenau succumbed to it on 23 August. At the end of the insurrection in Poland, this army was disbanded. Deeply shaken by his personal loss, Clausewitz returned to Breslau early in November 1831, where he too caught cholera and died on the sixteenth of that month. An era of Prussian history passed with him. First Scharnhorst, then Gneisenau, and finally Clausewitz passed away, and with them the collective brain that powered the military reform movement. Clausewitz left no children, other than perhaps his manuscripts, and it would be some years before they came to see the light of day.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Auerstädt, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Borodino, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Leipzig, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mainz, Siege of; Netherlands, Campaign in the; Paris, First Treaty of; Pütel, Karl Ludwig August von; Prussian Army; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Smolensk, Battle of; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tauroggen, Convention of; Thielmann, Johann Adolf Freiherr von; Vienna, Congress of; Vitebsk, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Wittgenstein, Peter

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## Coa, Action at the

See Craufurd, Robert; Ney, Michel

## Cobbett, William (1763–1835)

A journalist in Britain and the United States, William Cobbett was, according to Karl Marx, “the greatest pamphleteer England has ever possessed” (*New York Daily Tribune*, 17 February 1853). Born in 1763 in Surrey, England, Cobbett did not receive much formal education. At age twenty-one he joined the army, but his career in the military came to an abrupt end in 1791 when he fled to France to escape court-martial charges brought against him by a group of corrupt officers. Having read Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man*, Cobbett was briefly a supporter of republicanism and democracy, but the news that the Tuileries had been attacked and the king deposed made him an opponent of the Revolution. He left for the United States, where he wrote anti-Jacobin tracts. In these pamphlets he referred to an “accursed revolution” where atrocities were performed in the name of liberty. His experience in the United States did not make him any more sympathetic to republicanism,

and in response he set himself up as a pro-British publisher and used his daily paper, *Porcupine’s Gazette* (1797–1799), to attack those who supported warmer relations with the French Revolutionary government. Cobbett risked seeing his business destroyed by a street mob for his support of Jay’s Treaty and his trenchant attacks on individuals such as Thomas Jefferson, who he believed was desirous of pushing the United States in a more radically democratic direction. Writing under the pseudonym Peter Porcupine (Paine thought “Peter Skunk” more appropriate), Cobbett became the most widely read pamphleteer in the United States.

Cobbett returned to Britain in 1800, and over the next several years he underwent a political transformation and abandoned high Tory politics, a change possibly due to his having gained a firsthand knowledge of rural poverty. Although Cobbett is often referred to after this transformation as a radical writer, it is difficult to characterize him as such, since what he wished to see was a Britain returned to an idealized pastoral past. In his *History of the Protestant Reformation* (1823), he traced the problems of his age back to the time of the Tudors, when there was a decline in the traditional paternalistic relationship between farmers and their laborers. In *Rural Rides* (1830), his most famous book, he wrote about his travels throughout southern England and about the passing of small farms, a depopulated countryside, and laborers forced to go to work in impersonal factories.

In 1802 Cobbett unleashed his venomous pen in the pages of his weekly newspaper, the *Political Register*, which he continued to publish for the remainder of his life. He railed against what he called “The Thing,” for Cobbett the corrupt political and economic underpinnings at the heart of British society. Among his targets were high taxation, the national debt, paper money, placemen (political appointees), brokers, officials of the East India Company, and the rural Anglican clergy. A man of many prejudices, Cobbett hated Jews, blacks, and religious nonbelievers. He paid a high price for his journalism. In 1810, after attacking the practice of flogging in the army, he was imprisoned for two years for sedition, and in 1817 he fled to the United States for two years in order to avoid another arrest. He went bankrupt in 1819 after the government passed a series of laws designed to cripple the radical press.

Cobbett never provided a systematic answer for what he perceived to be the problems of the age, but he did become a champion for the reform of Parliament and wrote with contempt about Old Sarum, the worst of the rotten boroughs, since it sent two members to the House of Commons but was completely uninhabited. In his later years he became an advocate for universal male suffrage and was disappointed with the small expansion in the electorate

provided by the Great Reform Bill of 1832. That same year he entered the reformed House of Commons, but he found the life of a legislator less than appealing. An early riser throughout his life, the evening parliamentary sessions were physically taxing, and the strain hastened his death from influenza in 1835.

*Kenneth Pearl*

*See also* French Revolution; Jacobins; Paine, Tom

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### Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf (1753–1809)

Austrian politician and foreign minister who facilitated the Austrian alliances with Russia in 1798 and 1804. From a noble family of diplomats, Johann Ludwig Graf Cobenzl spent much of his career in Russia before signing the treaties that concluded the Wars of the First and Second Coalitions. Appointed to the Staats- und Konferenzministerium in 1801, he directed foreign affairs under the supervision of the senior adviser to Emperor Francis II (Holy Roman Emperor, later Francis I of Austria from 1806), Franz Graf von Colloredo, until the end of the War of the Third Coalition in 1805.

Following his father into state service, Cobenzl worked in Galicia for two years before the sponsorship of Fürst (Prince) Kaunitz, the *Kanzler* (foreign minister), brought his brief appointment as ambassador to Denmark in 1774. Transferred to Berlin as ambassador in 1775, he stayed until the outbreak of the War of the Bavarian Succession in 1778. Distrustful of Prussia, he was keen to improve relations with Russia and was appointed ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg in 1779. His lively spirit and conversation met with Tsarina Catherine II's approval, and he was soon part of her inner circle, where he was able to foil Prussian efforts to break the close relationship between Austria and Russia. He even wrote short pieces for the imperial theater in his free time. But the Second Partition of Poland in 1792 strained Austro-Russian tensions, and he was even accused of pro-French sympathies. Recalled when Catherine died in 1797, he negotiated and signed the Treaty of Campo Formio with Napoleon. After briefly working in the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, Cobenzl returned to St. Petersburg to use established influence to ensure that the Russians joined the al-

liance in the War of the Second Coalition (1799–1802). After the defeat at Hohenlinden (3 December 1800), he signed the Treaty of Lunéville.

Like many senior advisers to the emperor, Cobenzl was in favor of a thorough overhaul of the government to centralize power, and on his appointment to the new council as a *Staats- und Konferenzminister*, he was made *Hof- und Staatskanzler* (foreign minister) in 1801, directing foreign affairs with Colloredo. He was a plump man of medium height with graying red hair and a pale complexion, married to a rich heiress from Moravia. His contemporaries, including Friedrich von Gentz and Archduke Charles, viewed Cobenzl as a skilled courtier but a man who could only work from day to day and who lacked the vision of an able diplomat.

As the foreign minister's policies diverged from those of the military, Cobenzl conspired with Colloredo to subvert Charles's civilian adviser, Matthias Fassbender, and again pressed for an alliance with Russia in 1804 to defeat Napoleonic France. A trusted imperial adviser, Cobenzl gained further control of military policy by ensuring Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich's appointment to influential military posts. After the Battle of Austerlitz, Charles successfully demanded that Cobenzl be sacked.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Colloredo, Franz Graf von; First Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Gentz, Friedrich von; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Poland, Partitions of; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the

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### Code Napoléon

*See* Civil Code

### Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772–1834)

An English poet and critic, Samuel Taylor Coleridge took an approach to Romantic poetry that was revolutionary in the sense that it was revelatory. His artistic and philosophical pursuits strove to capture the essence of the Romantic spirit—an intertwining of the intellect and the

emotions leading to heightened awareness of man and nature. The result of mingling thoughts with feelings often plunged Coleridge and other poets of this period into odd patterns of behavior, ranging from artistic enterprise to political activity, which is best understood in the context of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. At these times of war, a poet like Coleridge, an individual of intense intellect and emotion, was drawn in two psychological directions. On the one hand, his natural talents and temperament made him loyal to poetry, the analysis of the human imagination, religious speculation, metaphysics, the exploration of esoteric knowledge, and an overall Rousseauian philosophy, grounded in nature, in which life would be led in remote, rural simplicity. On the other hand, Coleridge sought to influence and participate in politics through both literary and physical avenues.

The feeling, or poetical, side of Coleridge appears dominant and was more successful than his efforts in journalism, politics, and military service. In his most notable poems, Coleridge is outstanding for his rapturous imagery, whose elements strike at the very heart of the senses of sight and sound in particular. “Christabel” and *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* are renowned for their hauntingly dreamlike visionary effects, while “Kubla Kahn,” “Frost at Midnight,” and “The Aeolian Harp” are praised for their elegant displays of the musical and mysterious attributes of the natural world. Many Coleridgean poems demonstrate both the natural and supernatural qualities of the forces within nature as well as descriptions of light and flight. This is to say that the Coleridgean poem often attempts to induce enlightenment through shimmering visions and to free the mind through images of birds.

On enlightenment, Coleridge’s endeavors to awaken the imagination and arouse consciousness extended beyond poetry into verse. In addition to delivering lectures on a variety of topics, he launched a journal, the *Watchman*, as well as a newspaper, the *Friend*. These publications show Coleridge’s adherence to the Christian religion and the British nationalistic stance at a time of rising atheism during the French Revolution and increasing fears of Jacobinism continuing into the Napoleonic Wars. In 1793 he volunteered for the British army as a private in the 15th Light Dragoons despite not being competent on a horse, but a discharge was later negotiated on his behalf. Coleridge was in an unhappy marriage and suffered both emotionally, from melancholy over his love life, and physically, from health problems frequently associated with his opium addiction. These burdens did not, however, prevent him from seeking the Romantic in all. Poetry and literature are not the sole haunts of Romanticism; war and politics are equally in possession of Romantic, hence heroic, ideals and imagery. Napoleon succeeded in what

Coleridge desired to become heroically, a political influence in society. Coleridge succeeded admirably in becoming a hero to poetry.

Pauline Chakmakjian

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Jacobins; Keats, John; Scott, Sir Walter; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Southey, Robert; Wordsworth, William

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### Colli, Michael Freiherr von (1738–1808)

In Austrian service for most of his life, in 1796 *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli-Marchini was the commander in chief of the Sardinian (Piedmontese) army fighting Bonaparte’s Armée d’Italie.

Colli was born in 1738 in Vigevano (Lombardy). His father, Giuseppe Antonio, a state functionary, had been made baron by the Austrian emperor. At eighteen years of age, Colli entered the Infantry Regiment Pallavicini (IR 15). He took part in several battles during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) and was wounded at Torgau. Ensign on the general staff at the Battle of Prague in 1757, by the end of the war he had been raised to the rank of captain. Transferred to Infantry Regiment Baden (IR 23) in 1764, four years later Colli became lieutenant colonel in Infantry Regiment Caprara (IR 48) and commanded a battalion in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779).

Promotion to colonel came in 1779, together with an assignment to the garrison of Milan. In 1787 he distinguished himself under *Feldzeugmeister* Ernst Gideon Freiherr von Loudon in the war against the Turks (1787–1791). The story goes that during the siege of Belgrade, on being informed of a forthcoming inspection by the commander in chief, Colli cunningly mingled with the rank and file in arduous trench work, thus gaining Loudon’s praise. By the end of the year, he was *Generalmajor* in the Imperial Army. After 1792 Colli was on loan to the Sardinian army with the rank of *Feldmarschalleutnant* by an agreement between the emperor and the king of Savoy. A year later Colli brilliantly opposed the French invasion of Nice. In 1795 he unwillingly acted under *Feldzeugmeister* De Vins, the Austrian commander in chief, leading his Sardinian troops in a counteroffensive along the Ligurian shore and through the Maritime Alps.

He commanded the right wing at the unfortunate Battle of Loano on 23 November.

At the beginning of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign in April 1796, the Austrian army under *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Freiherr von Beaulieu was in the mountains behind Savona to watch the road to Acqui, Alessandria, and Milan. Colli had his Sardinian army concentrated farther west around Ceva to block the mountain exits to the Piedmont plain and the road to Turin. The left hook of the French offensive forced him to withdraw from this position. Despite his success against General Jean Sérurier at San Michele on 19 April, two days later Colli was defeated at Mondovi. After the armistice of Cherasco, he rejoined the Austrian army, distinguishing himself in the defense of the line of the Mincio River in summer 1796. Appointed commander in chief of Pope Pius VI's army in late January 1797, he was apparently still in Rome when the main body of his army was crushed by Bonaparte and General Claude Victor at the small action at Faenza on 4 February.

Formally retired from Austrian active service after Campo Formio, in 1798 Colli entered the Neapolitan army staff under Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich. After the fall of Naples to the French and the rise of the Parthenopean Republic in January 1799, he moved to Florence. Appointed Austrian ambassador to the court of the Bourbon king of Etruria (Tuscany) in 1803, Colli died in Florence on 22 December 1808.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cherasco, Armistice at; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Loano, Battle of; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Mondovi, Battle of; Naples; Pius VI, Pope; Sardinia; Savoy; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Collingwood, Cuthbert, Viscount (1750–1810)

A noted British admiral, Cuthbert Collingwood was born on 23 September 1750 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne to an old Northumberland family in reduced financial circumstances and went to sea as a volunteer at age eleven aboard the frigate *Shannon*, commanded by his uncle. He remained with this ship for the next eleven years and then served on several other ships, most often on home station. In 1774 Collingwood sailed to North America in the *Preston* (4th rate) and fought ashore with a detachment of seaman in the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775. For his conduct in the battle, Collingwood was advanced to lieutenant. Ap-

pointed to the sloop *Hornet*, he sailed in her to the West Indies, where he was promoted to commander in June 1779 and to post captain in March 1780. In August 1781 he was in command of the *Pelican* (6th rate) when she was wrecked in a hurricane. He then returned to Britain, where he was appointed to the *Sampson* (64 guns), then to the frigate *Mediator* in the West Indies. It was at this time that he became close friends with Captain Horatio Nelson. Collingwood's ship was paid off in 1786, and Collingwood spent the next three years in Northumberland with his family. He returned to sea during 1790–1791, after which his ship was again paid off.

On the outbreak of war with France in 1793, Collingwood took command of the *Prince* (90) and then *Barfleur* (98). In the latter vessel he participated in the Battle of the Glorious First of June in 1794. He was then transferred first to the *Hector* (74) and then to the *Excellent* (74) in the Mediterranean. During the remainder of 1795 and all of 1796 the *Excellent* was off Corsica, also keeping a watch on Toulon, but it was withdrawn when the French took Italy.

In the *Excellent* Collingwood played a distinguished role in the Battle of St. Vincent (14 February 1797), where his ship took two Spanish ships of the line and helped Nelson's ship, the *Captain* (74), when she was under heavy Spanish fire. Awarded the gold medal for this action, Collingwood refused to accept it until he was granted one for his conduct in the Battle of the Glorious First of June, for which he believed he had been slighted. Several months later, he received both medals.

Collingwood continued in the *Excellent* off Cádiz for the next two years. On his return to Britain early in 1799, his ship was paid off. Collingwood then received promotion to rear admiral and a command in the Channel Fleet in the *Triumph* (74). He remained in the Channel Fleet participating in the blockade of Brest, with one interlude in the Mediterranean, until the Peace of Amiens in 1802.

In 1803, after less than a year at home, Collingwood returned to the Channel Fleet. Promoted to vice admiral in April 1804, he commanded a squadron detached to reinforce Nelson in July 1805. The two squadrons met off Cádiz, where Collingwood commanded the lee line and acted as Nelson's second in command at the Battle of Trafalgar, fought on 21 October. With Nelson's death, he assumed command of the Mediterranean Fleet. Collingwood had his greatest success under Nelson; his actions afterward were less successful. He failed to order the fleet to anchor after the battle, and as a result most of the French and Spanish prizes were lost in the great gale that struck in the days that followed the action. Nonetheless, Collingwood was raised to the peerage for his role in the battle, as Baron Collingwood of Caldburne and Hethpoole.

Collingwood continued in the Mediterranean command, maintaining his ships primarily off Cádiz until 1807, when he proceeded to Sicily. A French fleet sailed from Toulon to reinforce Corfu in 1808, but through missed signals and his own failure to sense the need for prompt action, Collingwood failed to intercept it. In 1809 Collingwood was off Toulon, and that October his ships intercepted a French convoy sailing to Barcelona and drove several of the escorting warships ashore.

The burden of administrative tasks adversely affected Collingwood's health, and in March 1810 doctors pronounced him medically unfit. He sailed for Britain in the *Ville de Paris* (110) but died en route on 7 March. His body was subsequently buried at St. Paul's Cathedral.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Blockade; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Ionian Islands; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; St. Vincent, Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Colloredo, Franz Graf von (1731–1807)

Tutor and later chief adviser to the Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II (later Emperor Francis I of Austria from 1806) for thirty-three years, Franz Graf von Colloredo influenced the emperor with his conservative, anti-intellectual philosophy. A reactionary and the most powerful imperial adviser, he directed foreign affairs with Johann Graf Cobenzl from 1801 until the end of the War of the Third Coalition in 1805.

From one of the richest noble families in Bohemia, Colloredo had been trained for the diplomatic service from a young age, and after being appointed a *Reichshofrat* (imperial adviser) by Francis, he came to general attention when he was in the fortunate position of being the emissary carrying news of several major events to foreign courts. Appointed ambassador to Spain in 1767, he served in Madrid until 1770, when he was made *ajo* (governor and chief tutor) to the children of Archduke Leopold, ruler of Tuscany (Holy Roman Emperor, 1790–1792). His strict approach was based on education in the classics and in the

necessary noble skills. Although widely viewed as being slow-witted (Friedrich von Gentz referred to him in a letter of 1802 as a byword for imbecility), he was a cultured man, noted for supporting art and scientific investigation. When Leopold's eldest son, Francis (Holy Roman Emperor [1792–1806] and then Emperor of Austria [1806–1835]), moved to Vienna in 1784, Colloredo accompanied him and continued as his chief instructor, probably overworking him and instilling his own ponderous and conservative approach. He steered Francis toward his own opposition to intellectual and political liberalism.

After acquiring large estates in Bohemia by marriage to Countess Mansfeld in 1771 (and becoming Colloredo-Mansfeld), he inherited the extensive family possessions and princely title from his father in 1788. When Francis became Holy Roman Emperor in 1792, he made Colloredo his chief adviser in all matters, an arrangement formalized by his appointment as head of the *Kabinet* (personal secretariat) with ministerial status and membership in the Staatsrat (Privy Council), through which Colloredo could also influence military affairs. Colloredo's real power lay in his control of access to the emperor for all except the imperial Habsburg family, which prompted his nickname of "Franz der erster" (Francis the First), and, together with *Hofrat* (imperial adviser) Johann Freiherr von Schloissnigg, he dominated the Staatsrat until 1801. In 1793 it was on Colloredo's advice that Johann Freiherr von Thugut was selected as deputy foreign minister, and the two maintained a close working relationship until 1801.

Appointed to the Staats- und Konferenzministerium, which replaced the Staatsrat in 1801, he supervised Cobenzl in the conduct of foreign affairs, as both pursued policies at odds with those of the war minister, Archduke Charles. They worked to remove *Feldmarschalleutnant* Peter Duka Freiherr von Kadar (the army chief of staff) and Matthias Fassbender (Charles's senior civilian adviser) from their positions, and then Colloredo used his influence to ensure the appointment of Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich to key military positions. An advocate of renewed war with France, the early setbacks of the campaign of 1805 brought his dismissal in a curt letter from the emperor on 28 November of that year.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austria; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Francis I, Emperor; Gentz, Friedrich von; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Third Coalition, War of the; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von

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### Combermere, Stapleton Cotton, Viscount (1773–1865)

Sir Stapleton Cotton, Viscount Combermere was a successful British cavalry commander during the Revolutionary period, distinguishing himself in Flanders. He commanded a brigade of cavalry in Spain in 1808 and fought at Fuentes de Oñoro. He was in command of the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington's cavalry for most of 1812 and played an important role in the Battle of Salamanca.

Cotton was born in 1773 and after a military education was commissioned into the Royal Welch Fusiliers in 1790. However, he quickly transferred to the 6th Dragoons and served in Flanders from 1793 to 1794. The following year he was made lieutenant colonel of the 25th Light Dragoons and served in the expedition to the Cape Colony in southern Africa. He was present at the storming of Seringapatam in India, and it was here that he met Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. By 1805 he had been promoted to the rank of major general, and in 1808 he commanded a brigade of cavalry during the Corunna campaign under Sir John Moore. He was present at Talavera and commanded one of the three brigades of cavalry. In 1811 Cotton fought at Fuentes de Oñoro and led his cavalry in a series of attacks to allow the Light Division to conduct a fighting withdrawal. He was then obliged to return home to receive the family title as Viscount Combermere on the death of his elder brother. However, he quickly returned to the Peninsula and covered the retreat of Wellington's forces to the Lines of Torres Vedras.

By 1812 the size of Wellington's cavalry arm had grown, and he was able to deploy them more aggressively. In April Combermere defeated Marshal Soult's cavalry rear guard in a sharp action at Villagarcia. Combermere responded to the initial repulse of one of his brigades by launching a well-executed flank attack, which resulted in the enemy's being pursued for a number of miles. Prior to the Battle of Salamanca, Combermere had command of the rear guard of the army and was able to stall Marshal Marmont in his attempt to deceive Wellington with a sudden change in the direction of his march. At Salamanca Combermere deployed his cavalry effectively and witnessed with Wellington the successful charge of the heavy cavalry. Just after the battle Combermere was wounded by a Portuguese sentry and was forced to return home. He missed the Battle of Vitoria but returned to command to fight in the battles of the Pyrenees and Orthez, and he took part in the invasion of France.

In 1814 he became a peer and was rewarded with a large sum of money by a grateful nation. Despite his success and reputation he was not given a command during the Waterloo campaign, even though Wellington hoped

that he would be. However, he did join the army in Paris after the defeat of Napoleon and took command of the cavalry in the army of occupation. After the Napoleonic Wars Combermere was commander in chief first in Ireland and then in India, and he was made a field marshal in 1855.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Moore, Sir John; Orthez, Battle of; Peninsular War; Salamanca, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Talavera, Battle of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Concordat (16 July 1801)

An agreement between Bonaparte and Pope Pius VII that restored the status of the Roman Catholic Church following the French Revolution. The Concordat was concluded on 16 July 1801, when Bonaparte was First Consul of the French Republic, reestablishing the Catholic Church in France and generating religious peace within the country. Pre-Revolutionary France had had 136 sees, but a number of prelates had died or had fled as émigrés, and Bonaparte desired to redraw ecclesiastical boundaries and appoint his own churchmen. In addition, he wished to restore the Catholic Church to its former prominence—which had been threatened by Revolutionary liberalism and new irreligious sects—thus binding Catholics to his rule.

In 1799 Pope Pius VI had died at Valence, a victim of French Revolutionary captivity. Bonaparte needed an accord and had advanced his ideas to reorganize and support the Catholic Church in France after the Battle of Marengo. In the glow of victory as he traveled through Vercelli, he met with Cardinal Charles de Martiniana on 25 June 1800 and expressed his support for Catholicism. Bonaparte conveyed his plan to reduce the number of French dioceses, induce émigré clergymen to resign their positions so that he could appoint others in their place, and proclaim the pope's spiritual jurisdiction once again in France. The agreement would make Bonaparte supreme in France politically, gain support from Catholics, and win the pope's approval for his leadership, at a time when the pope tended to favor the claims of the Bourbon king Louis XVIII.

Bonaparte wrote the final proposal for the agreement himself and dispatched it to Rome through the courier Palmoni. François Cacault was sent as a minister plenipoten-

tiary from France to the pope in April 1801 to secure the pope's reply. Cacault's secretary, Jean Alexis Artaud de Montor, persuaded Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, secretary of state to Pius VII, to come to Paris to meet Bonaparte directly. An agreement was reached after lengthy negotiations on 16 July, and on 11 August it was approved by the pope following consultation with his cardinals. The Concordat was formally circulated to the French churches and celebrated in Nôtre Dame in Paris on Easter Sunday, 18 April 1802.

Through this accord the French government recognized Roman Catholicism as being the religion of the great majority of the French citizens, and Bonaparte himself professed this faith. The pope granted to Bonaparte police powers to safeguard public worship. Under the Concordat's provisions, the French Catholic archbishops and bishops were to be appointed by the state headed by Bonaparte, so he could select loyal followers. Churchmen were to be confirmed in their ecclesiastical duties by the pope. Priests were ordained within the local sees by bishops after approval by the state. Bonaparte was permitted to reduce the number of sees to sixty. Church property confiscated during the French Revolution would not be restored, but Bonaparte's government offered adequate *sustentationem*, or maintenance, to the clergy. Bonaparte recognized the independence of the Papal States on the Italian peninsula, and the pope acknowledged the legitimacy of Bonaparte's government. Thus, through this agreement Bonaparte was able to placate French Catholics and bind them to his government while at the same time gaining the pope's support for his rule. The Concordat continued in force until its abrogation in 1905.

Barbara Bennett Peterson

*See also* Consulate, The; Emigrés; Louis XVIII, King; Marengo, Battle of; Papal States; Pius VI, Pope; Pius VII, Pope

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### Confederation of the Rhine (1806–1813)

The Confederation of the Rhine (Rheinbund) was a conglomeration of German states organized by Napoleon, who hoped that Germany would develop into a unified

state with a central government and administration modeling the political institutions of France. The opportunity for such a grandiose plan emerged after the decisive defeat of Austria during the War of the Third Coalition in 1805, when Napoleon sought to dismantle the thousand-year-old Holy Roman Empire and replace it with a new German political entity that could serve as a buffer against Prussia and Austria, a market for French goods, and a source of military manpower for the Napoleonic empire.

The origins of the Confederation of the Rhine may be traced to the gradual French encroachment into Germany that began with the campaigns conducted by the Revolutionary armies on the Rhine in the 1790s. By 1795 France had full control of the west bank of the Rhine and later compensated various princes for their lost territory according to the decisions reached in the Imperial Recess of 1802–1803. When the Peace of Amiens failed and war on the Continent resumed in May 1803, the French renewed their territorial designs in the region by invading and rapidly occupying the British patrimony of Hanover in north Germany. As war loomed between France and Austria, Napoleon sought allies from among the larger German states, some of which had territory to gain and greater autonomy to acquire by siding against the Habsburgs. Bavaria was the first to throw in its lot with France, signing a treaty of alliance on 23 September 1805, followed by Baden and Württemberg on 1 and 8 October, respectively. In the aftermath of the Battle of Austerlitz (2 December), the Imperial Reichstag was abolished (20 January 1806), enabling Napoleon to create the first of a new set of minor German states to be ruled by members of his family. On 15 March he established the Grand Duchy of Berg, placing his brother-in-law, Marshal Murat, at its head.

The Confederation of the Rhine came into formal being on 17 July 1806 according to the Treaty of Paris, with Karl Theodor von Dalberg as Prince-Primate (*Fürstenprimas*) and with Napoleon maintaining supervisory control in his capacity of “protector” (*Protector*). The original sixteen south- and west-German states of the Confederation consisted of Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Berg, and eleven other smaller states, all of which, according to the Rheinbund's constitution, formally withdrew from the Holy Roman Empire, which drew its last breath on 6 August when Francis II foreswore the Habsburgs' ancient imperial dignity and proclaimed himself Francis I, Emperor of Austria in its place. As an inducement to membership in the new Confederation—which, however, was effectively coerced—Napoleon offered an extension of territory and elevation in rank. Thus, he raised the electors of Bavaria (Maximilian Joseph) and of the Grand Duchy of Württemberg (Frederick II) to the status of kings on 1 January 1806, made the electors of Baden (Charles

Frederick and Hesse-Darmstadt) grand dukes on 13 August, and offered similar titles to other minor potentates. The Grand Duchy of Würzburg joined on 23 September.

If Austria's dominance in Germany had all but vanished as a result of Austerlitz, the same may be said to have applied to Prussia after its twin defeats at Jena and Auerstädt on 14 October 1806. Hohenzollern influence, even in north Germany, had never existed on a par with Habsburg influence in south Germany; now the utter defeat of Prussian forces in the autumn of 1806 extinguished its pretensions to occupy Hanover or exercise any vestige of leadership over its other, lesser German neighbors. Napoleon did not wait long before capitalizing on his recent military triumphs: On 11 December, by the Treaty of Posen between France and the Electorate of Saxony (Prussia's erstwhile ally), the latter was converted into a kingdom—enlarged with territory taken from Prussia—with Frederick Augustus III assuming the throne as King Frederick Augustus I. Four days later five small duchies joined the Rheinbund, including Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, and Saxe-Coburg. On 11 April 1807 another twelve minor states followed, including Anhalt-Dessau and Waldeck.

The second of the two historic treaties concluded at Tilsit (the first between France and Russia on 7 July; the second between France and Prussia on 9 July), forced Frederick William III of Prussia to recognize the sovereignty of the Confederation, which with Saxony now represented a third major German political entity, deliberately intended to exclude Austria and Prussia. Tilsit paved the way for further admissions to the Rheinbund: The new Kingdom of Westphalia, with Jérôme Bonaparte on the throne, was created in December 1807 out of Prussian lands and territory seized from its former allies, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, southern Hanover, and other minor states, while Mecklenburg and several other petty principalities also joined as a result of Tilsit. In 1808, after the admission of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Duchy of Oldenburg, the Confederation reached its greatest territorial extent, totaling thirty-nine states.

However high-minded Napoleon may have been with respect to the political future of the Rheinbund, in reality it never properly developed the way the Emperor had envisioned. The diet was convoked in 1806 but never assembled, and the Rheinbund became little more than a set of French satellite states serving as a recruiting ground for soldiers, largely owing to the determination of each ruler—whether king, prince, or duke—to preserve his respective independence. Indeed, so long as each state furnished the contingents required by the various treaties concluded between member states and France, Napoleon was largely content not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Confederation. On the other hand, when he did decree the ces-

sation of all commerce with Britain as part of his Continental System, Napoleon met opposition from German merchants and encountered widespread public discontent. Indeed, trade with the enemy via North Sea German ports became so widespread that on 13 December 1810 France annexed the entire area along the German North Sea coast, including the Duchy of Arenberg, the Principedom of Salm-Kryburg, and the Duchy of Oldenburg. Napoleon's voracious appetite for troops—initially fixed at 63,000—also caused resentment, though not on any serious scale until the Russian campaign. The ever-increasing demands on the Rheinbund to furnish contingents for the imperial French armies resulted in thousands of men serving in Spain between 1808 and 1813, in the campaign against Austria in 1809, in Russia in 1812 (in which perhaps a third—200,000 men—of the Grande Armée consisted of Rheinbund troops), and finally in the campaign in Germany in 1813.

Many Confederation states adopted the Civil Code and other Napoleonic reforms, Hesse-Darmstadt and Anhalt being particularly enthusiastic in this regard. On 15 November 1807 a constitution on the Napoleonic model was promulgated for the nascent Kingdom of Westphalia, abolishing serfdom and establishing equality before the law, equal principles of taxation, and religious freedom. A similar legal framework was introduced in Bavaria on 1 May 1808. Serfdom effectively ended in Bavaria from September of that year, and in the Grand Duchy of Berg, in December. Yet, on the whole, the political and social institutions of the various states did not model themselves on their French counterparts, and thus no uniformity existed within the various German states that would have facilitated their eventual absorption into the French Empire as Napoleon had had in mind. The Napoleonic Code was not widely embraced, and moreover no attempt was made to impose it. What influence the French did exercise in fact proved largely counterproductive, for it fueled a slowly emerging German nationalism that—manifesting itself in a particularly virulent fashion in Prussia—would find expression in 1813 as open opposition to Napoleonic rule.

Following Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia, Bavaria was the first of the Confederation states to join the anti-French coalition. By the Treaty of Ried, concluded on 8 October 1813, Bavaria joined the Sixth Coalition, and within a week, at the decisive Battle of Leipzig, the Saxon and Württemberg troops defected to the Allies. The French were swept from Germany, Saxony was occupied and administered first by the Prussians and then by the Russians, and the Confederation was formally dissolved on 4 November. On the fifteenth at Frankfurt, Austria, Prussia, and Russia established a common policy toward the former members of the Confederation, which guaranteed their sovereignty pending the decision of a future postwar con-

ference. This did not apply to states newly created by Napoleon that had not changed sides; as such, on 21 November 1813 Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Hanover were restored as independent states out of the former Kingdom of Westphalia. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna confirmed the survival of many former members of the Rheinbund, albeit in many cases with altered frontiers (particularly Saxony, which was forced to cede a large amount of territory to Prussia), and placed them together in a loose association of states known as the German Confederation.

By establishing the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon had unwittingly placed Germany on the road to eventual unification in 1871, for by the end of its existence the Rheinbund consisted of a mere thirty-nine states, in sharp contrast to the approximately 300 duchies, ecclesiastical cities, electorates, principalities, and duchies that had existed less than a decade before. In this respect alone the brief lifespan of the Confederation of the Rhine may be seen as an important period in the development of modern Germany.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Bavaria; Civil Code; Continental System; Francis I, Emperor; Germany, Campaign in; Hanover; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Leipzig, Battle of; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Peninsular War; Prussia; Russian Campaign; Saxony; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of; Westphalia; Württemberg

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## Congreve Rockets

The history of the military rocket may have begun in India, but Sir William Congreve was the inventor and designer of

the first practical British military rocket. His original 1805 design was intended for naval use, and at Boulogne, in October 1806, 200 rockets were fired, setting fire to the town. Again at Copenhagen in 1807 and at Walcheren in 1809 rockets had the same effect. Congreve also designed a rocket for land use and included a shrapnel rocket that was intended to be fired at concentrated troops, especially cavalry, and at trenches. Congreve's rocket differed from the normal "firework" by having the stabilizing stick fitted in the center of the rocket rather than on the side. Vents allowed the propellant gases to exit all round the base of the weapon, which, together with the stick, helped to keep the rocket on line to an extent.

Unfortunately the rockets were still not very accurate, but it is certain that their effect on morale was considerable. The rockets were initially made of paper, but they were soon redesigned to be cast from iron, which had much more value in a military engagement: When the iron rockets burst, the metal fragments could wound or kill; the paper rockets merely frightened the horses. During the Napoleonic Wars rockets were only used by Britain and Austria. In action at Copenhagen, 40,000 rockets were fired, but Brigadier General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) was not particularly impressed, probably because he could see that they were in their infancy as far as weaponry was concerned. Nevertheless, the weapon had a psychological effect on the enemy, and when the French were fired on at the Adour River crossing in 1814, prisoners reported that the rockets, erratic though they were, caused them a great deal of confusion and wounded or killed several men. The Russian general Peter Graf Wittgenstein watched British rockets in use at the Battle of Leipzig and commented that they must be weapons of the Devil.

The inaccuracy of these rockets was partly due to the fact that they were very susceptible to wind and weather, they did not spin in flight, and their center of gravity altered as they traveled along their path to the target. They were launched from loose frames in the general direction of their target, and as they traveled their propellant was consumed, which caused changes in the balance of the rocket. One of the great advantages of the Congreve rocket was its lightness, allowing a few men in a rocket troop to have the firepower of an artillery regiment or a man-of-war. The Congreve rockets in service up to 1864 were the 6-, 12-, and 24-pounder versions. Congreve hoped that he could design and produce a 300-pounder rocket, but this was never achieved. The British Army only officially accepted rocket units into the army in 1813, one troop serving in the Peninsula and one with the Allied army in Germany. A rocket battery also served at the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 and at the Battle of Waterloo.

*David Westwood*

*See also* Artillery (Land); Artillery (Naval); Blockade; Copenhagen, Attack on; Kjöge, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; New Orleans, Battle of; Peninsular War; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Conscription (French)

Form of compulsory military service introduced in the Revolutionary era, which formed the basis of recruitment for 200 years in France. Revolutionary France initially relied on volunteer recruits, but after successful appeals in 1791 and 1792, the volunteers began to run out. The government levied 300,000 men on 24 February 1793, and then, in a mass levy on 23 August, all unmarried males were called up.

In practice these draconian measures proved both unpopular and inefficient. Under the Directory a commission was formed to introduce a fair and sustainable system of recruitment. On 12 January 1798, General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan presented a report in which he proposed a new law governing conscription, which was finally passed on 5 September 1798. This law recognized that all Frenchmen had a duty to protect the fatherland. Men aged eighteen to thirty could volunteer for service (set at four years in peacetime or for the duration in wartime). However, all unmarried males between twenty and twenty-five would be liable for conscription.

Each town hall would publish a list of those eligible for conscription, divided into five annual classes. The candidates would take part in a ballot; anyone drawing a number corresponding to the amount of men required would be taken into service, with a portion of the candidates kept in reserve to replace those who failed a medical exam. The first ballot would be drawn from the youngest class, those aged 20–21. If more men were required, each class would be balloted in turn until the required number was attained. Those selected would then undergo a physical examination performed by a jury of a government commissioner, a medical officer, and five fathers of serving soldiers. On a given day, those who had passed the

medical would assemble in the regional capital and be marched off for training.

There were problems with this system. Many married to avoid the draft; others mutilated themselves in order to fail the medical or, more commonly, especially in rural areas, went into hiding, often with the help of their families and neighbors. More still deserted en route to the depots or after their arrival in garrisons. Napoleon made a number of modifications to the law. On 7 March 1800 he allowed substitutes to be hired to replace those selected in the ballot, but the cost of these was beyond the means of the vast majority of people. To make good the heavy losses after 1807, the need for conscripts increased dramatically. Napoleon began “borrowing” men, calling up future classes early or calling up those who had not been selected in previous years. The most dramatic example of this came on 27 September 1813 when Napoleon called up 160,000 men from the class of 1815, and 120,000 from the previous classes of 1808 to 1814.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Desertion; Directory, The; French Army; Germany, Campaign in; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Levée en Masse

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## Constable, John (1776–1837)

One of the most renowned English landscape painters of the nineteenth century, John Constable was born at East Bergholt, Suffolk, the fourth child of Golding Constable and Ann Watts. He attended private school in Lavenham, a daily 15-mile round trip during which he observed nature. He attended grammar school in Dedham, where his skills as a draftsman were commended.

Constable was influenced by a number of mentors. A local plumber and amateur painter, John Dunthorne, in his spare time taught Constable how to paint. While staying in Edmonton in 1796, Constable met John Cranch, who for a short time influenced his painting style. He also met John Thomas Smith, with whom he made drawings of cottages. A future patron, art connoisseur Sir George Beaumont, had become acquainted with Constable’s budding genius and advised Constable’s family to have him study art. With a letter of introduction from Joseph Farrington, a distinguished member of the Royal Academy, Constable moved to London, allowing him to move in influential art

circles. He also entered into a lifelong friendship with Archdeacon John Fisher.

On 19 February 1800 he enrolled at the Royal Academy School in London, where the noted American painter Benjamin West became his mentor. After buying a cottage at East Bergholt, he became consumed by the natural state of his native Stour valley. His lifelong proximity to the countryside resulted in his rebellion against the accepted conventions of painting. He sketched the same scene numerous times, to catch the correct light, the right shades of trees, and the exact weather conditions. Natural landscapes fed his soul. Constable revolutionized landscape painting when he discarded preconceived notions and painted nature at its source, with natural light. By painting his idyllic version of England's rural landscape, he created his own unique style. He exhibited his first painting at the Royal Academy in 1802 and declined a position of drawing master at a military academy in order to pursue his art studies. Constable married Maria Bicknell in 1816 despite her grandfather's objections. The happy couple had seven children and resided at Hampstead.

Over the next ten years Constable produced several fine studies in watercolor and graphic media, but his exhibitions in 1807–1808 failed to attract public attention. In 1811 he produced *Dedham Vale: Morning* and began corresponding with John Fisher; these letters remain important sources for an understanding of Constable's art, its inspiration, and its development. In 1814 he completed several easel pictures, including *Boatbuilding* and *The Stour Valley*, and displayed his mastery of drawing. Constable exhibited *The White Horse*, which generated public notice and critical approval and helped his election as Associate of the Royal Academy in 1819. He followed up on this success with a series of popular drawings, including *The Hay Wain*, *Stratford Mill*, *The Lock*, and *The Leaping Horse*. His exhibit at the Paris Salon in 1824, with *The Hay Wain* and other pictures, earned him a gold award from the French royal house. He strongly influenced Eugène Delacroix and the Barbizon school.

Constable traveled through southern England from 1824 to 1835 observing the effects of light upon nature and using the smallest details to perfect his technique. These journeys were funded by a £20,000 inheritance from his father-in-law. Maria died on 23 November 1828. Constable never emotionally recovered from her death; his anguished turmoil was evident in some of his paintings. In 1829 Constable exhibited *Hadleigh Castle* and was finally elected as a full Royal Academician. He published his *English Landscape Scenery* in 1830.

Constable died of a heart attack at his home on 31 March 1837. He was buried beside Maria in the churchyard of St. John's Church, Hampstead.

Constable left a vast amount of work behind. He was practically unknown to the art world and to the public, and none of his works were critically or financially rewarded. During the Victorian era Constable's work was finally appreciated for its genius. Today his paintings adorn major galleries and museums throughout the world.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Blake, William; David, Jacques-Louis; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de; Romanticism; Turner, Joseph

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### Constant de Rebecque, Henri-Benjamin (1767–1830)

Swiss-born French novelist, political philosopher, and politician who was active in numerous endeavors during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, playing an important role in the development of post-Restoration liberal ideology in France. Benjamin Constant, by which he is best known, was noteworthy for his bohemian lifestyle and his weakness for gambling, alcohol, and women.

Constant's liberalism grew out of his critique of the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and drew upon ideas of the Scottish Enlightened tradition he had studied while at the University of Edinburgh. Constant was bothered by the Jacobins' use of Rousseau's idea of the "General Will." Constant argued that liberty in the modern world was individualistic in nature and very different from Rousseau's conception, inspired by the ancient republics, of freedom as a collectivist phenomenon. According to Constant, division of labor had destroyed any notion of a "common good" or "General Will." He further believed that the public welfare could only be promoted by protecting the ability of individuals to pursue their own private ends.

In December 1799 Constant was nominated a member of the Tribunate, where his independent nature rankled the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, on numerous occasions. Many attribute Constant's activism and political views to the influence of Madame Germaine de Staël, a well-known anti-Bonaparte agitator and organizer of one of Paris's more liberal salons, with whom Constant had a longtime intimate relationship. Because of his controversial acquaintances and

activities, Bonaparte ended Constant's participation in the Tribunal in 1802, and he accompanied de Staël into exile the following year.

In 1813 Napoleon's reverses of fortune gave Constant, then living in Hanover, the confidence to write a pamphlet very critical of the Emperor. Upon Napoleon's abdication, Constant returned to Paris, where he was well received by the occupying sovereigns and resumed his place at the salon of de Staël. The influence of his most recent infatuation, Madame Jeanne Récamier, led to one of the biggest political blunders of his career. When Napoleon returned to France during the Hundred Days, Constant made it clear he would not associate with the returned Emperor and left Paris. Récamier persuaded him to return, helped arrange an interview with Napoleon, and convinced Constant to become a supporter of the new imperial government. Constant drew up an early draft of the new constitution. The return of King Louis XVIII forced Constant into exile.

His exile was short-lived, and in 1816 he was again in Paris advocating liberal constitutional principles. In 1819 he returned to the Chamber of Deputies and proved to be such a formidable opponent of monarchical principles, and proponent of liberal ideology, that the government made a vain attempt to exclude him from the chamber on the grounds of his Swiss birth. Constant served in the chamber from 1819 to 1822 and again from 1824 to 1830. Throughout this time he continued his political pamphleteering, calling for a constitutional monarchy, civil liberties, and most of all, freedom of the press.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Consulate, The; Louis XVIII, King; Staël, Mme Germaine de

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## Constitutions (French)

The French constitutional system is perhaps one of the most important legacies of the Revolutionary period. To date, France has had either sixteen or fourteen constitutions, depending on how various legal issues are counted, but all have been drawn from the basis of the initial 1791 constitution with little variation in major style or structure.

During the Revolutionary period, four constitutions were written, in 1791, 1793, 1795, and 1800. The most important of these was the first, which established a new gov-

ernment. As the new supreme law of the country the Constitution of 1791 had to design policy and law that would encompass the entire changing political environment. The 1,200-man elected National Assembly wrote the first constitution. The National Assembly, which also referred to itself as the National Constituent Assembly, chose to lay out the basis of the new social order in the form of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen before proceeding with the drafting of the laws that would support the basic principles that it contained. The National Assembly endorsed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen on 26 August 1789. The drafting of the first constitution took a full twenty-seven months thereafter.

Major legal questions were raised early in the process, the most important being questions on the power that would be accorded to the king, on the right to vote, and on the geographical organization of France. Initially a moderate group who called themselves the Monarchiens dominated the assembly's views on sovereign power. They pushed for a large budget for the king and for his right to veto laws he felt were inappropriate. The final decision on monarchical power was much more conservative, leaving the king greatly reduced in authority in favor of a one-house legislature. He was also allowed a suspensive veto that permitted the delay of legislation for a total of six years, or three two-year sessions of the assembly. On the question of voting, the first constitution established for adult males what was for the time a modest requirement of property ownership and tax payment. Others were excluded. The requirements for membership in the legislature were more limiting. Finally, on the question of geographical organization, the National Assembly sought to convey the principle that citizens are first and foremost members of the French nation, and only secondarily subjects of the king. To strengthen national unity, the National Assembly decided early in their work to replace the historical local and provincial divisions of the French kingdom with a more scientific approach using departments. The departments they laid out are virtually the same as those by which France is divided and governed today.

The Constitution of 1791 was adopted and sanctioned by the king in September of that year. When the National Convention came into power on 21 September 1792 it unanimously abolished the monarchy, began Year I of the new Republic, and commenced work on a new constitution. The constitutional committee, consisting of Georges-Jacques Danton, Jérôme Pétion, Jacques-Pierre Brissot, Pierre-Victurnien Vergniaud, Armand Gensonné, the marquis de Condorcet, and Tom Paine, prepared a new constitution for mid-February 1793. This new document was referred to as the Girondin constitution, but it was not put

into effect, as the Girondins lost power in the Convention to the Montagnard faction.

The Montagnard constitution, endorsed in late June 1793, provided for more-democratic functions, including universal manhood suffrage. It also put responsibility on the government to ensure that all citizens had the ability to exercise their rights. As with the Girondin constitution, the Constitution of 1793 was never put into effect, as the Convention voted to postpone its inauguration. The Constitution of 1793, framed by the Jacobins, stood out in the minds of the public as the most democratic and generous of the legal documents of the period and became part of the protest refrain “Bread and the Constitution of 1793” shouted during the riots of 1795. The popular insurrection in support of the Constitution of 1793 merely sealed its reputation as an extremist egalitarian document and guaranteed it would never see implementation.

August 1795 saw the drafting of yet another constitution, this one more conservative than that of its predecessor. The Constitution of 1795 (also known as the Constitution of Year III) reinstated property qualifications for voting rights and largely reinforced the importance of private property and the rule of law over the legitimacy of rebellion. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the new constitution was its explicit limiting of voting rights. While this return to limited suffrage reflected the views of the rest of Europe during this period, it was clearly in opposition to some of the basic tenets of the Revolution. The French public, however, voiced little opposition in this case. The Constitution of 1795 also proposed a two-house legislative system, which included the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, highlighting the importance of the duties of the people to the nation rather than just the assurance of rights provided, also accompanied the Constitution of 1795.

The Constitution of 1800 (also known as the Constitution of Year VIII) was produced under Bonaparte’s direction following the coup d’état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). Initially the effort was led by Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès, who supported an elaborate system of checks and balances. However, Bonaparte directed changes, particularly with respect to the power of the executive. By setting the various factions of constitutional groups against one another, Bonaparte was able to reshape that portion of the document concerned with executive power in order to allow for a First Consul who, elected for ten years, would serve with little interference from other parts of the government. The Constitution of 1800 was approved in a plebiscite by a vast majority of the electorate: Over 3 million voters supported it, while fewer than 2,000 rejected it. Bonaparte promulgated the new constitution on Christmas Day 1799.

*Christine Grafton*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Council of Ancients; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Paine, Tom

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### Consulate, The (1799–1804)

The Consulate represented the most creative phase of the Bonapartist regime. It was established according to the Constitution of 1800 (formally known as the Constitution of Year VIII), which was implemented in December 1799 and subsequently received popular endorsement in a plebiscite. Instead of the honorific head of state envisaged by Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès, who, along with Roger Ducos, had been part of a three-man provisional consulate following the coup of Brumaire, Bonaparte imposed an all-powerful chief executive. This triumph, sometimes described as “a coup within the coup,” naturally led to his appointment as First Consul, with Jean-Jacques Cambacérès and Charles François Lebrun occupying second and third places in the definitive consular triumvirate. Bonaparte was first among unequals, though his fellow consuls were both gifted administrators who had begun their careers under the *ancien régime* and also served the Revolution.

The consuls promised to end the Revolution, and to a large extent they succeeded in doing so, ably assisted by a talented team drawn from all points of the political compass. Many of the unresolved problems and unfinished projects left over from the Revolutionary decade were tackled effectively between 1800 and 1804. The long-awaited restoration of law and order, for example, began with the creation of the prefects, who took charge of local government in February 1800. They were appointed from the center, and though an electoral system of sorts was retained, most officials were now nominated. The judicial system was also recast, a process that culminated in the promulgation of the Civil Code in 1804. Freedom of expression was rapidly eroded, while widespread brigandage was contained by the implementation of more pervasive police powers. Yet the Consulate was characterized by reconciliation as well as by repression. The lists of émigrés were closed, and most exiles were permitted to return to France. Above all, the Concordat

with the papacy, implemented in 1802, ended the disastrous schism with the Catholic Church that had plagued the Revolution since 1791. Moreover, Bonaparte achieved peace in Europe by the Treaties of Lunéville and Amiens, respectively. The Austrians were defeated once more, and a peace, though amounting to little more than an armistice, was signed with Britain.

At this propitious moment, in 1802, Bonaparte began maneuvering to become Consul for Life. After some resistance in the Senate, a proposal was formulated and put to the people, who massively approved the Life Consulate. This constitutional change also gave Bonaparte the right to nominate his successor, yet it was deemed an insufficient safeguard against the demise of the great man. A mere two years later, Bonaparte became Napoleon I with the creation of the hereditary empire in December 1804. This regime became known as “le Grand Empire,” on account of its vast territorial extent, but the epithet “great” can be justifiably attached to the Consulate too. Though the consular structure was relatively short-lived, many of its monumental administrative, judicial, and religious aspects proved enduring, and some have lasted until the present day.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Brumaire, Coup of; Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques Régis de, duc de Parme; Civil Code; Concordat; Constitutions (French); Convention, The; Directory, The; Emigrés; France; French Revolution; Lunéville, Treaty of

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## Continental System

The Continental System was Napoleon’s vision for achieving an economic counterpart to his military empire. It consisted of two primary parts, a Continent-wide blockade against British imports and a commercial policy that promoted French industrial development within the French Empire. Napoleon revealed his policy in two successive decrees, those of Berlin (1806) and Milan (1807), and amended it with three subsequent ones: Saint-Cloud, Trianon, and Fontainebleau (1810). Considered by many scholars to be one of Napoleon’s biggest mistakes, the Continental System was neither irrational in its implementation nor unrealistic in its aspirations.

In many respects Napoleon’s plan was not, however, very original. The Berlin Decrees asserted simply that “the

British Isles are declared in a state of blockade” and “commerce in English merchandise is forbidden” upon pain of imprisonment or confiscation (quoted in Mowat 1924, 202). For most of the eighteenth century, the British and the French had both employed similar measures—trade restrictions, blockades, and tariffs—against each other. The doctrine of mercantilism held that in order to gain wealth, a country had to take from another, especially by achieving a more favorable balance of trade. Applying these theories, the two rivals worked aggressively to contain the export trade of their rivals and to promote their own. This action against British imports and ships was no more than a continuation of policies that had been in place before Napoleon took power.

The Continental System, however, diverged from previous policies of a similar nature in two major respects. First, Napoleon intended for these restrictions to apply not exclusively to Anglo-French relations but to relations between Britain and the entire European continent. After the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, Napoleon knew that he would be unable to defeat Britain militarily, so the Continental System was devised in order to attempt to vanquish Britain economically. He wanted to unite all of the countries of Europe behind a barrier past which no British products could pass. The loss of markets would be devastating to the British economy: The industries of the Continent would eventually catch up with their British counterparts, causing, in turn, overwhelming credit problems; Britain would be unable to support its allies on the Continent; and the country was certain to experience domestic political and social unrest as a result of economic hardship. By broadening the scope of the blockade, Napoleon could deal Britain a devastating blow in a relatively short period of time.

At the time, Napoleon did not have the ability to force all of Europe to adhere to his system. First and foremost, he did not control all of the coastlines, a deficiency that he immediately began to address. First, he stipulated compliance with the blockade as part of the treaty he concluded with Tsar Alexander I at Tilsit in July 1807, and he strengthened his control over the trading towns of northern Germany through a treaty with Prussia and by the terms of the constitution of the Confederation of the Rhine. He pressured the rulers of the Netherlands and Spain to enforce the decrees. Next, he moved to increase direct military and political control over the coastlines of Spain, Portugal, and the Italian peninsula, especially the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Papal States. If a ruler was not willing to enforce the system, Napoleon did not hesitate to replace him or her, including his own family members. The unwillingness of his brother Louis Bonaparte to destroy the livelihood of his countrymen led to his removal from the throne of Holland, and Pope Pius VII’s

reluctance led to his flight and eventual near imprisonment by French troops.

A second original contribution of the Continental System was its integration into a wider commercial policy. Napoleon did not envision the creation of a customs union with free trade between the different areas of the Empire. On the contrary, faced with a pressing need for increased revenue, the French imperial government often revived old tolls and other obstacles to the free movement of goods (though Napoleon did force most countries to adopt a common decimal system). Instead of creating a united European market, the system was designed to put the interests of France above all others. Accordingly, he protected French markets from the influx of goods, even from Allied countries, through tariffs. In the absence of British competition, Napoleon intended for French industries to rise to the fore and replace the absent British goods with French ones. With this in mind, he promoted the development of French industry and tried to quash industrial growth outside of his carefully demarcated preferred zone.

Napoleon was aware that the system might cause hardship, stating “the blockade will ruin many commercial towns: Lyons, Amsterdam, Rotterdam” (quoted in Broers 1996, 144) and “undoubtedly injure Holland and France” (quoted in Heckscher 1964, 93), but he believed that in the long run the ultimate devastation of the British economy would make it worthwhile. Initially, neutral ships had not been covered by the trading injunctions against Britain, but after the British issued their Orders in Council in 1807, which restricted neutral shipping, Napoleon retaliated with the Milan Decrees, declaring that any ships with British cargoes—sometimes even ships with entirely British crews or possessions—were liable to search and seizure by imperial authorities. When the United States protested and passed its own protectionist laws (against both France and Britain), Napoleon seized over 100 U.S. ships in French-controlled ports. The system would only be effective, he believed, if the Continent stood united against Britain.

Perhaps if Napoleon had been able to implement the entire system consistently, it might have had more chance of success. From the beginning, however, smuggling and corruption were endemic to its operations. When he felt that local administrators could not be trusted to properly enforce the ban, he replaced them with his own men, who often turned out to be just as susceptible to bribery and laxity. Napoleon himself called Marshal Brune, his commander in Hamburg, who replaced customs officials with soldiers in order to facilitate illegal trade, an “undaunted robber” (quoted in Heckscher 1964, 165). Any nearby usable port outside of the blockade saw its customs much increase. In 1807 the British seized the Frisian island of He-

ligoland from Denmark, and it became a popular base for illicit trade in British goods. Between August and November 1808, over 120 ships stopped there. Napoleon directed the Decree of Fontainebleau (October 1810) against smuggling, creating a special court to punish transgressors and calling for all illegal goods to be publicly burned.

The system provoked much hostility and resentment from those who lived under it. The economies of many previously prosperous areas, especially urban centers that depended on trade such as Rotterdam and the Hanseatic ports, suffered heavily under the system. Industries that depended on overseas trade were nearly wiped out in many areas. Bankruptcies of shipping companies, industrial enterprises, and merchants were rampant, especially on the fringes of the Empire. Resentment of the system contributed to outbreaks of unrest and revolts, especially in areas chafing from other aspects of imperial rule, such as taxes or conscription. Napoleon’s harsh treatment of neutral shipping aggravated his relationship with the United States and ended the chances that the Americans might have joined the war against Britain as an ally of France. The Spanish, already incensed over Napoleon’s treatment of the pope for noncompliance, began a guerrilla campaign of resistance to every aspect of Napoleonic rule, which constituted an enormous drain on French resources and left imperial authorities unable to control trade in Spain and Portugal. Napoleon’s seizure of the town of Oldenburg exacerbated an already-declining relationship with Alexander (the Treaty of Tilsit guaranteed that the town would remain under the Duke of Oldenburg, Alexander’s cousin). At the end of 1810, the tsar repudiated the system, refusing to confiscate neutral vessels, especially American ships, and instigating tariffs against French goods.

It might be said that Napoleon participated in smuggling against himself. As the industry and trade of France and its allies suffered, he softened the effects of the Continental System. First, in the Saint-Cloud Decrees, he permitted specially licensed ships to trade with Britain in exchange for the payment of a fee. In 1810–1811 the British suffered from bad harvests and food shortages—perhaps their weakest moment. Ironically, Napoleon’s licenses alleviated the crisis by providing French grain. The Decrees of Trianon permitted the importation of strategic commodities upon payment of tariffs as high as 50 percent. Napoleon argued that both decrees still contributed to British decline because they brought gold from Britain to France (a tenet of mercantilism), but in effect they undermined the system.

Despite the drawbacks, the system was nearly successful. In 1810 the British were facing financial difficulties that were compounded by a series of bad harvests. They had ceased most payments to continental allies and rebels

and had curtailed some military activities due to lack of funds. In the long run, however, the British were saved by their navy. The French Navy was not large enough to enforce a physical blockade capable of excluding British goods from the Continent. As one British minister remarked, “Bonaparte might equally have pretended to blockade the moon as to blockade this country” (quoted in Mowat 1924, 205). The blockade was “little more than a theatrical gesture. . . . It was, and aimed at being, a self-blockade on the part of the Continent” (Heckscher 1964, 93).

The British, on the other hand, possessed a powerful navy, and they used it to impose a true counterblockade on the Continent. The French almost immediately lost access to and eventually lost control over their colonial possessions, especially after the revolution in St. Domingue (modern-day Haiti) in 1791. They also lost access to strategic colonial imports, including popular goods such as sugar and coffee and industrial imports such as cotton. Finally, they even lost markets in Latin America, as governments there expressed support for the Spanish rebellion against French rule. The British were happy to fill the void left by the French. In addition to seizing French islands, Britain (partially) compensated for the loss of continental markets by increasing sales to Latin America.

The system also affected France, of course, though with mixed results. Industries such as iron and sugar refining suffered from a lack of access to critical raw materials, from poor transportation infrastructure, and from the weak demand from their European trading partners, who were suffering from the ill effects of warfare, internal revolts, the economic isolation imposed by the system, or all three. On the other hand, within the preferred trading zone, which included northern France and Belgium, some industries did prosper. Protection from British competition seems to have been a significant factor in inducing the introduction of new technologies to French industry, especially in the textile and chemical industries. Belgium and the Rhineland were especially fortunate, and their experience under the system paved the way for their explosive industrial growth after 1815. French overseas trade, on the other hand, never recovered from the ravages of the Napoleonic period. Overall, after 1815 the continental economy shifted away from an Atlantic-centered orientation to one that focused on national markets and internal development (Crouzet 1964, 586–587).

Finally, it is easy to forget that the Continental System was in effect for only eight years and was not in full force for all of that period. It hardly had time to severely affect the European economy. Napoleon had only intended it to be a short-term solution to a long-term problem: the defeat of Britain and the creation of a united French empire

in Europe. Enforcement of the system depended on his continued military success; when his military aspirations failed to materialize, so too did his economic ones.

Laura Cruz

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Berlin Decrees; Blockade; Bonaparte, Louis; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Confederation of the Rhine; France; Great Britain; Haiti; Mercantilism; Milan Decrees; Netherlands, The; Orders in Council; Papal States; Peninsular War; Pius VII, Pope; Portugal; Royal Navy; Russia; South America; Spain; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trianon Decree; War of 1812

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## Convention, The (1792–1795)

The National Convention was a constituent assembly that sat for three years between September 1792 and October 1795. Two constitutions were produced, in 1793 and 1795. The former, though endorsed in a plebiscite, was immediately suspended because of the severe crisis facing the Republic, and the Reign of Terror ensued. After the coup of Thermidor and the gradual repeal of emergency legislation, the innovative prescriptions of 1793 were no longer acceptable, and a less radical document emerged in 1795. The Convention thus presided over a momentous phase in the Revolution, marked by both violence and democratic experimentation. Following the overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792, the newly elected Convention enshrined both executive and legislative functions. Indeed, it would also assume judicial responsibilities with the trial of

Louis XVI, who was executed after a close-run parliamentary vote in January 1793.

The 749 deputies, or *conventionnels*, cannot have anticipated so long or arduous a task when they first met on 20 September 1792 and promptly declared France a republic. Circumstances of war and insurrection, combined with deep internal divisions (the celebrated conflict between Jacobins and Girondins) dictated otherwise. Yet the *conventionnels* were a remarkably homogeneous group in terms of age, experience, and occupational background: mostly in their thirties, having held office, and mostly with professional qualifications; there were some priests but very few former nobles. What principally divided them, apart from personality and power, was their relationship with the sans-culottes of Paris, who overawed the Convention. It was “the mob” who ensured a purge of the Convention on 2 June 1793, leading to the expulsion of twenty-nine deputies (some of whom were later killed). This violation of parliamentary sovereignty provoked uproar in the provinces and exacerbated the crisis facing the Republic. Unrest was assuaged by the completion of a constitution and by increasingly repressive measures from the now-dominant Jacobins, who took concerted action with the tacit support of uncommitted deputies.

Executive authority was vested in a Committee of Public Safety, subject to monthly renewal by the Convention, whose membership under Maximilien Robespierre was unchanged from the summer of 1793. If the first year of the Convention was characterized by division, the next twelve months were stamped with the “single will” that brought the Terror but also produced victory on the battlefield and a range of social and cultural reforms (equal inheritance and the Republican calendar, for example). As the Convention entered its third and final period, when the Terror was gradually dismantled after Thermidor, there was something of a return to normality. Even so, there was no wholesale retreat from radicalism in the Constitution of 1795, for France remained a secular Republic, in which virtually all adult males could vote. Establishing the Directory, as the new regime became known, would prove equally problematic, and the memory of the Convention continued to inspire fear as much as respect for dramatic policies that were both radical and extremely violent.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Directory, The; France; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Public Safety, Committee of; Republican Calendar; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Copenhagen, Attack on (2–5 September 1807)

On 7 July 1807, following Napoleon’s defeat of Prussia, France and Russia concluded peace at Tilsit. Its terms reduced Prussia to a secondary power, and France and Russia agreed in secret provisions to coerce Denmark and Sweden to expel the British navy from the Baltic. Aware of the terms and fearful that Denmark’s fleet would now be added to those of France and Russia, London decided on immediate action in the form of a preemptive strike to repeat its first attack on Copenhagen in 1801. On 26 July, Admiral James Gambier sailed from Yarmouth Road for Copenhagen in command of a powerful fleet of twenty-five ships of the line and forty frigates, sloops, bomb vessels (special ships carrying mortars for shore bombardment), and gun brigs. Lieutenant General Lord Cathcart commanded a land contingent of about 27,000 men in 377 transports.

Arriving off Vinga, Gambier detached four of his ships of the line, three frigates, and ten brigs into the Great Belt to ensure that no reinforcements reached Copenhagen from the mainland, where the majority of Danish troops were located. On 3 August the main body of ships anchored off Helsingør, where the transports joined them.

The Danes had twenty ships of the line, twenty-seven frigates, and sixty smaller vessels. An additional three ships of the line were under construction and almost complete. The British had achieved surprise, however, and when they arrived none of the Danish ships were ready for combat.

The Danes rejected the British demand that they hand over their entire fleet as well as all cannon in the arsenal, so on 15 August Gambier moved his ships off Skövshoved, 4 miles north of Copenhagen. The next day he sent the British troops ashore there and 5 miles to the north. Hostilities began on the seventeenth. Following an armistice during 28–30 August, the fighting resumed.

On 2 September the British ships commenced a bombardment of Copenhagen. The British had learned from their first attack on Copenhagen in 1801 and did not use ships of the line in the bombardment. Instead, they employed shore artillery and Congreve rockets fired from special ships. The rockets proved highly effective in a circumstance where accuracy was not a requirement, and parts of the city were soon in flames. On 6 September the Danes surrendered, agreeing to the British demands.

During the next six weeks the British removed the spoils of war and destroyed what they did not take, including the three ships of the line and four other vessels under

construction. Some other vessels were also burned and sunk. On 21 October the British sailed away with sixteen ships of the line, twenty frigates, and forty-three other vessels. The military booty the British carried off in the transports was estimated to be worth some 3 million thalers. Unfortunately for the Royal Navy, severe storms on the return trip to Britain led to the loss of twenty-five vessels. Only four of the Danish ships of the line were taken into the Royal Navy.

Ironically, London had moved too quickly, for Gambier had presented his ultimatum to the Danish government before Napoleon had been able to present his own. A delay of several weeks might have induced the Danes to come over to the British side. In any case, the British achieved their goal of preventing any augmentation to Napoleon's naval strength.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* Canning, George; Cathcart, William Cathcart, First Earl; Congreve Rockets; Copenhagen, Battle of; Kjøge, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Copenhagen, Battle of (2 April 1801)

Trade with the Baltic had long been important to Britain. It included grain imports, but the Royal Navy also relied on the Baltic for timber and naval supplies, especially flax, which was used in the production of both sails and rope. Thus, in 1800, when Tsar Paul of Russia abandoned the war against France and moved to create a pro-French "Armed Neutrality of the North," the British government was greatly alarmed. London regarded the matter as sufficiently important to warrant military action.

The immediate problem arose with Denmark and its claimed right to convoy its merchant shipping through the British blockade without being subject to search. On 25 July 1800 a small British squadron brought a Danish convoy into port to search it for contraband. Pressured by the presence of a British squadron off Copenhagen, the Danes agreed to allow their convoys to be searched. Although

both the British and Danish governments declared themselves satisfied, the event pushed Denmark closer to Russia.

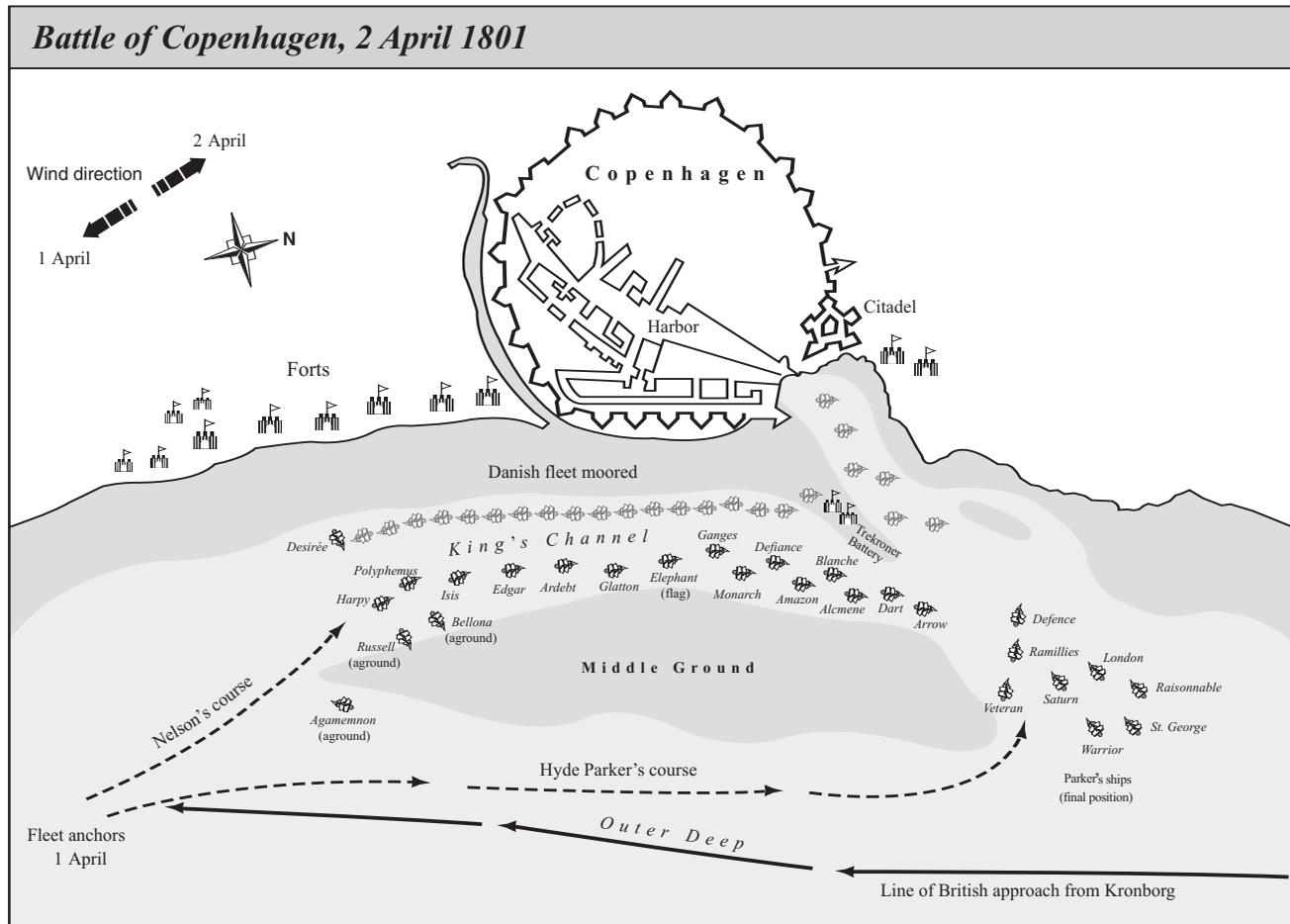
In December 1800, having learned of the British seizure of Malta, to which Paul had pretensions, Russia embargoed all British ships and signed a naval convention with Sweden in which the two powers revived the Armed Neutrality of 1780, which would have allowed noncontraband goods, including timber and flax, to pass to France. In February 1801, after Bonaparte had forced Austria to sue for peace in the Treaty of Lunéville, Russia expanded the Armed Neutrality to include Prussia and Denmark, whereupon the British government decided on a show of force and, if necessary, a preemptive strike to break up the league.

Admiral Sir Hyde Parker received command of the Baltic expedition. Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson, recently returned from the Mediterranean, was made second in command. In March Denmark embargoed British shipping, and its forces occupied both Hamburg and Lübeck. The only question for the British now was whether to descend on Denmark or to move up the Baltic against the source of the problem and attack the Russian fleet at Revel (now Tallinn) while the remainder of Russian ships were icebound at Kronstadt. This would have been the boldest, most certain course, but the cautious Parker rejected it in favor of a descent on Denmark.

Parker sailed from Yarmouth on 12 March with fifty-three ships, twenty of them ships of the line, and nearly two regiments of infantry. The British had sent a diplomatic mission ahead, so the Danes had time to prepare. Even on his arrival, Parker delayed for a week. Nelson asked to lead an assault on Copenhagen, and on 1 April Parker agreed, giving him thirty ships, including ten smaller ships of the line, a 54-gun ship and a 50-gun ship, and seven bomb vessels (special ships carrying mortars for shore bombardment). Parker would remain well offshore with eight ships of the line, including the 98-gun ships *London* and *St. George*.

At dawn on 2 April, taking advantage of a favorable southerly wind, Nelson's ships weighed anchor to attack. Noting that the Danish line was strongest in the north, close to a large land battery, Nelson decided on an attack from the south. It began at 9:30 A.M. Danish commodore Johan Fischer commanded eighteen warships, armed hulks, and floating batteries moored north and south parallel with the shore for about a mile and a half, all supported by several shore batteries.

From the start, things went badly for the British. Lacking adequate charts or pilots, one ship of the line grounded before the action began. Two other ships of the line grounded on the other side of the channel at extreme range. The other nine capital ships then closed to relatively



Adapted from Warner 1965, 114–115.

long range of about a cable length (240 yards) and engaged the Danish ships and shore batteries. Subsequently the British learned that they might have improved their gunnery effectiveness by bringing their vessels in much closer and even engaging the Danish ships on both sides simultaneously, as at the Nile.

Clearly, Nelson underestimated the Danish defenses, which were fought with great gallantry and effectiveness. The result was a long, slow slugging match, but after three hours of combat that included even Nelson's frigates, superior British gunnery began to tell. At this point, Parker, about 4 miles away with his larger ships of the line and very slow to engage, signaled a recall to all ships. Nelson ignored the order. Had it been carried out, it would have turned victory into disaster, for the only way for Nelson's ships to withdraw was up the channel and across the undefeated northern Danish defenses (two British ships of the line grounded there after the cease-fire). An angry Nelson reportedly turned to his flag captain and remarked, "You know, Foley, I have only one eye,—I have a right to be blind sometimes." Placing the telescope to that blind eye,

he remarked, "I really do not see the signal." Nelson's captains copied their commander and also refused to disengage (Fremont-Barnes 2001, 84).

By 1:30 P.M., although several British ships were flying distress signals, Nelson had disabled a dozen Danish ships, including Fischer's flagship, and overwhelmed the southern shore defenses of Copenhagen. He was then in position to bring up his bomb vessels to shell the city. The Danes agreed to a cease-fire an hour later. Casualties were heavy and approximately equal; of Nelson's battles, only Trafalgar was fought at greater human cost. It was also Nelson's most difficult battle, the one in which he came closest to defeat; but it stands as one of the three most remarkable of his victories at sea, along with the Nile (1798) and Trafalgar (1805).

Nelson then negotiated directly with Crown Prince Frederick. On 9 April, faced with a British threat to bombard Copenhagen, the Danes agreed to a truce of fourteen weeks. Nelson had demanded sixteen weeks, sufficient time for the British fleet to deal with the Russians. The battle had been unnecessary. Nelson understood from the start

that Russia was the real enemy. He had wanted to descend on the Russians at Kronstadt, leaving only a squadron to keep the Danes in check. Had this course of action been followed the British would have discovered that Paul had been assassinated on 24 March and that his successor, Alexander I, had changed policies. Indeed, news of this event, received at Copenhagen by the Danes in the course of the negotiations, enabled them to conclude an agreement more satisfactory to their position. The Armed Neutrality now broke up, and by June 1801 British trade in the Baltic was again moving without threat of hindrance.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armed Neutrality, League of; Copenhagen, Attack on; Denmark; Lunéville, Treaty of; Malta, Operations on; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Paul I, Tsar; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Corn Laws

The Corn Laws were enacted in 1815 by the British Parliament in order to protect agriculture, which had invested heavily to increase the domestic food supply during the wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. It was also argued that they would safeguard tenant farmers and laborers and shield the country from dependence on food imports in wartime. The importation of corn (wheat) was prohibited until the domestic price, which was determined by taking the average price in several market towns, reached 40 shillings (£4) a quarter (8 bushels); lower levels were set for other cereals, such as oats and barley.

From the beginning this high floor price and the principle of protecting agriculture and aristocracy in contrast to leaving industrial workers to their own fate in economic turbulence was a major grievance for those to whom bread was the staff of life. Urban workers, unlike those who controlled both houses of Parliament, received no protection during the difficult transition to peace after twenty years of wartime prosperity and bitterly resented being forced to pay artificially high prices for food. There

were riots in London and other towns while the measure was being debated in Parliament at the time of the Waterloo campaign, though they had no effect on the passage of the legislation. The agriculturalists for their part were disappointed that protection did not produce high grain prices. In 1822 Lord Liverpool's government, which was reducing other tariff barriers to stimulate trade, lowered the duty on grain, but since the domestic price never reached the level at which it would come into effect, the legislation remained a dead letter. The ministry was divided on taking further, more effective action. Not until 1828 was the matter resolved by the Duke of Wellington's administration, which reduced the level of protection and tried to make imports more orderly by a sliding scale of tariffs. When the domestic price reached 66 shillings a quarter, corn would be admitted on paying a duty of 20 shillings, falling to 1 shilling when the price rose to 73 shillings a quarter. An unanticipated consequence was that speculators, by raising the price slightly in the towns where the averages were taken, could considerably reduce the duty on grain stored in bonded warehouses.

In 1838 Manchester cotton manufacturers formed the Anti-Corn Law League to bring pressure on Parliament by means of speakers and publications denouncing grain protection as an immoral tax on the poor, a burden to industrialists, and unwarranted security for the aristocracy. The prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, whose instincts were for free trade, alarmed his agricultural followers in 1842 by including grain in a general tariff reduction. In 1846, on the justification of the Irish famine, and with the league having changed public opinion so that the laws could not be reimposed if they were suspended to deal with the Irish crisis, he completely abolished the Corn Laws over the next three years. The bill was supported in the House of Commons by the opposition Whigs, and in the House of Lords it passed as a result of Wellington's influence. The move fatally split the Conservative Party, but in the era of free trade Peel was hailed as a statesman who put country before party.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Great Britain; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Cornwallis, William (1744–1819)

Sir William Cornwallis was a British admiral active during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Born in London on 20 February 1744, his father was the first Earl of Cornwallis. His brother, Charles (later first Marquis) Cornwallis, was the general who surrendered the British army at Yorktown in 1781, later negotiated the terms of the Treaty of Amiens with France in 1801–1802, and became governor-general of India in 1805. William too saw service in North America. He had entered the navy in 1755, at age eleven, and by 1766 had risen to the rank of captain. During the American War of Independence (1775–1783), Cornwallis fought in Vice Admiral John Byron's fleet at the Battle of Grenada (July 1779), commanding the *Lion* (64 guns), which, damaged in the battle, sought refuge in Jamaica. Cornwallis also saw action at Monte Christi (March 1780), St. Kitts (January 1782), Dominica (April 1782), and many other places. His reputation rose with men such as Horatio Nelson, with whom he was well acquainted. From 1788 until 1793 Cornwallis served primarily in the East Indies, rising from rear admiral to vice admiral.

After Britain declared war on France in 1793, Cornwallis was most active in the English Channel. On 17 June 1795 he and his fleet encountered a sizable French fleet under Admiral Louis Villaret-Joyeuse off Belle Isle, near Brest. Heavily outgunned, Cornwallis ordered a retreat. But seeing one of his ships falling behind, he returned to assist it. The French interpreted Cornwallis's actions to mean that more British ships must be nearby, and they hastily called off their pursuit, allowing Cornwallis to escape to Plymouth. This event became known as "Cornwallis's retreat" and gained him a reputation for valor. In 1796 a misunderstanding with the Admiralty led to a court-martial, at which Cornwallis was later acquitted. In 1799 he was promoted to full admiral.

Cornwallis was commander of the Channel Fleet in 1801 and again from 1803 until March 1806, when his command passed to Lord St. Vincent. His blockade of French ports during the naval campaign of 1805 played a vital part in Nelson's success by bottling up enemy vessels that might have bolstered the strength of the Franco-Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar.

Cornwallis's various nicknames attest to the fact that his men regarded him with admiration, mixed at times with resentment. He was variously known as "Billy go tight," "Mr. Whip," and "Coachee," but most often as "Billy Blue," a nickname that referred to his practice of anchoring and immediately hoisting a flag known as a Blue Peter, which indicated that the fleet needed to be ready to sail at a moment's notice. He died on 5 July 1819, with his impor-

tant contribution to British naval success in 1805 still largely unacknowledged.

Mark G. Spencer

*See also* Belle Isle, Battle of; Blockade; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Third Coalition, War of the; Trafalgar, Battle of; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas

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## Corps System

The corps system reorganized the French Army into a stronger and faster military force and contributed greatly to French victory after 1804. The reorganization transformed the French Army into a collection of smaller units known as corps, each containing infantry, cavalry, and artillery and thus capable of fighting independently. Their smaller size also enabled them to move faster than an entire army. These enhanced capabilities influenced the future tactics of the French Army and gave it a decided advantage until France's enemies adopted the system themselves.

The concept was not a new one. Units of combined arms, designed for specific missions, had been used by the French marshals Maurice, comte de Saxe and Charles Louis, duc de Belle-Isle during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). More recently, Lazare Carnot had created all-arms divisions in his reorganization of French forces in 1794. By 1800 Jean Moreau had instituted a corps system in the Army of the Rhine, and Guillaume Brune used the same structure in Italy. Napoleon's achievement, then, was not to have invented the corps but to have implemented it as the standard structural unit for the French Army. He did this during the reorganization of the Grande Armée between 1802 and 1804.

The new corps contained two to four infantry divisions, a brigade of light cavalry, and several companies of artillery attached to the corps headquarters. The combat units had their own companies of lighter-caliber artillery. In addition, corps had staff and support services. The strength of a corps varied widely, being based on its intended purpose. At the Battle of Wagram in 1809, Marshal Davout's III Corps was made up of four divisions of infantry (31,600), one light cavalry division, and one

dragoon division (6,200), and 120 guns. Marshal Bernadotte's IX Corps (Saxon troops), at the same battle, contained three divisions of infantry (15,500), two brigades of cavalry, all light except for one regiment of cuirassiers (2,500), and 38 guns.

The major advantages of the corps were mobility and adaptability. Being smaller than a full army, a corps could travel faster and forage more easily. This allowed the French forces to disperse on the march but reunite for battle. Containing infantry, cavalry, and artillery, a corps could temporarily engage an enemy force two to three times its size and hold it in place until reinforcements arrived. This procedure eventually became standard practice, employing a formation known as the *bataillon carré* (battalion square). It allowed for a roughly square formation of four corps forming an advance guard, a rear reserve, and a right and left flank. The adaptability of the battalion square relied heavily on the quality of the officer corps as well as on the superior French command and staff system. It also relied on commanders' marching to the sound of the guns to reinforce the first corps to engage the enemy. The efficacy of the system declined as the number of veterans declined in later years. Nonetheless, the success of the corps system convinced other European armies to adopt it. Austria began reorganizing after 1805, while Prussia and Russia attempted to adopt the new system after 1806. No other contemporary army, however, employed it as efficiently as the French.

Doug Harmon

*See also* Artillery (Land); Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Cavalry; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Division; French Army; Infantry; Moreau, Jean Victor; Wagram, Battle of

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## Corsica

Located at a strategic position between France and Italy in the western Mediterranean Sea, Corsica is the fourth-largest island (after Sicily, Sardinia, and Cyprus) in the Mediterranean. It lies 105 miles (170 kilometers) from southern France and 56 miles (90 kilometers) from northwestern Italy, and is separated by the narrow Strait of Boni-

facio from Sardinia. The island has an area of 3,352 square miles (8,681 square kilometers). It has been repeatedly invaded and colonized throughout the centuries. In the mid-sixteenth century the island came under control of the Italian city-state of Genoa, but it continuously rebelled and fought for independence. In 1729 a Corsican rebellion evolved into a revolution that eventually succeeded under the leadership of charismatic Pasquale Paoli in 1755. Paoli, whom the Corsicans affectionately called Babbu (meaning father in Corsican), ruled Corsica for the next fourteen years, establishing one of the more original governments in Europe and opening the first printing press, newspaper, and university at Corte. Paoli even invited the famous philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau to write a constitution for Corsica, about which Rousseau later famously proclaimed, "I have the feeling this little island will one day astonish Europe" (Rousseau 1999, section x).

In 1768, however, Genoa, still nominally in control of the island, ceded Corsica to France to help pay off a debt. French forces conquered the island in the spring of 1769, defeating the feeble Corsican troops at Ponte Nuovo on 9 May and forcing Paoli and his supporters to flee to Britain. Three months after the French victory, Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio on 15 August 1769. Corsica became a province of France that same year and was reorganized into a department during the French Revolution. Exiled for twenty-one years in England, Paoli initially accepted French sovereignty, but he later began moving the island toward greater independence. His appeals for foreign aid led to British intervention. In 1794, Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Hood, commander of the British Mediterranean Fleet, selected Corsica as a base for the Royal Navy. In February he dispatched some 1,500 men to Corsica, where they faced numerically superior French troops garrisoned at Bastia and Calvi. In the ensuing fighting, Captain Horatio Nelson led the crew of the *Agamemnon* (64 guns) to besiege Bastia and lost an eye during the fighting. Following the French surrender in early August, the British established Anglo-Corsican rule, which lasted only two years (1794–1796). After Napoleon's triumph in Italy in 1796, the British considered the island a defensive liability and had withdrawn their forces from Corsica by October 1796. In November French troops landed from Tuscany to reestablish French control for the rest of the Napoleonic period.

Alexander Mikaberidze

*See also* Hood, Alexander, Viscount Bridport; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Sardinia; Sicily

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### Corunna, Battle of (16 January 1809)

In January 1809 Lieutenant General Sir John Moore's British army battled the elements and the pursuing army of Marshal Nicolas Soult as it retreated across northern Spain toward the port town of Corunna (La Coruña), where the Royal Navy intended to embark them to safety. However, as the British force prepared for its evacuation from Corunna, Soult's men arrived and attempted to prevent as many as possible from reaching the ships. After boarding some of his army, Moore turned to counter Soult's offensive drive toward Corunna. Moore deployed his 15,000 men, with only twelve guns, on the Monte Moro ridge approximately 2 miles south of the town.

Soult advanced cautiously, attempting to consolidate his force of 24,200 men before striking the British defenses. His first move, on 15 January, was to drive off the British pickets and seize the Palavea and Penasquedo ridges, located to the south of Moore's position. The key to these ridges lay in the fact that French artillery could bombard the enemy. A British counterattack against the French guns ended in failure and the death of Colonel John McKenzie, commander of the 5th Foot. Moore's troops stood fast on their ridge while the British commander placed a reserve force under Major General Edward Paget out of sight behind his men as a reserve in case the French attempted to turn his right flank—perhaps the weakest point of his line. Soult prepared to assault the British right flank the next day at the village of Elvina. The British realized they were vulnerable at this point and expected an attack to be focused on this area. A French success there could cut off a British retreat to the town of Corunna. During the night Soult ordered artillery manhandled up the steep slopes of the Palavea and Penasquedo ridges in order to prepare for an assault on the British lines the next day.

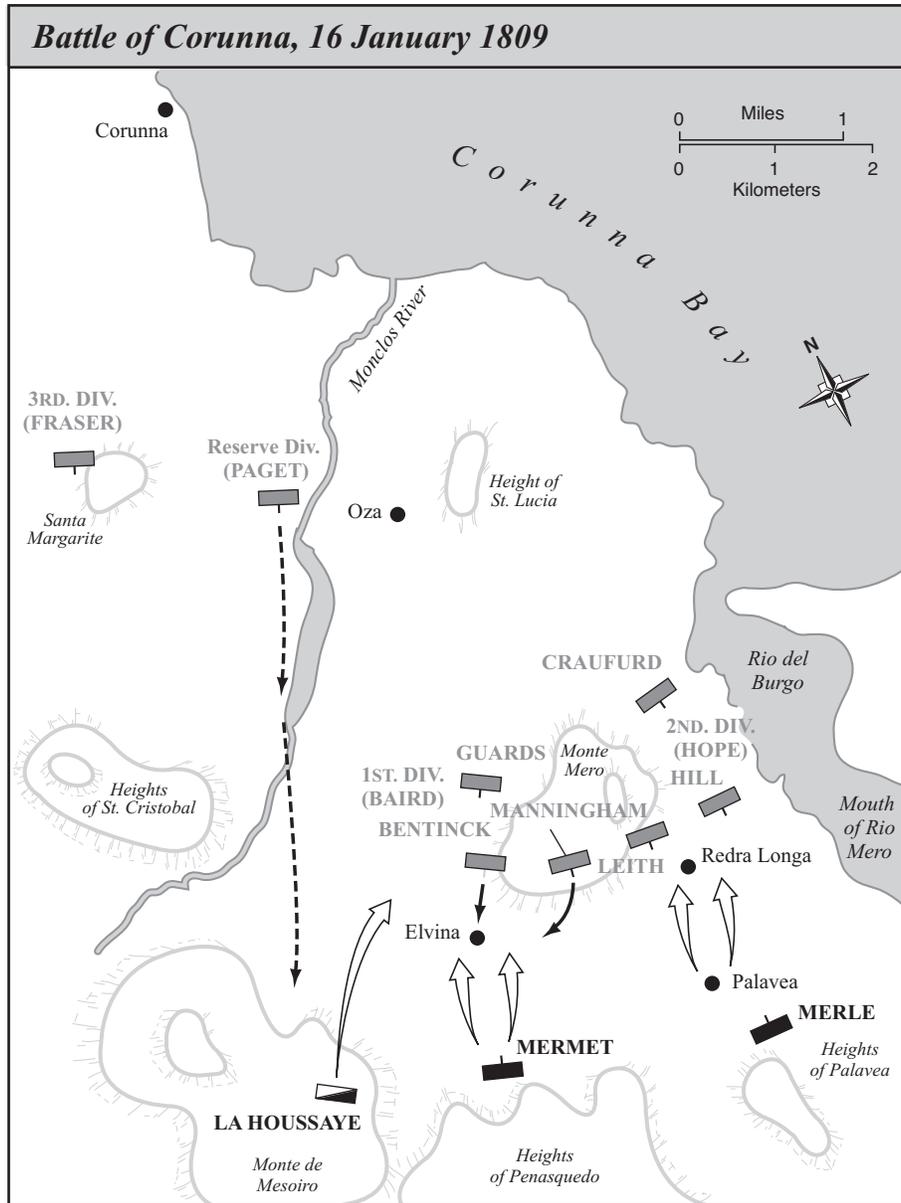
Maneuvering the French forces onto the two ridges proved to be more difficult than anticipated, and it was past noon on the sixteenth before they were in position. The French delay lulled Moore into thinking that Soult would not attack, so he ordered Paget to move his troops back to Corunna and prepare for embarkation. The main

British force would withdraw and board the vessels that evening. However, just before 2:00 P.M., the French launched their assault. French artillery fired upon the British troops in Elvina as infantry streamed toward the village and the hills above it. Initially, the French paid little attention to the British left and center, concentrating their effort on the vulnerable right flank.

Moore ordered Paget to watch for a French attempt to turn the British right flank and sent word for reinforcements in Corunna to move forward. Meanwhile, the French assault forced the British from Elvina and back to their main line above the village. Moore ordered a counterattack, and the British then rushed down the hill and drove the French back from Elvina. Far from defeated, the French launched a second assault and pushed the British defenders of Elvina back out of the village again. British reserves arrived to bolster the main British line, which held against the renewed attack from Elvina despite a determined French effort combined with continuous artillery support. During this phase of the action, Moore received a mortal wound from a round shot (cannon ball) that tore through his left shoulder, nearly severing his arm from his body. After a message was sent transferring command of the army to Lieutenant General John Hope, soldiers carried him from the field.

Paget's men and those of the reserve rushed forward from Corunna and established themselves in positions to oppose the French attempt to turn the British right flank. The terrain in the area consisted of fields containing many stone walls, making it difficult for French dragoons to advance quickly. They made up to three attempts to charge Paget's men, but each assault was easily defeated. The dragoons dismounted, but accurate fire from the British took a heavy toll on their ranks, forcing them to withdraw. Paget continued to advance and overwhelmed the French units to his front. By evening Paget's position lay just opposite the French guns on the Penasquedo ridge. At Elvina the British launched a second attack upon the French forces in the village, and after a long, tough engagement, Soult's troops pulled back. Late in the afternoon, the French right flank moved against the village of Piedralonga, where they encountered stiff resistance. By dusk each opposing force held part of the village.

Both sides opted not to renew the battle the next morning. Hope felt secure in his positions and satisfied with the performance of his army the previous day. Soult had suffered an unexpected reversal and chose not to make another attempt at his opponent's well-defended positions. The British forces completed their embarkation that evening and the next morning. Casualties sustained at the battle are not well documented, not least because many British commanders reported losses from the battle and the retreat to Corunna as one figure. Hope reported 700–800 British casualties at the battle, although some historians believe this



Adapted from Paget 1997, 80.

number is too high. French casualty estimates vary greatly, and historians have placed the figure at approximately 1,500 men.

Terry M. Mays

See also Corunna, Retreat to; Moore, Sir John; Paget, Sir Edward; Peninsular War; Sault, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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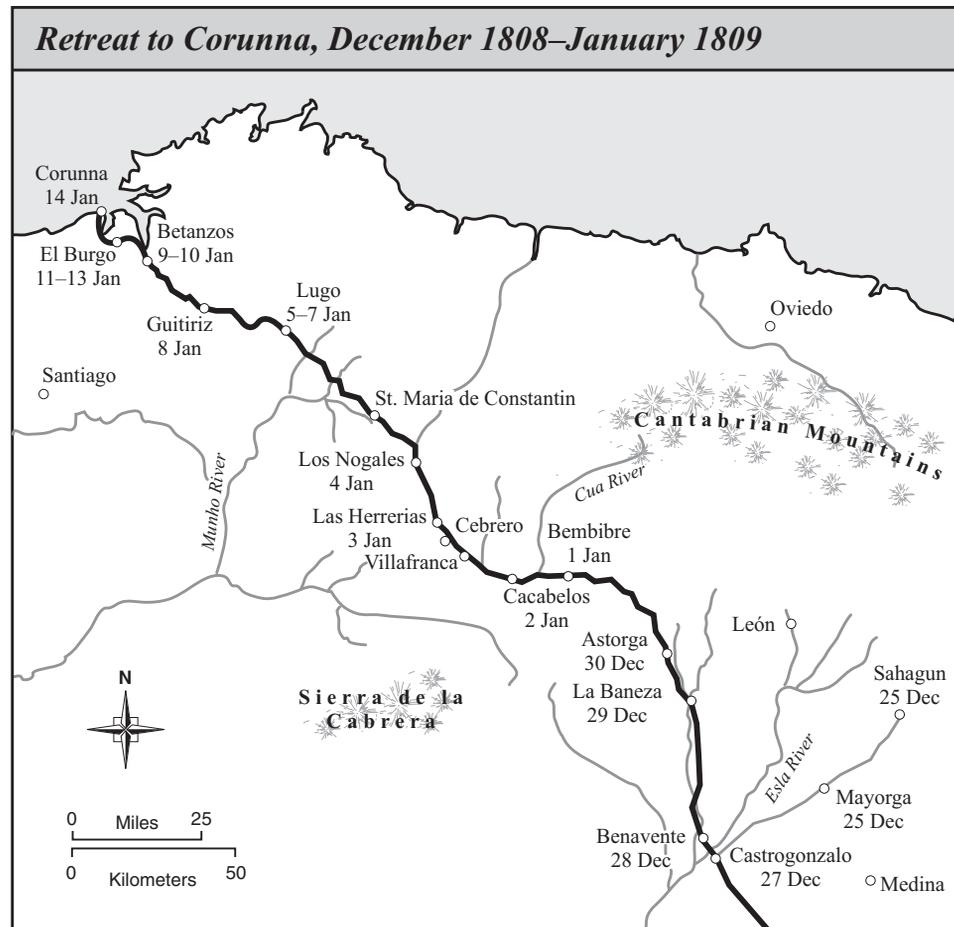
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### Corunna, Retreat to (December 1808–January 1809)

Lieutenant General Sir John Moore assumed command of the British army on the Iberian Peninsula on 6 October



*Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 38.*

1808. In the middle of October, Moore ordered approximately 23,000 men to advance toward Spain from Lisbon, where he left a garrison force of 10,000 men. Lieutenant General Sir David Baird would disembark 12,000 troops at Corunna (La Coruña) and advance into northern Spain to cooperate with Moore. The advance of Moore's troops proved to be slower than anticipated owing to poor roads and nearly useless intelligence. By early December Moore's force had finally reached Salamanca, but the defeat of Spanish troops by Napoleon persuaded Moore to withdraw his force back to Lisbon. The army in the Iberian Peninsula represented practically the only offensive land force available to Britain at this time, and Moore did not want to see it crushed needlessly by Napoleon's far larger army in Spain.

However, while withdrawing, Moore learned that Marshal Nicolas Soult's corps lay isolated north of Madrid and might be a ripe target for a quick strike. Moore's men approached Soult's position undetected until they surprised and defeated a small force of French pickets. Learning of Moore's maneuver, Napoleon turned to catch the British general between his force and that of Soult. Moore, however,

realizing he was in a potential trap, immediately turned his army toward the relative safety of Corunna, where he could rendezvous with Baird and have the navy extricate his troops.

Napoleon relinquished direct command of his army and returned to France after learning of Moore's withdrawal toward Corunna. Some scholars believe that Napoleon did not want to be directly associated with a military action that would not end in a clear, decisive victory, while others have countered this argument by declaring that Napoleon had received dispatches indicating possible political trouble in Paris. Whatever the explanation, Napoleon departed after ordering Soult to pursue the British to Corunna and destroy as much of the force as possible. Moore ordered his men and a small Spanish force to move quickly through the desolate mountainous region of Galicia despite the appalling winter weather. The British rear guard under Major General Edward Paget destroyed bridges and fought off the French cavalry riding ahead of Soult's main body.

The British retreat turned into a disaster as thousands of soldiers and camp followers dropped from exhaustion and died where they lay. As the animals pulling the carts of

wounded and sick men became too weak to continue, the soldiers were often left to fend for themselves in the bitterly cold weather. Many accounts of the retreat graphically illustrate the misery of the common soldier in the retreat as well as of the many women and children who accompanied them. At Villafranca, British troops forced open a wine shop, and many of these drunken men were slaughtered when the French cavalry rode into the town.

Moore's men finally reached Betanzos, located 12 miles east of Corunna, on 11 January 1809. The weather grew milder, and the soldiers feasted on the supplies stockpiled in Corunna. Moore prepared for his departure from the town by destroying approximately 4,000 barrels of British gunpowder intended for the Spanish. A Royal Navy squadron and transports arrived on 14 January to evacuate the survivors of Moore's expedition. Over 5,000 men had died during the retreat and 300 were too ill even to embark. Approximately 2,000 overworked horses were slaughtered before the boarding process began. Even then, before completing the evacuation, Moore had to defeat a French assault on Corunna, during which he was killed. Although Moore has been highly criticized for the disasters of the retreat, it should be noted that his force was considerably smaller than the French army in Spain and that therefore it is doubtful that he could have done more than merely harass Napoleon's army. On the other hand, Moore's maneuver in western Spain and subsequent withdrawal did divide and divert the French army, delaying its offensive operations for the 1809 campaign.

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*See also* Camp Followers; Corunna, Battle of; Moore, Sir John; Paget, Sir Edward; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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## Cossacks

The Cossacks were arguably among the best irregular cavalry of the Napoleonic Wars, and they played an important

role in the destruction of Napoleon's Grande Armée during the Russian campaign of 1812. The Cossacks and their best-known ataman (or leader), Matvei Ivanovich Platov, played an intrinsic part of every Russian campaign, and on two occasions these intrepid horsemen nearly seized Napoleon himself.

For centuries the Cossacks had been seen as wild horsemen of the steppes; some of them were descendants of the Mongol armies that had conquered much of Europe and central Asia. However, during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, the various Cossack hosts, or tribes, became ever more assimilated into the tsar's empire. There were a number of hosts, including the Ural, Black Sea, Orenburg, Caucasus, and Asiatic Russian Cossacks, but the largest tribe was the Don Cossacks, whose territory stretched for some 2,600 miles.

Cossacks were used for reconnaissance and as messengers, raiders, and skirmishers and occasionally in a policing role. During Napoleon's retreat from Moscow their skill as guerrillas came to the fore. Their relentless hit-and-run tactics caused panic among the Emperor's troops, and one Russian officer praised the Cossacks for their "qualities of mobility, enterprise and ingenuity that characterize a martial nation not yet crippled by the uniformity of methods and regulations typical of European states" (Davidov 1999, 169).

The horse-riding skills of the Cossacks were second to none, and one contemporary observer noted that "children are able to ride on horseback at three or four years of age, and the habits which they generally acquire in infancy are those of the Cossack soldier to subsist on the coarsest of fare, and to endure being mounted all day and even all night if requisite" (quoted in Spring 2003, 27). Their arsenal of weaponry included a knout (a form of knotted whip), a lance, pistols, and carbines, although some Cossacks used a lasso to capture their foe, including the French general Philippe Paul Ségur.

Cossacks acquired a reputation for cowardice for their occasional reluctance to engage directly with opposing troops, but this may be seen as a consequence of their highly mobile style of warfare. Their bravery must be beyond reproach, as they saved the day during numerous battles including Bergen in 1799, Eylau in 1807, Borodino in 1812, and Leipzig in 1813. Cossacks were also depicted by their opponents as marauding bandits, but this is rather disingenuous, as all armies of the period carried out requisitioning in one form or another.

Stephen Stewart

*See also* Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bergen, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Cavalry; Eylau, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Russian Army; Russian Campaign; Ségur, Philippe Paul, comte de



Cossacks. As irregular cavalry, these horsemen of the Russian steppes were best suited to reconnaissance, scouting, and harassing the enemy's flanks and supply lines. Seldom were they committed to execute a conventional charge in battle. (Print by F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

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### **Cotton, Sir Stapleton**

See Combermere, Sir Stapleton Cotton, Viscount

### **Council of Ancients (1795–1799)**

The Directory was established during the turbulent times of the ongoing French Revolution and maintained control over the country from August 1795 to November 1799. It was composed of five directors, who held executive powers, and two legislative bodies, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients.

Long before the establishment of the Directory, a National Convention was held, attended by representatives elected by universal male suffrage. The Convention was

modeled after constitutional conventions in the United States, and it lasted from 21 September 1792 until a constitution was agreed upon in June 1793. That constitution was never promulgated, however, due to political purges within the assembly, followed by the establishment of the Reign of Terror.

The notorious Reign of Terror lasted over fourteen months. Finally, French victories on the battlefield, together with increasing public aversion to the guillotine killing spree initiated by leaders of the Terror, led to the end of this period of tyranny. In what became known as the Thermidorian Reaction, former allies of Maximilien Robespierre, leader of the Terror, led a coup against him, executing him along with some of his followers on 28 July 1794.

The remaining political forces moved to consolidate their powers after the coup d'état of Thermidor, with the new government, known as the Directory, eventually established in late 1795. The constitution adopted earlier that year (known as the Constitution of Year III) had created a two-chamber legislative assembly made up of the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients. Members of these two assemblies were chosen by electors.

From a list submitted by the Council of Five Hundred, the Council of Ancients selected five directors. As evidenced by the “election” format for the directors, the Directory was not particularly democratic. Indeed, throughout France, the right to vote was only given to wealthy property-owning males, which resulted in an electorate of about 30,000.

The Council of Ancients, part of the Directory’s legislative branch, had 250 members, who had to be at least forty years of age. Annually, one-third of the council would be replaced through the electoral process. In addition to the Ancients’ power to select the directors from the Five Hundred’s list, the Ancients approved or rejected legislation created by the Council of Five Hundred. In addition, legislation that was rejected could not be presented to the Council of Ancients again for at least one year. The Ancients, however, were not given the authority to draft legislation.

The Council of Ancients was a short-lived body, as indeed was the entire Directory. From the beginning, government officials were unable to effectively handle royalist uprisings in the Vendée region of France, to deal with financial difficulties, or to prevent a rising young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, from seizing power. The end for the Directory came on 9–10 November 1799, when Napoleon and his co-conspirators carried out the coup of 18–19 Brumaire, leading shortly thereafter to the establishment of the Consulate.

*Arthur Holst*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Convention, The; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; French Revolution; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Council of Five Hundred (1795–1799)

The Council of Five Hundred was part of the legislative branch of the Directory government of France, along with the Council of Ancients. The Directory, which had a five-member executive branch in addition to the two legislative bodies, was established in 1795 and maintained control over France until 1799.

Before the establishment of the Directory the French public had endured the horrific Reign of Terror, which was

filled with bloody executions by the guillotine and political schemes and corruption. The Terror came about because of the void of power created by the failure of the Constitution of 1793. The constitution had been formulated by representatives elected by universal male suffrage through a series of electors, but it was never effectively put into force.

Following the failure of the Constitution of 1793, Maximilien Robespierre and his associates asserted authority over the chaotic government and established the Terror. After over fourteen months of repression, there was a coup against Robespierre, known as the Thermidorian Reaction. The dissidents quickly executed Robespierre and some of his supporters on 28 July 1794 and moved to establish the Directory. It came into full operation in late 1795. Wealthy property-owning males were given the right to vote for the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred, resulting in about 30,000 eligible electors. Next, the five directors of the government executive had to be “elected.” The Council of Five Hundred was empowered to create a list of candidates from whom the Council of Ancients chose the directors.

In order to be considered for office, members of the Council of Five Hundred had to be over thirty years old and had to possess significant amounts of property. In addition to the power to create the list of possible director candidates, the council had the power to draft new legislation, although it had to receive the approval of the Council of Ancients before the legislation could be presented to the directors. In addition, the members of the council were given the power to declare war against countries considered enemies of France and the Revolution. Legislation passed by the Council of Five Hundred signified the victory of the bourgeois and wealthy classes over the common people, known as the sans-culottes, as exemplified by the Directory’s success in removing price ceilings on such staple foods as bread.

Ironically, the man who saved the Directory from a major royalist uprising also later overthrew the Directory on his rise to power. This man was the young General Napoleon Bonaparte. Seizing upon the Directory’s inability to deal with domestic crises and corruption, Napoleon initiated the coup of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). Significantly, the president of the Council of Five Hundred was Napoleon’s brother, Lucien Bonaparte, who offered considerable assistance to his brother as he struggled to seize power. Failing to win the approval of the Council of Five Hundred during his speech to them on the day of the coup, Napoleon only elicited insults and criticisms. Consequently, the Council of Five Hundred was forced into compliance at the point of the bayonet, when Napoleon’s grenadiers stormed the council’s cham-

bers. Soon after, Napoleon disbanded the Directory and established the Consulate.

*Arthur Holst*

*See also* Bonaparte, Lucien; Brumaire, Coup of; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Council of Ancients; Directory, The; Terror, The; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Thermidor Coup  
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### Courtrai, Battle of (11 May 1794)

The Battle of Courtrai was fought as part of a French campaign to seize western Flanders in 1794. General Jean-Charles Pichegru, commander of the French Armée du Nord at this point, had directed his troops to advance into western Flanders during the spring. Pichegru sent two of his divisions to seize Courtrai and Menin in April 1794. After fighting against the Austrians at Mouscron on 28 April, General Joseph Souham's division quickly seized Courtrai. Meanwhile, General Jean Victor Moreau's troops invested Menin, and its garrison surrendered on the twenty-ninth.

Austrian forces and their allies were already in the field, besieging the town of Landrecies as of 19 April. The town capitulated on the thirtieth, allowing the Austrians to respond to the French advances. While Souham's division maneuvered west of Courtrai on 10 May, Austrian general Charles de Croix, Graf von Clairfayt, led an Austro-Dutch column to attempt to retake Courtrai. Clairfayt's troops attacked General Dominique Vandamme's brigade, forcing it to withdraw and seek the support of Moreau's men. By the end of the day, the Austrian and Dutch troops had seized Courtrai and the village of Wevelghem. Clairfayt's forces established a strong defensive line to protect their gains and positioned artillery batteries to support the infantry.

Souham, aware of the Austrians' bold move, maneuvered his division to force Clairfayt's troops back. On 11 May Souham's division attacked Clairfayt's force in the midafternoon, while two brigades under generals Malbrancq and Macdonald, respectively, threatened the Austrian flanks. Austrian artillery sustained a heavy fire against French attacks. Souham's infantry advanced twice into the teeth of Austrian artillery, only to be repulsed with heavy losses. A third French attack forced the Austrian left back and succeeded in threatening Clairfayt's line. As night fell,

Clairfayt accepted that his entire position was compromised and ordered a retreat toward Thielt. Each side had lost around 700 to 800 men.

The Austrian, Dutch, and Prussian forces continued to concentrate near Courtrai, however. On 15 May, Austrian general Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich formulated a plan for a complex envelopment of all French forces around Courtrai using six independent columns. The Allies began their enveloping attacks on the eighteenth, leading to a series of engagements, collectively known as Tourcoing. On that day, Souham and his men would again face Austrian assaults around Courtrai.

The Battle of Courtrai on 11 May 1794, then, was merely one in a series of relatively small combats leading up to the more significant Battle of Tourcoing.

*Brian Sandberg*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaign in; Landrecies, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Moreau, Jean Victor; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Souham, Joseph, comte; Tourcoing, Battle of; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René  
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### Craig, Sir James (1748–1812)

British general, noted for leading expeditions to Cape Colony and southern Italy. Sir James Craig, a Scotsman, was the son of the judge advocate general of British troops at Gibraltar. He joined the 30th Foot as an ensign at the age of fifteen in 1763. His regiment was based at Gibraltar, where he became aide-de-camp to General Sir Robert Boyd, lieutenant governor of the fortress. He fought in the American War of Independence (1775–1783), where he was severely wounded at Bunker Hill. He later served in Canada and was again wounded in Major General John Burgoyne's advance into New York. He distinguished himself on several occasions during the war, at the close of which he had reached the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1790–1791 he went to the Continent to study the tactics of the Prussian Army and provided valuable information to General David Dundas, who used Craig's regiment, the 16th, for the new system of infantry exercises that would soon be introduced into the British Army.

During the French Revolutionary Wars Craig, as adjutant general, was placed on the staff of the Duke of York,

then operating in Holland in 1794. Despite concerted efforts Craig found it impossible to rectify much of the disorganization then plaguing the army on campaign, but his efforts toward this end were rewarded by promotion to major general in October 1794. Following the campaign in Holland, he commanded the troops sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, which were to cooperate with forces to be sent from India. Those troops were not present when Craig reached southern Africa, but his advance toward Cape Town ended in success just as the hoped-for reinforcements arrived under General Alured Clarke. After the Dutch relinquished control, Craig assumed command of the civil and military administration of the colony until 1797.

Craig was knighted for his work and thereafter held command of a division in Bengal. There he faced serious problems owing to the disaffection of many East India Company officers, who were nearing the point of mutiny. Craig acted with firmness and managed to avert violence. He saw no action in India but was appointed to command an expedition to capture (Spanish) Manila, an operation that was eventually canceled. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1801 and returned to Britain to command the troops in the eastern district until 1805.

In March of that year, despite poor health, Craig was sent with the local rank of general on an expedition to the Mediterranean, there to cooperate with a Russian army in Italy to act as a diversion to Allied operations against the French in the north. Napoleon's victories at Ulm and Austerlitz at the end of the year rendered his presence futile, and Craig withdrew to Sicily, which he correctly recognized as a vital base for future British operations in the Mediterranean. His health, however, had been rapidly on the decline, and in March 1806 he left Sicily and passed command to Major General John Stuart.

Craig's health improved sufficiently to allow him further opportunities for command, which he held in Canada with the local rank of general from August 1807. The same month he was made governor-general. In Canada, as elsewhere, he faced a difficult task, as relations with the United States over British naval policy soured to the point of complete breakdown and finally war, in 1812. Nevertheless, French Canadians, not normally enamored of British government, grew fond of Craig, who proved himself an effective administrator. He resigned his post in October 1811 and died in January of the following year, with the rank of full general.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Flanders, Campaigns in; India; Sicily; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; War of 1812; York, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### **Craonne, Battle of (7 March 1814)**

The Battle of Craonne was fought during the Allied campaign in France as Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher with his Army of Silesia advanced along the river Marne, with the ultimate objective of taking Paris. Blücher intended to mass his army around Craonne but was surprised by Napoleon, who, despite being badly outnumbered, nearly inflicted a defeat on the Allies, owing to a lack of coordination in their movements (see map, p. 553).

Blücher was shadowing the French army and looking for an opportunity to attack with his superior numbers. He hoped to trap Napoleon against the river Aisne, but his plan was foiled by the failure of the Russian general Ferdinand Winzregorode to guard all the bridges over the river. This allowed Napoleon to occupy Craonne. Blücher decided against a frontal assault on the French position and was certain that the French would advance to the west toward his forces. Blücher therefore deployed General Mikhail Semenovitch Woronzoff and his Russian infantry onto the plateau west of Craonne, where it narrowed at the farm of Heurtebrise. Prussian troops under General Dmitry Osten-Sacken were positioned to support Woronzoff. Further to the west Blücher intended that Winzregorode and General Friedrich Graf Kleist von Nollendorf should move to the northeast and then sweep down on the flank of any French attack on the farm of Heurtebrise.

During the evening of 6 March there were limited attacks on the farm. However, at 10:00 A.M. the next morning Marshal Ney ordered a concerted attack on the Russian position led by the Young Guard. The French broke onto the plateau but were then pushed back. Napoleon was able to deploy his Guard cavalry on the flank of the Russian position, which forced them to withdraw. Blücher was now concerned that he had not received any indication that Kleist and Winzregorode were advancing on the flank of the enemy. Blücher rode to the north and found that they had advanced only about half the distance needed to close with the French. Despite the fact that he was not well, Blücher tried to lead the cavalry forward himself. He realized, however, that he would be unable to bring these forces into action quickly enough to have an impact, and therefore he ordered the Russians to withdraw to the north toward Laon.

Many of the Russian officers were surprised by this order and questioned why more Prussian troops had not been brought into action. However, by this time Marshal Mortier had managed to deploy his artillery around Heurtebise. The fire of almost seventy guns made the retreat of the Russians inevitable under the cover of darkness. During the battle Blücher had been unable to make use of his numerical superiority, and Napoleon had achieved localized parity of numbers. Blücher now gathered all his troops around Laon to await the next move of the French. Both sides had lost around 5,000 men.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Imperial Guard; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Laon, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Winzgorode, Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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## Craufurd, Robert (1764–1812)

Major General Robert Craufurd was one of Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington's best subordinates in the Peninsular War, commander first of the Light Brigade and then the Light Division before his death at the assault on Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812. "Black Bob" Craufurd was one of the finest commanders of light troops in the British Army, perhaps in any army in the Napoleonic period.

Craufurd was born into an aristocratic but not prominent Scottish family in 1764 and joined the British Army in 1779, rising to the rank of captain. Serving initially in Ireland, following the American War of Independence he was put on half pay (reduced pay for officers not on active service) from 1783 until 1787, when he was recalled to the army, serving in the 75th Regiment of Foot in India. While he was on half pay, Craufurd traveled extensively throughout much of Europe, visiting and observing the training of other armies, a rather unusual pastime for a British officer on half pay.

Craufurd saw active service in the campaigns in India against Tipu Sultan, where he first came to the attention of Sir Arthur Wellesley. His regiment, however, did not see fit to promote him to major. Always somewhat hot tempered and cognizant of his own abilities, Craufurd resigned his commission and returned to Europe. He served as a liaison officer with the Austrian armies in both the Netherlands and Italy. This afforded him close observation of the

French forces and their tactics, which he would later use to his advantage in Spain.

Craufurd returned to British service in 1798, serving with the 60th Foot, which would soon be transformed into one of the new light regiments, through its training at Shornecliffe Camp, in Kent, along with the 43rd and 52nd Regiments of Foot, and the 95th Foot (later known as the Rifle Brigade). Craufurd trained with Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, developing not only tactical methods but also a new style of leadership that emphasized the individuality of the light infantryman. This, in addition to his observation of European methods and service as a liaison officer, provided Craufurd with a foundation in the use of light infantry troops far in excess of what most British officers possessed.

In 1807 Craufurd led the Light Brigade, which consisted of the 43rd and 52nd Regiments of Foot and five companies of the 95th Rifles, as part of the expedition to Buenos Aires. The campaign was a disastrous failure, but Craufurd, being relatively junior among the officers involved, emerged from the fiasco with his reputation intact, and he was selected the next year to lead the Light Brigade once more into combat—this time in the Peninsula.

Joining Moore's army in Spain, Craufurd's Light Brigade led the advance toward Madrid and served most effectively as the rear guard of the army as it withdrew to Corunna. Upon the withdrawal from Corunna, Craufurd reconstituted the much-weakened Light Brigade before returning to Spain in 1809 to serve under Wellington. On the eve of Talavera, Craufurd led the Light Brigade on a 250-mile forced march from Lisbon to the battlefield, covering the last 43 miles in twenty-six hours, to arrive in time to perform critical skirmishing duty that covered Wellington's front.

The Light Brigade under Black Bob Craufurd was Wellington's most effective tactical unit. Craufurd could be trusted to push the light troops out to provide both reconnaissance and security for Wellington. The spring and summer of 1810 saw Craufurd commanding the screening forces in Portugal in front of the Lines of Torres Vedras, a mission that he performed exceedingly well. In action, however, Craufurd was often overly aggressive, most particularly on the occasion of his sole major action in independent command, at the Coa against Marshal Ney, where he attempted to defend the crossings of the Coa from the wrong side of the river and nearly suffered a major defeat.

In 1810 the Light Brigade was expanded to divisional status, and Craufurd was promoted to major general. He led the Light Division in several major battles, most notably at Fuentes de Oñoro, where he redeployed his division to save the retreating 7th Division from probable annihilation and then led his own division 2 miles across an

open plain in the face of massed French cavalry. He continued his successful command until he was wounded in the lesser breach during the hurried siege and assault at Ciudad Rodrigo on 19 January 1812. He died of his wounds five days later.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Buenos Aires, Expedition to; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Moore, Sir John; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Talavera, Battle of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Cuesta, Gregorio de la

*See* García de la Cuesta, Gregorio

## Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, Prince (1770–1861)

Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was a descendant of a noble, patriotic Polish family. The political views of his family led him to Russia, where he became a hostage of the court of Tsarina Catherine II as a consequence of his family's part in the Polish revolt of 1794. When the French Revolutionary Wars began, Czartoryski had but one option, to campaign for Poland's independence within the context of some form of cooperation or union with Russia, a policy he pursued while serving as the foreign minister to Tsar Alexander I from 1804 to 1806. Frustrated in his hopes after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Czartoryski resigned from politics until the uprising of November 1830.

Czartoryski was born in Warsaw on 14 January 1770 to Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and Izabela (née Fleming). Czartoryski's family originated from among the oldest and most powerful Lithuanian families. In the eighteenth century they became one of the most influential families in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, heading the Familia political camp. As the oldest son and future head of the family, Czartoryski received a thor-

ough education at home under the best tutors, an education later supplemented by travel to western Europe. During a stay in Paris in 1787 he prepared his first (though utopian) political treatise on the reform of the commonwealth. Over the next few years he observed the work of the Four-Year Diet in Warsaw and traveled to Britain, studying parliamentary government and institutions. In 1792, when the Russo-Polish War broke out, he joined the Lithuanian troops and was rewarded with the Order Virtuti Military for bravery. Following the capitulation of Polish forces, like many other young patriots he left the army and set out on another journey. During the uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko against Russian interference in Polish affairs (1794), Czartoryski was in Belgium and Vienna.

Although Czartoryski was not involved in the struggle against the Russian Empire, his family was regarded as antisarist, and as a result Catherine sequestered all the estates of the Czartoryski family in Russian-controlled Polish territory. After receiving secret advice from the former Russian ambassador to Poland, Nikolai Repnin, the Czartoryski family decided to send their two sons, Adam Jerzy and his younger brother Konstanty, to the Russian court. In theory they were to volunteer for service in the Russian Army; in reality they were to be hostages for the family's sequestered goods and property.

The brothers left in January 1795, and in May they arrived in St. Petersburg. The stay at the Russian court must have been humiliating, but on 31 August 1795 Catherine returned to the Czartoryski family almost all its sequestered estates. In September both brothers became lieutenants in the Guards, and in January 1796 they became Gentlemen of the Chamber at the court.

Czartoryski was not happy as a courtier until, in the spring of 1796, he became a dear friend of Grand Duke Alexander, Catherine's oldest grandson, and fell in love with Alexander's wife. Oddly, the young Russian grand duke had nothing against the affair. Yet Alexander's father, Tsar Paul I, on discovering the affair, sent Czartoryski on a pointless and boring mission to Italy to the court of King Charles Emmanuel of Piedmont. On Paul's death in 1801, Czartoryski was summoned back to Russia on the order of the new tsar, Alexander I, his close friend. Returning in July, Czartoryski instantly began work as part of an unofficial committee organized by Alexander to modernize Russia. In particular, Czartoryski was involved in the drafting of educational reforms to be implemented in February 1803.

Yet it was foreign policy that was to occupy young Czartoryski in the years that followed. On 20 September 1802 he was nominated to the post of deputy minister of foreign affairs. It was at this time that Czartoryski pre-



Prince Adam Czartoryski, who as foreign minister under Tsar Alexander played a key role in the formation of the Third Coalition against France. (George Dawe [1781–1929]/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

sented a memorandum on the foreign policy principles that he believed should guide Russia. The memorandum, written in French, stated that politics should be based on justice and morality. He also suggested ways that international relations in Europe should be changed. In particular, he proposed that the balance of power could be maintained through the organization of four federations: one composed “of the French race” (France, Belgium, and Spain); another of Slavic peoples headed by the Russian tsar; a third based on states of Germanic stock, including Holland and Switzerland, though not including Austria or Prussia; and, finally, a federation composed of Italian states.

On 7 February 1804 Czartoryski became Russia’s acting minister of foreign affairs. He tried to steer Russia’s foreign policy more toward Asia and the Balkans, but without lasting effect. Czartoryski’s attempts to build an anti-Napoleonic coalition became reality when on 11 April 1805 Russia concluded an offensive alliance with Britain, to which Austria adhered in July, thus forming the Third Coalition. Prussia also signed a treaty with Russia, at Pots-

dam, on 3 November. Yet the defeat of Austro-Russian troops by Napoleon at Austerlitz on 2 December brought the Third Coalition to an end. It also ended Czartoryski’s political visions and resulted in his resignation, which was accepted in June 1806.

The following year Czartoryski was involved in preparing a project according to which Alexander was to reestablish the Polish kingdom under his own rule, Poland having been divided up between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in three partitions (1772, 1793, and 1795). These plans proved impossible to implement when the Duchy of Warsaw was created by Napoleon. Czartoryski watched, from a position of neutrality, the birth of the duchy and its expansion after Napoleon’s war with Austria in 1809. Only when Franco-Russian relations began to worsen did Czartoryski once more return to the idea of a Polish kingdom in some confederation with the Russian Empire.

In June 1812, when Napoleon entered Russian territory, a Polish General National Confederation was created in Warsaw. It was headed by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy’s father. Even though the aim of the confederation was an independent Poland, Adam Jerzy decided to remain neutral and not join it. Thus, in December 1812, after Napoleon’s army had retreated from Moscow, he could once more appeal to Alexander to create a Polish kingdom with connections to or as an integral part of the Russian Empire. He laid down his ideas before Alexander at the beginning of 1814, after the invasion of France. Czartoryski’s proposal was adopted by the Congress of Vienna after the treaty was signed on 9 June 1815. The territory of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, established under the rule of Alexander, was smaller than that of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and was the object of severe criticism from various Polish politicians.

Czartoryski was not offered any significant office in the new Congress Kingdom of Poland, and as a result he withdrew from politics until the death of Alexander in 1825. Owing to his involvement in various proscribed activities during the 1830–1831 uprising against Russia, he was forced to emigrate to western Europe, where he was active in Polish political activities in Paris and London.

*Jakub Basista*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austerlitz, Battle of; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Paul I, Tsar; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Russia; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna, Congress of

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# D

## **Danzig, First Siege of**

See Fourth Coalition, War of the

## **Danzig, Second Siege of**

See Germany, Campaign in

## **Dardanelles, Expedition to the (1807)**

Unsuccessful British attempt in February 1807 to force the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) to abandon its war with Russia by threatening Constantinople with the Royal Navy.

In late 1806 Britain found itself in the uncomfortable position of having two allies drifting toward war with one another. One of these was Russia, whose massive armies served as the only remaining counterweight to Napoleon's ambitions to continental dominance after the French victories over Austria in 1805 and Prussia in 1806. The other was the Ottoman Empire, which Britain had traditionally supported in order to prevent any other power from gaining control of the Black Sea Straits (the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles), which provided access between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.

Despite British opposition, French influence in the Ottoman Empire grew through the efforts of their ambassador, General Horace François Sébastiani, as a result of which Sultan Selim III declared war on Russia on 27 December 1806 as the final culmination of a series of moves between the rivals in the Balkans. The presence off Constantinople—located directly on the Bosphorus—of HMS *Canopus*, an 80-gun ship of the line, failed to deter the declaration, and a frigate evacuated British civilians.

The British naval commander in the Mediterranean, Vice Admiral Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, had anticipated trouble and begun to assemble forces. A small squadron of

three ships of the line, one frigate, and one sloop, followed later by another five line-of-battle ships and smaller vessels, was placed under the command of Vice Admiral Sir John Duckworth. This show of force, however, did no more than had the *Canopus* to deter Selim, and Duckworth resolved to execute his instructions and deliver the British government's ultimatum to the sultan to end the war with Russia.

Duckworth's squadron forced the Dardanelles on 19 February 1807 after defeating the Ottoman defenses, both afloat and ashore. Safe in the Sea of Marmora, the British admiral demanded that the sultan expel Sébastiani and declare his intention to make peace with Russia within twenty-four hours, or else face the bombardment of his largely defenseless capital.

The British effort had achieved surprise, and Selim initially seemed inclined to accept the ultimatum, but foul weather forced the British squadron to shelter away from the city. This delay gave the sultan and his government time to find their resolve and resist British demands. The population of the city, ably guided by Sébastiani and a small staff of French engineers, assembled over 1,000 guns on the shores to defend the capital.

Unable to overcome the Turks with his small squadron, Duckworth took advantage of favorable winds and currents to retreat back through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. The return passage was to prove more costly than the initial forcing of the straits, however, as Duckworth suffered damage to his ships as well as casualties among their crews. This experience in mind, Duckworth refused to make a second effort against Constantinople without the reinforcement of troops on land, even with assistance from Russian naval forces.

This failure at Constantinople, in spite of the difficulties Duckworth faced, ruined his reputation at home. The Russo-Turkish War continued without much enthusiasm on either side until 1812, and despite Britain's aggressive action and the losses suffered and inflicted by the Royal Navy, no official Anglo-Turkish War resulted, though an

expedition was dispatched to Egypt the following year, with disastrous consequences for British forces there.

*Grant and Marie Weller*

*See also* Collingwood, Cuthbert, Viscount; Ottoman Empire; Russo-Turkish War

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### David, Jacques-Louis (1748–1825)

One of the greatest French painters and central figures of Neoclassical art. Born into a middle-class Parisian family, Jacques-Louis David was trained by Joseph-Marie Vien and followed him to Rome in 1776, where he won the Prix de Rome for his art. Influenced by Classical artworks, he developed a unique Neoclassical style, drawing his subject matter from Roman sculpture. He returned to Paris in 1780 and soon firmly established himself as one of the leading painters of Neoclassicism. His paintings reflected the new ideals of the civic virtues, and among his famous works of this period were *The Oath of the Horatii* (1784), *The Death of Socrates* (1787), and *Brutus and His Dead Sons* (1789). The French Revolution had a great impact on David's career as he became actively involved in Revolutionary activity. He was elected to the Convention, where he sided with radical Montagnards, voted for the execution of King Louis XVI, and later became a member of the powerful Committee of Public Safety.

During this period his paintings went through a change, becoming more realistic in order to accurately depict scenes of the Revolution. His greatest paintings of this period are the famous *The Death of Marat* (1793) and *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (1791), but he also made interesting sketches of various personalities, including those of Queen Marie Antoinette and Georges Danton on their way to the guillotine. After the coup of Thermidor in 1794, David was imprisoned for his support of Maximilien Robespierre, but he was later released. Under the Directory, he completed *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799) before the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in the coup d'état of November of that year changed his fortunes. He became official painter of the First Consul and later of the Emperor and was commissioned to paint many works of art that often served as propaganda tools in the hands of Napoleon. Among his greatest works of this period were *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (1800), *Coronation of Napoleon* (1805–1807), and *Napoleon in*

*His Study* (1812). David also produced numerous portraits, including portraits of Pope Pius VII (1805) and Madame Jeanne Récamier (1800).

With the fall of Napoleon, David was persecuted by the Bourbon dynasty and went into exile in Brussels, where he remained for the rest of his life. His influence over French art diminished over time, although he trained several distinguished painters, among them François Gérard, Antoine Gros, and Jean-August Ingres. He died on 29 December 1825 and was buried at the Evère Cemetery in Brussels. His heart was interred separately at the famous Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Convention, The; Directory, The; Louis XVI, King; Neoclassicism; Pius VII, Pope; Propaganda; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Thermidor Coup

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### Davout, Louis Nicolas (1770–1823)

Louis Nicolas Davout, Marshal of the Empire, duc d'Auerstädt, prince d'Eckmühl, was born 10 May 1770 at Annoux and died 1 June 1823 at Savigny. He served in the French Army from 1788 to 1815, and took part in the many of the campaigns of the 1790s, including Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. In command of III Corps of the Grande Armée, he fought at Austerlitz, defeated a Prussian army at Auerstädt, and served at Eylau, Eggmühl (Eckmühl), and Wagram. In 1812 he was wounded at the Battle of Borodino in Russia, and he commanded the besieged city of Hamburg in 1813–1814. During the Hundred Days, Davout was minister of war.

His father, Jean-François d'Avout, was of the cadet branch of the noble d'Avout family that traced its origins back to the Middle Ages. His mother, Catherine de Somme, was also of a Burgundian noble family. At the age of nine years he was enrolled in the Ecole royale militaire (Royal Military Academy) at Auxerre. Upon completion of the course of study at Auxerre in September 1785, Louis d'Avout received an appointment to the Ecole militaire (Military Academy) in Paris. After two and a half years as a "gentleman cadet," he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Royal Champagne Cavalry Regiment.

When the French Revolution began in 1789, d'Avout supported the Revolutionary movement. This led to a brief confinement in the citadel d'Arras for his political activism, followed by his dismissal from the army (15 September 1791). He arrived home in the department of Yonne when a volunteer battalion was being formed. D'Avout enlisted as a common soldier, and because of his military experience he was elected lieutenant colonel, second in command. Designated the 3rd Volunteer Battalion of the Yonne, it joined the Army of the North. The colonel of the battalion was a politician with no military experience; thus it was the twenty-one-year-old d'Avout who actually organized and trained the men. When war broke out with Austria and Prussia in April 1792, d'Avout led the battalion into battle. It was also at this time that Louis Nicolas changed the spelling of his name to "Davout" in keeping with the egalitarian spirit of the French Revolution.

The Revolution moved into its republican phase in September 1792. The deposed king was tried in December as citizen Louis Capet and executed on 21 January 1793. The extreme political left, the Jacobins, gradually gained control of the government in Paris. Loyalty to the government became the first priority for an officer in the army. Aristocrats either left the army or were purged. As a supporter of the government, Davout was promoted to the rank of colonel on 1 May 1793 and to *général de brigade* on 3 July 1793. As the Reign of Terror intensified, he realized that owing to his noble birth he would not be allowed to remain in the army. Before he was discharged, therefore, he resigned his commission (29 August 1793) and retired to his mother's home at Ravières.

For fourteen months Davout lived quietly in the Burgundian countryside while the Terror took its toll on civilians and soldiers alike. Then Jacobin control of the government came to an abrupt end on 27 July 1794. The pendulum began slowly to swing back toward the political center, and Davout requested to be reinstated in the army. On 11 October he was commissioned *général de brigade* and given command of a cavalry brigade with the Army of the Moselle. During the next three years he served with various armies on the northern front and on the Rhine. When Bonaparte's successful campaign in northern Italy resulted in a general armistice concluded at Leoben in April 1797, the five years of continental conflict came to an end.

Britain alone remained at war with France. Unable to cross the English Channel, the French decided to strike east in the direction of British-controlled India. To this end, in May 1798 Bonaparte with some 35,000 men sailed to Egypt to establish a French colony as a possible stepping-stone to India. Davout was invited to accompany the expedition. Landing near Alexandria, the army marched south

to Cairo. Within sight of the Pyramids at Giza, a major battle was fought in which the army of the Mamelukes was defeated and driven south up the Nile valley. General Louis-Charles Desaix was assigned the task of following the enemy and securing Middle and Upper Egypt. Davout was given command of the cavalry attached to Desaix's division. During the winter and spring of 1798–1799 he marched and fought from Cairo to Aswan. By the summer of 1799, Davout was back in the vicinity of Cairo in command of cavalry.

During Bonaparte's absence from Europe, a second coalition was formed against France that included the Ottoman Empire. Hoping to regain control of Egypt, a Turkish army landed at Aboukir in July 1799. Davout commanded a part of Bonaparte's army that drove the enemy back into the sea. Bonaparte then turned over command to General Jean-Baptiste Kléber and sailed back to France. When Kléber, realizing the hopelessness of the army's position in Egypt, signed a peace treaty with the British and Turks at El Arish, Davout received permission to return to France, where he arrived at Toulon on 6 May 1800. In a show of gratitude for his service in Egypt, Bonaparte, who had become First Consul of the Republic following the coup of Brumaire in November 1799, promoted Davout to the rank of *général de division* (3 July 1800) and gave him command of the cavalry in the (French) Army of Italy. Davout commanded the cavalry under General Guillaume Brune at Monzambano (25–26 December), where he broke the Austrian center and secured a French victory. But it was General Jean Victor Moreau's victory at Hohenlinden, north of the Alps, that brought the Austrians to the peace table, putting an end to the Second Coalition with the Treaty of Lunéville (8 February 1801).

The Second Coalition having been destroyed, the First Consul was able to settle affairs with Britain in the Treaty of Amiens, concluded in March 1802, which brought general peace to Europe. Davout was employed first as inspector general of cavalry, then as commander of the foot grenadiers of the Consular Guard (the forerunner of the Imperial Guard), and finally, on 29 August 1803, as commander of the camp at Bruges. It was during these years of peace that Davout found the time to court and marry Louise-Aimée-Julie Leclerc (9 November 1801). She was the pretty, eighteen-year-old sister of General Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, who was married to Bonaparte's sister Pauline. Thus, Davout became a part of the extended Bonaparte family and the beneficiary of a dowry of 15,000 francs that came with the hand of Mademoiselle Leclerc.

The Peace of Amiens was in fact only a truce on the part of two war-weary nations. By May 1803 France and Britain were again at war. Bonaparte realized that only a military solution would settle affairs between the two

nations. Therefore, he began to prepare for an invasion of the island kingdom, amassing an army along the English Channel. Davout's command at Bruges was designated III Corps of the Grande Armée. Then, on 18 May 1804, the French Empire was proclaimed, and Napoleon Bonaparte, general and First Consul, became Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. The following day, he promoted eighteen *général de division* to the rank of Marshal of the Empire. Davout was among those who received a marshal's baton.

When Austria and Russia joined Britain to form the Third Coalition in the summer of 1805, Napoleon ordered the Grande Armée to turn its back on the English Channel and to march across the Rhine into southern Germany. Destroying an Austrian army at Ulm under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Freiherr Karl Mack, he marched down the Danube to Vienna. The Russian army reached central Austria too late to save Mack's army, which surrendered at Ulm, and retreated before the French, back into Moravia.

By the end of November, Davout's III Corps had occupied Vienna and a section of the middle Danube east to Pressburg. When Napoleon realized that a major battle was imminent, he concentrated his army at the critical point. To this end, he ordered Davout to join him as quickly as possible. The marshal marched north from Vienna, covering the 70 miles to Austerlitz in forty-six hours. Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian emperor, Francis II, were present with the Allied army. As they enjoyed a numerical superiority over the French (85,000 Russians and Austrians to 73,000 French), they decided to attack. Davout held the French right wing against the main Russian advance, while Marshal Nicolas Soult's IV Corps broke the Russian center. So successful were Napoleon's tactics that the Russian center and left wing were shattered and fled from the field of battle in great confusion. This was the first time that Davout had played a major role in a Napoleonic battle, and he performed superbly. Had he been driven from his position, the battle would have been lost for the French.

The Treaty of Pressburg (26 December 1805) brought an end to the Third Coalition, although Russia and Britain were not signatories to the treaty. Alexander took his battered and defeated army back to Russia, and Napoleon established his army's winter quarters in southern Germany. Prussia had remained neutral in 1805, but in the summer of 1806 King Frederick William III was ready to drive the French out of Germany. Napoleon gathered his forces in northern Bavaria to meet the advancing Prussians. The clash took place on 14 October, when Napoleon with 90,000 men defeated 40,000 Prussians at Jena under Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (Prince Hohenlohe), and Davout's III Corps of 28,000 defeated the Duke of Brunswick's 63,000 men at Auerstädt. It was

Davout's finest hour, and the basis upon which his reputation as a great commander rests. The Prussian army was destroyed, and its remnants retreated in great disorder to the north and into East Prussia. Two years later, Napoleon, as a token acknowledgment of Davout's victory, bestowed upon the marshal the title of duc d'Auerstädt.

Although the Prussian army was no longer able to take the field, the Russian army had not yet been engaged. As Russia was still at war with France, Napoleon continued his march east into Poland. On 7 February 1807, the Russian army under the command of General Levin Bennigsen gave battle at Eylau in northeastern Poland. Davout's III Corps once again formed Napoleon's right wing; and although it was able to drive the enemy back, the Russians held their line intact until darkness brought an end to the fighting. During the night, Bennigsen led his weary men east into winter quarters. The exhausted French also returned to winter quarters, around Güttsstadt, Osteröde, and elsewhere. Napoleon claimed victory as he occupied the field of battle, but in fact Eylau was a draw. After the campaign resumed in the spring, Napoleon was able to decisively defeat the Russian army at Friedland on 14 June; the Treaty of Tilsit followed, bringing peace to the Continent.

By the terms of Tilsit, Alexander reluctantly agreed to the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw. This reestablished Polish state was not independent but, rather, under the nominal rule of the king of Saxony. In fact, it was Napoleon who controlled the duchy through his governor-general, Davout. With his headquarters in Warsaw, Davout commanded all troops, both French and Polish, in the duchy. For the next two years he served as an administrator, a diplomat, and the eyes and ears of the Emperor.

Frustrated by the treaties imposed on it by Napoleon and heartened by resistance in Spain, Austria decided once again upon war with France in the spring of 1809. With 200,000 French troops tied down in the Iberian Peninsula, Davout's III Corps was the cornerstone upon which Napoleon built his army to meet the Austrian challenge. Davout played a crucial role in the Battle of Eggmühl. His III Corps held the Austrian army at bay while Napoleon arrived with reinforcements on the enemy's left flank. In recognition of his role in defeating the Austrians, Napoleon gave Davout the title of prince d'Eckmühl on 15 August. However, the Battle of Eggmühl had not ended the campaign of 1809. The Austrians retired to the left bank of the Danube, leaving Vienna in the hands of the French. After a serious setback at Aspern-Essling (21–22 May), Napoleon defeated the Austrians at Wagram on 6 July. Once again Davout formed the army's right flank and steadily pushed the enemy back. However, it was General (soon Marshal) Nicolas Charles Oudinot who broke the Austrian center, causing the Archduke Charles to retreat to the

north. When the French again caught up with him, Charles asked for an armistice, which, in turn, led to the Treaty of Schönbrunn (14 October).

There followed nearly three years of peace in central Europe. The war in Spain and Portugal continued to drain the resources of France, but for Davout in Germany it was again a time of administration and organization, not fighting. However, by the beginning of 1811, Napoleon was preparing for war with Russia. The army was reorganized, and Davout was given command of 70,000 men designated I Corps of the Grande Armée. When his corps crossed the Niemen River into Russia on the night of 23–24 June 1812, it was the best trained and best equipped of all of the corps of the army except for the Imperial Guard. The Russians retreated east through Smolensk, where Davout took part in the fighting before the city. General Mikhail Kutuzov, who commanded the Russian army, was pressured into giving battle in defense of Moscow, taking up a strong position at Borodino on 7 September. Davout's corps formed the right center of the Grande Armée, and together with Marshal Michel Ney's IV Corps attacked and captured the redoubts that were the key to the Russian position. Davout was twice wounded during the battle, but, although in great pain, he refused to relinquish command. The Russian army held a continuous line until darkness brought an end to the struggle. During the night Kutuzov led his battered army east through Moscow to a position southeast of the city. Napoleon occupied the city, and following the great fire Davout took to his bed to recover from his wounds.

When Alexander refused even to discuss terms of a treaty, Napoleon realized that he could not winter in a burned-out city 500 miles deep in enemy territory. On 18 October the French army began its ill-fated retreat from Moscow. Davout's troops formed the rear guard of the army in the first weeks of the westward march. But when he proved too slow, Ney replaced him. From Smolensk the withdrawal turned into a retreat; and after crossing the Berezina River, the retreat became a disaster as the French army continued to disintegrate. Davout, although recovered from his wounds during the five weeks the army had remained in Moscow, suffered greatly, as did the remnants of the once-mighty army.

Napoleon returned to Paris early in December to raise and organize a new army in order to continue the struggle in central Europe. As part of this new organization, Davout was given command of the troops on the lower Elbe and the task of recapturing Hamburg, which had rebelled against the French. When the campaign of 1813 began late in the spring, Davout established his headquarters in Hamburg, now retaken, and commanded XIII Corps of the new army. Napoleon won battles at Lützen, Bautzen, and Dres-

den but was defeated at the Battle of Leipzig on 16–19 October. As the French army retreated back across the Rhine, Davout and XIII Corps were cut off from France, encircled, and besieged in Hamburg. The marshal had had time to prepare for a prolonged siege, and the Allies were more interested in invading France proper than in compelling Davout to surrender the city. Napoleon was forced to abdicate on 6 April 1814 and was exiled to Elba. However, it was not until 11 May when General Maurice Etienne Gérard arrived in Hamburg with orders from the new (Bourbon) minister of war that Davout handed over command of the city and retired to his home at Savigny-sur-Orge.

Davout found himself clearly out of favor with the new Bourbon court in Paris. Louis XVIII would not receive him, and he was forbidden to come to Paris. He was living quietly at Savigny just south of the capital when news arrived in March 1815 that Napoleon had returned, the king had fled, and the Empire was restored. Davout immediately went to Paris in support of Napoleon, who persuaded him to accept the position of minister of war. The Battle of Waterloo put a permanent end to Napoleonic rule, and Davout once again retired to Savigny. But his support of Napoleon during the Hundred Days and his defense of Ney at the latter's trial led to Davout being banished to Louviers in central France (27 December 1815) and placed under police surveillance. Deprived of his military pay and the revenue of his estates outside of France, the marshal lived a meager life until he was allowed to return home on 21 June 1816. He made his peace with the Bourbons and was restored to his military rank and pay in August 1817. The king even named him to the House of Peers. Davout lived quietly at Savigny until his death on 1 June 1823.

*John Gallaher*

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Dresden, Battle of; Eggmühl, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Leipzig, Battle of; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Lützen, Battle of; Marshalate; Middle East Campaign; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Poland; Pressburg, Treaty of; Russian Campaign; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Smolensk, Battle of; Terror, The; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of

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**Davy, Sir Humphry (1778–1829)**

Humphry Davy, the founder of electrochemistry, was born to a poor but respectable Cornish family. He received a grammar school education but little formal training in chemistry or other sciences. His independent chemical studies began in 1797. The radical physician and chemist Thomas Beddoes, impressed with the young man's experiments on light and heat, recruited him for his Pneumatic Institute to investigate the medical effects of breathing different gases. Davy was now able to devote most of his time to science and scientific research. He experimented with nitrous oxide, "laughing gas," and other gases, including carbon monoxide, experiments that may have shortened his life.

Alessandro Volta's discovery of the "voltaic pile," or battery, in 1799 revolutionized Davy's science. Davy's analysis of the pile, which demonstrated that electrical current was generated not by mere contact but by the oxidation of zinc, was first published in 1800 and led to his elec-

tion as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1803. Even more important, in 1801 he left Bristol and moved to London, to the newly formed Royal Institution. Davy shone at the institution, where his spectacular lecturing style assured that his demonstrations were always crowded. His most important scientific work was devoted to the electric decomposition of chemical compounds. The use of electricity to decompose water into oxygen and hydrogen was already known, but Davy broadened electrochemistry immensely. He discovered, named, and classified as metals potassium and sodium, producing these "new elements" by the electrical decomposition of potash and soda in 1807. He also isolated and named chlorine as an element.

Davy's move from Bristol and the radical Beddoes to the Royal Institution was accompanied by a growing political conservatism. Davy wanted the prizes British society offered, and he gained many of them. He was knighted and married an eligible London heiress, Jane Apreece. Davy and his wife toured France and Italy, rather difficult as France and Britain were at war. Despite the conflict, Davy received a prize in electrical research endowed by Napoleon.

On his return, he invented a safety lamp for coal miners. The candles and lamps used by coal miners were setting off explosions of methane, making an already-dangerous job even more so. Davy's laboratory experiments with samples of the gas revealed that a lamp could be made safe by using very narrow metal ventilation tubes, later changed to metallic gauzes. The lamp, which Davy refused to patent, thereby forfeiting hundreds of thousands of pounds, did not end explosions in coal mines but was successful in bringing Davy even more fame and honors—a hereditary baronetcy, the highest honor the British Crown had ever bestowed on a scientist, and the presidency of the Royal Society in 1820. His declining health forced him to resign the position, and he moved to the Continent, dying in Geneva in 1829.

*William E. Burns*

*See also* Chaptal, Jean Antoine; Science, Exploration, and Technology (contextual essay)

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**Davydov (Davidov), Denis Vasilievich (1784–1839)**

Russian cavalry commander and guerrilla leader. Denis Vasilievich Davydov was born to a prominent Russian

noble family and enlisted as an *estandard junker* (officer candidate or cadet) in the Chevalier Guard Regiment on 10 October 1801, rising to cornet on 21 September 1802 and to lieutenant on 14 November 1803. For writing satires about his superiors, Davydov was transferred to the Byelorussia Hussar Regiment on 25 September 1804, and then, on 16 July 1806, he joined the Leib Hussar (Life Guard Hussar) Regiment with the rank of lieutenant. On 15 January 1807 he was appointed an adjutant to Prince Peter Bagration and rose to staff *rotmistr* (a rank in the Guards, equivalent to major in the regular forces of the Army) on 26 January 1807. During the campaign in Poland, he served in Bagration's detachment, participating in numerous rearguard actions as well as in the major battles of Eylau (for which he garnered a golden cross), Güttsstadt, Heilsberg, and Friedland. For his actions he was decorated with the Order of St. Anna (2nd class) and the Prussian Pour le Mérite.

From February to April 1808, during the Russo-Swedish War, Davydov again served under Bagration in Finland and then joined General Jacob Kulnev's advance guard, fighting at Sikaioki, Karloe, Lappo, Perho, Kuhalambi, Kuortain, Salmi, Oravais, and Gamle-Kamlebi. In April 1809 he took part in Bagration's expedition to the Åland Islands. In July 1809 he followed Bagration to the Danubian Principalities, where Davydov fought against the Turks at Macin, Girsov, Rassevat, Silistra, Tataritsa, and Shumla (for which he received the Order of St. Anna [2nd class]). Promoted to *rotmistr* of the Leib Hussar Regiment on 16 March 1810, he transferred as a lieutenant colonel to the Akhtyrsk Hussar Regiment on 20 April 1812.

During the 1812 campaign, Davydov served in the 14th Brigade of the 4th Cavalry Division in the 7th Corps of the 2nd Western Army and participated in the battles at Romanovo, Saltanovka (Mogilev), and Smolensk. Following the battle at Smolensk, Davydov organized, with Bagration's consent, a guerrilla detachment to harass the French communication and supply lines. He distinguished himself at Lyakhov, where his troops captured an entire French brigade from General Pierre-François-Charles Augereau's corps. He then fought at Vyazma, Krasnyi, Kopys (for which he received the Order of St. George [4th class]), Shklov, Starosel, and Grodno. For his actions in 1812 Davydov was promoted to colonel and awarded the Order of St. Vladimir (3rd class).

In 1813 Davydov commanded a detachment in General Ferdinand Winzgorode's forces at Kalisch and later made a daring raid on Dresden, capturing Neustadt in March. However, he acted without orders during this operation, for which he was relieved of command and transferred to Major General Sergey Lanskoj's detachment. He then took part in the actions at Predel, Ezdorf, Ubigau,

Bautzen, Dresden, Reichenbach, Zeitz, Altenburg, Chemnitz, Naumburg, and Leipzig, as well as in the pursuit of the French army to the Rhine. For his actions in 1813 he received an imperial letter of gratitude. The following year Davydov commanded the Akhtyrsk Hussar Regiment in France, distinguishing himself at Brienne, La Rothière (where he was promoted to a major general on 2 January 1816 with seniority dating from 1 February 1814), Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Laon, La-Fère-Champenoise, Craonne, and Paris.

Returning to Russia, Davydov served as an assistant to the commander of the 1st Dragoon Division (2 January 1815) and then in the same capacity in the 2nd Horse Jäger Division (26 March 1816) and the 2nd Hussar Division (3 June 1816). On 19 November 1817 he took command of the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Hussar Division. On 3 March 1818, he became the chief of staff for the 7th Infantry Corps and, on 6 March 1819, for the 3rd Infantry Corps. He was relieved of command on 29 March 1820 and retired because of illness on 26 November 1823, but he returned to the army on 4 April 1826. Davydov participated in the Russo-Persian War in 1826, fighting at Amymly and Alagez, and he constructed the fortress of Djelal-Oghlu. However, his health quickly deteriorated, and he had to take an extended furlough to recuperate in 1827. Four years later, he returned to the army during the Polish uprising, taking command of a cavalry detachment of one dragoon and three Cossack regiments. He captured the town of Vladimir (Volhynia) on 18 April 1831. He then commanded the advance guard in General Fedor Ridiger's corps, earning his promotion to lieutenant general on 18 October 1831 and the Orders of St. Anna (1st class) and of St. Vladimir (2nd class).

After the campaign Davydov returned to his estate of Verkhnyaya Maza in the Simbirsk *gubernia* (province), where he died on 4 May 1839. Before his death, he organized the transfer of Bagration's remains from the village of Simy for reinterment on the Borodino battlefield, where he had received his mortal wound.

Davydov left a diverse literary legacy. In addition to numerous poems and lyrics, he wrote articles and memoirs that remain important sources for the study of the Napoleonic Wars. They contain vivid and insightful accounts of the military actions and interesting characterizations of the prominent Russian commanders.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bautzen, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Craonne, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Heilsberg, Battle of; Krasnyi, First Battle of;

Krasnyi, Second Battle of; La Rothière, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Mogilev, Action at; Montmartre, Action at; Montmirail, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Winzgorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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### Dego, Battle of (14–15 April 1796)

The favorable outcome of the fiercely contested combats of 14 and 15 April 1796 at Dego, a small village and a key point in the upper Bormida River valley, allowed Bonaparte to consolidate the strategic advantage gained in the opening stage of his first Italian campaign. After Dego, the Austrian *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu decided definitively to retreat from Liguria toward the plain of Alessandria, thus abandoning the Piedmontese (Sardinian) army to its fate.

Following the Battle of Montenotte and its general advance from the Ligurian coast on 12 April, Bonaparte's Army of Italy had reached the Altare-Cairo-Carcare salient in the upper Bormida valley, thereby driving a wedge between Michael Freiherr von Colli's Piedmontese around Ceva in southwestern Piedmont and Beaulieu's Austrians on the Apennines behind Savona. Bonaparte spent the following day in consolidating his position and dispatching scouts to discover Colli's whereabouts and prevent any Austrian counterattack. While marching westward to take Montezemolo and establish a junction with General Jean Sérurier's division in the upper Tanaro River valley, General Pierre-François-Charles Augereau ran into *Generalmajor* Giovanni, Marquis Provera's Austro-Piedmontese Auxiliary Corps. Hopelessly outnumbered, 900 Sardinian grenadiers and Croats gallantly resisted in the ruined castle of Cosseria, between Carcare and Millesimo, up to the morning of the fourteenth, inflicting appalling losses on the enemy.

At this stage, Beaulieu still had a chance to reverse the situation. By using Dego as a strongpoint, he could have rallied his scattered troops and struck at the enemy's right flank. With Colli's support from the west, he might have succeeded in driving the French back to the coast. At first, the Austrian commander considered this option, but later he changed his mind and remained around Acqui.

On 14 April Bonaparte, with a substantial part of his army, made for Dego, which was held by a force of about

3,000 Austrians and Piedmontese with sixteen to eighteen guns. The road approaching the village from the south ran along the eastern bank of the Bormida through open countryside. At Dego the valley narrowed, and a chain of steep knolls covered with entrenchments lay behind the village and its castle. General André Masséna's division advanced forward in two columns along the eastern bank. General Amédée-Emmanuel-François Laharpe followed on the far bank. By dusk the French had expelled the enemy from all defensive positions, taking sixteen guns. The Austrians lost 350 killed and wounded, and 1,500–2,500 men were taken prisoners. The French lost 200 men.

Tired and hungry, Masséna's men settled down in Dego and began pillaging, many units becoming scattered. French disorder, pouring rain, and thick fog favored an unexpected Austrian counterattack. With about 3,000 men, *Generalmajor* Philipp Freiherr Vukassovich advanced from Sassello during the night and fell on the enemy at dawn on the fifteenth. Surprised and disorganized, the French were soon in full rout, leaving hundreds of prisoners behind. Masséna, who had apparently spent the night elsewhere—the received view contending that he was either with a woman or collecting loot—arrived late on the spot. By noon, however, he managed to rally about 3,000 of his men, Laharpe and Claude Perrin Victor also coming up with reinforcements. A new attack on Dego began in the afternoon, with the French adopting the same tactical approach as they had the day before. Hard fighting continued for hours. In the end, Vukassovich was forced to give up and withdrew to Spigno. On the second day of the battle the Austrians had 650 killed and wounded, and about 1,000 were taken prisoner; the French lost 600 killed and wounded, and 300 were taken captive.

*Marco Gioannini*

- See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Ceva, Battle of; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Masséna, André; Montenotte, Battle of; Sardinia; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de
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### Denmark

Denmark, a small Scandinavian country, located just to the north of the central German plain, is predominantly a low-lying peninsula with a cluster of neighboring islands. The capital and major city, Copenhagen, is located on the island of Bornholm. At the time of the French Revolutionary and

Napoleonic Wars, Denmark also included Norway, the Duchy of Schleswig (the northernmost province of Germany), the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. It controlled the strategically important sea passages between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, the Skagerrak and the Kattegat.

The intellectual currents of the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement reached Denmark prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution, which resulted in both an increasing sense of national consciousness and a desire for a more responsive “liberal” regime in place of the absolute monarchy of Christian VII (reigned 1766–1808) and later Frederik VI (reigned 1806–1839). Serfdom had initially been eliminated in 1702 but had been restored by 1733. It was finally eliminated in 1800.

Denmark’s importance in European affairs ebbed and flowed primarily with two factors: first, the strength of its neighbor Sweden, and second, its own economic vitality. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Denmark was enjoying a period of economic growth in contrast to Sweden’s weakness after the losses of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). Agricultural growth also stimulated maritime growth as one of the bases of Danish wealth and power. It was this maritime growth that embroiled Denmark in the Napoleonic Wars.

Britain was naturally concerned with maintaining trade and naval access to the Baltic region as well as with the size and power of the Danish fleet. Should the Danes ally with Napoleon, trade and access would be imperiled because of the closure of the Skagerrak and the Kattegat to British shipping. In addition, the union of the skillful and rather large Danish Navy with the growing combination of the naval forces of Napoleon and his Dutch and Spanish allies would have serious consequences for British control of the North Sea and the English Channel.

Tension began to rise in 1798 when the Danes allowed their navy to escort allegedly neutral shipping under the Danish flag. Many of the vessels involved were actively engaged in supporting French forces. In 1801, after Denmark refused to withdraw from an armed alliance of neutrals including Russia and Sweden (the League of Armed Neutrality) and fearing open French intervention in Denmark, the Royal Navy under the overall command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker but led into battle by Vice Admiral Viscount Horatio Nelson undertook to destroy the Danish fleet in the roadstead of Copenhagen harbor on 2 April 1801. Subsequently Denmark drew closer to France, and in 1807 the British returned, disembarking a landing force with one brigade under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, in recognition of his services, was promoted to lieutenant general in May 1808, becoming the youngest lieutenant general in British service and thus assisting his rise to senior command in the Peninsular War. During 1807 Copen-

hagen was blockaded for approximately two weeks, from mid-August to 2 September. After a short but effective bombardment the Danish capital surrendered, and the fleet was seized and taken to Britain.

From 1807 to 1814 the Danes were actively allied with Napoleon. The Danes engaged in a “gunboat” war, involving minor operations with shallow draft vessels along the North Sea and Baltic coasts, with the Royal Navy unsuccessfully contesting control of the Skagerrak and the Kattegat. In 1808, a Spanish corps of 13,000 under the Marqués de la Romana, garrisoning Denmark for Napoleon, was withdrawn by a Royal Navy squadron and returned to Spain to fight against the French in the Peninsular War. Subsequently, during the Russian campaign in 1812, Danish troops occupied lines of communication in Germany and in 1813 were heavily engaged on the French side at the Battle of Leipzig. Danish involvement in the Napoleonic Wars ended with the Treaty of Kiel, concluded on 14 January 1814. Under the terms of that treaty the Kingdom of Denmark ceded control of Norway to the Kingdom of Sweden and the island of Heligoland to Britain.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Armed Neutrality, League of; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Continental System; Copenhagen, Attack on; Copenhagen, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Kjøge, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Norway; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Sweden; Tilsit, Treaties of

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### **Dennewitz, Battle of (6 September 1813)**

The Battle of Dennewitz, fought during the 1813 campaign in Germany, took place just south of Berlin, between the (French) Army of Berlin, under Marshal Michel Ney, and the (Allied) Army of the North, under the Crown Prince of Sweden, formerly one of Napoleon’s marshals, Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte. It was Napoleon’s second attempt to seize Berlin during this campaign and was as unsuccessful as Marshal Nicolas Oudinot’s first attempt, which ended at the Battle of Grossbeeren.

The Army of Berlin consisted of IV (under General Henri-Gatien Bertrand), VII (under General Jean Reynier), XII (Oudinot) Corps, and the III Cavalry Corps (under General Jean-Toussaint Arrighi de Casanova), about 58,000 men with 199 guns. The Army of the North consisted of III (Friedrich Graf Bülow) and IV (Friedrich Bogislav Graf Tauentzien) Prussian Army Corps, General Ferdinand Winzgorode's Russian corps, and Baron Stedingk's Swedish corps, around 120,000 men. Of these, around 43,000 Prussians were involved in the battle, although reinforcements were close to hand, some of which were committed at the end of the battle.

The terrain consisted mainly of open fields covering gently undulating hills with some small woods. The banks of the Ahe brook that ran through both Dennewitz and Jüterbog were marshy and could only be crossed at the bridges at Dennewitz, Rohrbeck, and Jüterbog.

On 5 September, Ney's army commenced its march on Berlin, moving toward Zahna and Jüterbog. Oudinot made contact with the Allied outposts almost immediately and brushed them aside. Tauentzien fell back to Jüterbog. Receiving news of the French movement, Bülow marched off to support Tauentzien.

The next morning Bertrand clashed with Tauentzien's shaky militia at Dennewitz, gaining the crossing there. The Prussian militia delayed Bertrand long enough for Bülow to arrive. Tauentzien's cavalry covered the withdrawal of his infantry.

That afternoon, Bülow engaged Bertrand, who had now crossed the Ahe and deployed, and Reynier, who had drawn up to the south of the brook. Attack was followed by counterattack in what constituted some of the bitterest fighting of the fall campaign. Charles Antoine Morand's artillery of Bertrand's corps threw back the first Prussian assault made by General Heinrich von Thümen's brigade. A brigade under Ludwig, Prince of Hessen-Homburg then forced Morand to retire. Reynier's Saxons then came into action along a line from Göhlsdorf to Dennewitz.

Knowing that the Swedes and Russians were moving to assist him, Bülow decided to make a further determined effort before any more French reinforcements arrived, sending in General Karl von Borstell's brigade. He captured Göhlsdorf, but could not make any further headway against Reynier.

About 3:30 P.M., Oudinot arrived. He immediately attacked Göhlsdorf and recaptured it. Bülow's men were exhausted, the reinforcements were still some way off, and his artillery failed to silence Ney's. Victory was at hand when Ney ordered Oudinot from his left to his right, which Oudinot did despite remonstrations from Reynier. This gave Bülow the opportunity to counterattack and regain Göhlsdorf.

The Prussian assaults on Bertrand ended when they ran out of ammunition, but just after 5:00 P.M. fresh Russian artillery broke him with salvos of canister fire. Finally, Russian and Swedish troops then threw back Reynier. Ney's army was devastated, losing 22,000 men, 53 guns, 412 wagons, and four standards. The Prussians lost around 10,000 men.

*Peter Hofschröer*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Winzgorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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### **Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux (1768–1800)**

After rising to prominence with the Army of the Rhine, Louis-Charles-Antoine Desaix became one of Bonaparte's most trusted lieutenants, playing a leading part in the campaign in Egypt and most notably at Marengo, the battle that cemented Bonaparte's political future but that cost Desaix his life. In death he achieved an iconic status among the pantheon of heroes of the Revolutionary era—selfless, incorruptible, virtuous, living only for the pursuit of glory and service to the state.

Born to a noble family in the Auvergne on 17 August 1768, Desaix entered the Bretagne infantry regiment (20 October 1783) with the rank of *sous-lieutenant* third class. In 1790 he became an aide-de-camp to General Mathieu Dumas. In 1791 two of Desaix's brothers emigrated and joined the Royalist Army of Condé, in which they served until 1801. Desaix refused his mother's pleas that he follow them, claiming that he would never serve against France. Promoted to lieutenant (24 November 1791), Desaix sought to avoid the political turmoil plaguing the army by moving to the War Commissary (20 December 1791). This move was short-lived, as Desaix had lied about his age by two years in order to fulfill the entry requirements. A few weeks after he took the oath of office (9 January 1792) his deception was noticed and the appointment annulled. Returning to his regiment, he became aide-de-camp to General Victor de Broglie, the Army of the Rhine's chief of staff (20 May 1792) and was promoted to captain (23 May).

After the fall of the monarchy on 10 August 1792, Broglie refused to take an oath supporting the new government and was suspended. Desaix remained loyal to his superior and so was subsequently arrested (8 September 1792) and imprisoned. After the intervention of his cousin, General Beaufranchet d'Ayat, Lazare Carnot ordered his release (25 October 1792). Returning to duty, Desaix was appointed to the staff of the Army of the Rhine on the recommendation of General Adam de Custine.

Throughout 1793 Desaix proved both his bravery and his competence in a series of actions with the Army of the Rhine. The representatives on mission (political commissars) with the army provisionally appointed him *adjutant général* with the rank of battalion commander (20 May). His appointment to *général de brigade* followed a fierce action in the forest of Bienwald. Desaix was shot through the mouth but carried on fighting and encouraging his troops. The representatives on mission gave him a field promotion the same day (20 August), confirmed on 11 September.

On 20 October 1793 he was provisionally promoted to *général de division* and offered command of the army's right wing, which he declined, claiming he was too young and inexperienced. He was suspended on 13 November for being the brother of émigrés, but when the commissars came to arrest him, they were driven off by his soldiers and the charges were quashed by Minister Bouchette. His mother and sister were less lucky: They were denounced by local Jacobins and incarcerated for a year. On 2 December he was wounded at Bertsheim and had a horse killed under him.

Desaix was confirmed a full general on 2 September 1794. He commanded the left wing of the Army of the Rhine and the Moselle, which blockaded Mainz throughout the winter, and then a corps of observation in Upper Alsace through the spring of 1795. Desaix had developed into one of France's best generals, with a particular aptitude for intelligence gathering. His appearance was characteristically unorthodox: Rarely seen in uniform, Desaix habitually wore an ill-fitting, dark blue coat. He was dark skinned, tall, with loosely tied, long black hair and a moustache he had grown to conceal the scars around his mouth. He developed a strong bond with his subordinates, making it a point to share their privations and never to profit from their successes.

After the commander of the Army of the Rhine, General Jean-Charles Pichegru, first captured Mainz but subsequently failed to stop the Austrians from retaking it, he resigned his command and was replaced by General Jean Moreau. Despite Desaix's preference to remain with the light troops, Moreau had him command the army's center. In 1797 Desaix commanded the Army of the Rhine in Moreau's absence from 31 January to 19 April, during

which time he ably prepared it for the spring offensive. On 20 April he took the initiative, crossing the Rhine under fire near Diersheim. During fierce fighting Desaix was wounded in the thigh, but the rest of the French army crossed the river the following day. On 23 April the Austrians announced the peace negotiations initiated by Bonaparte at Leoben.

Desaix remained in Strasbourg until July 1797 recovering from his wound. Instead of returning to active duty, Desaix avoided a new spate of political infighting by going to represent the Army of the Rhine in the peace negotiations. He traveled to Italy, where he met General Bonaparte for the first time. The two men formed an enthusiastic friendship, with Bonaparte confiding his many plans to Desaix, including an expedition to Egypt. While Bonaparte lobbied for this expedition, on 26 October 1797 Desaix was given interim command of the Army of England. For several months Desaix inspected the ports and arsenals in preparation for the invasion across the Channel. However, Bonaparte's lobbying succeeded, and the government instead secretly decreed an expedition to Egypt on 16 March 1798.

With his chief of staff, General François-Xavier Donzelot, and his aides-de-camp, generals Anne Jean Savary and Jean Rapp, Desaix arrived in Rome on 2 April 1798. On 26 May he departed Civita-Vecchia onboard the *Courageuse* with a convoy of sixty ships, disembarking to attack Malta on 10 June. After leaving Malta (19 June) Desaix's division landed in Egypt (1 July) and formed the advance guard on the desert march to Cairo. He encountered resistance at Rahmaniya (12 July) and Shubra Khit (13 July) before commanding one of the five squares at the Battle of the Pyramids (21 July) against the Mamelukes. On 25 August he set off to conquer Upper Egypt, repulsing the forces under Murad Bey at Sediman (7 October). Desaix returned briefly to Cairo before resuming his march down the Nile. With 6,000 men under generals Louis Friant, Augustin-Daniel Belliard, and Louis Davout, Desaix prevented the Mamelukes from regrouping. He explored the ruins of Denderah and Thebes before reaching Aswan on 1 February 1799. It was while governing Upper Egypt that the local population famously dubbed Desaix "the Just Sultan."

Desaix did not learn of Bonaparte's departure for France (23 August 1799) and his invitation to join him until 3 September. After fighting a second battle at Sediman (9 October), Desaix was recalled by Bonaparte's successor, General Jean-Baptiste Kléber, arriving in Cairo on 16 October. Although Desaix had been instructed to return to France by Bonaparte, he was at odds with Kléber over the decision to evacuate the army from Egypt. However, Kléber obliged him to negotiate such a move and sign the

Convention of El Arish (24 January 1800) with Sir Sidney Smith. Desaix left for France with Davout, his aides-de-camp, passports, and a British officer to vouch for them, but when the convention was not ratified by London, Desaix's ship was captured and taken to Leghorn (Livorno), where Desaix was imprisoned by Vice Admiral Lord Keith.

The British belatedly honored Desaix's passports and released him on 29 April. He arrived in Toulon on 5 May, narrowly avoiding capture by Barbary pirates. Desaix endured a thirty-day quarantine during which he received an invitation from Bonaparte to join him in Italy. Taking a route through Grenoble and the Little St. Bernard Pass, he was attacked by bandits on 7 June, before finally being reunited with Bonaparte at Stradella on 11 June. After a night-long meeting, Bonaparte gave him command of two infantry divisions. On 13 June Desaix was sent with General Jean Boudet's division to block the Austrians' escape route to Genoa via Novi. Bypassing Tortona, Desaix arrived at the Scrivia torrent around 5:00 P.M., but heavy flooding prevented the division from crossing. After they set up post in Rivalta, a local priest assisted the French in finding a boat to ferry the infantry across. Meanwhile Desaix ordered cavalry patrols to Novi and then informed headquarters that they had found no Austrians present there.

The next morning (14 June) Desaix heard the artillery open fire at Marengo (at approximately 9:00 A.M.). It has passed into legend that, without waiting for orders, Desaix marched to "the sound of the guns" and arrived to save the day, a service Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy failed to perform at Waterloo fifteen years later; in truth, however, Desaix was more cautious.

Believing the gunfire to be a feint, at 9:00 A.M. Bonaparte sent an order for Desaix to march south to intercept the Alessandria-Genoa road at Pozzollo-Formigaro. Meanwhile, Desaix had ordered Savary back to Novi on a reconnaissance, and when Savary returned, he was sent to inform Bonaparte that the Austrians were still not there. Bonaparte's first message arrived and with Boudet's division assembled by noon, Desaix began the march as ordered. They had not reached a mile beyond Rivalta when a second message from Bonaparte arrived, urgently requesting Desaix to return if it were still possible. Desaix turned the division around, to march on San Giuliano, then Marengo.

Approaching San Giuliano, Desaix's march was hindered by masses of retreating fugitives and wounded soldiers. The division quit the road and accelerated its march, reaching a position north of Cassina Grossa around 5:00 P.M. As Boudet led the 9<sup>ième</sup> Légère (9th Light Infantry) forward to attack the lead Austrian column, Desaix went to meet Bonaparte. A council was held under fire, in which Desaix urged General Auguste Marmont to concentrate all the available artillery.

In Desaix's absence the Austrians had begun deploying to meet Boudet. Marmont's battery opened up, causing the Wallis regiment to break and fall back through *Generalmajor* Christoph Freiherr von Latterman's grenadier brigade. As the grenadiers began their advance, Desaix ordered Boudet to pull back into line with the rest of the army. Desaix then sent Savary to ask Bonaparte for cavalry support, while he led the infantry charge.

When Desaix reached Boudet, he ordered him to take command of his second brigade on the right of the road. With everything in place, Desaix ordered the charge from the head of the 9<sup>e</sup> Légère. Desaix was struck by a fierce volley delivered by the grenadiers at just ten paces and killed instantly; a ball had passed diagonally over the heart and exited through the right shoulder blade. General Charles Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was the first to the body and confirmed him dead. The last words attributed to him in the army *Bulletin*, "Go tell the First Consul that I die regretting not having done enough to live in posterity," were composed by Bonaparte. General Jacques Lauriston claimed Desaix said only "Dead," but doctors examining the body thought it was unlikely he could have uttered a word. A moment after his fall, when the troops crossed bayonets, General François Kellermann (the younger) crowned the attack with a devastating cavalry charge, after which the whole army retook the offensive.

Desaix's body was collected by Savary and taken to Milan, where it was embalmed on 16 June. Struck with genuine grief, Bonaparte ordered that Desaix be entombed in the monastery in the Great St. Bernard Pass. It was not until 1805 that Desaix was permanently laid to rest, in a marble mausoleum constructed the following year.

Terry Crowdy

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Davout, Louis Nicolas; El Arish, Convention of; Emigrés; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Friant, Louis; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jacobins; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte de; Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Charles; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Marengo, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Middle East Campaign; Moreau, Jean Victor; Murad Bey; Pyramids, Battle of the; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Shubra Kit, Battle of; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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## Desertion

Desertion was a major problem for the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies, cutting their fighting strength and threatening military morale. It was also, along with the associated problems of evasion and draft dodging by young men before they could be incorporated into the regiments, seen as a scourge by departmental administrations, by prefects, and by the men charged with policing French towns and villages. Over nearly a quarter of a century of war, desertion lay at the root of widespread crime, occasional rioting, and mutual distrust between locals and the state, especially in country areas with little tradition of military service. And since the Revolutionaries defined military service as an obligation, a duty enshrined in citizenship, desertion could acquire ideological significance in the eyes of the authorities.

It is not easy to estimate the scale of desertion, since accurate figures are hard to find. In the early years of the Revolution there was still something rather casual about the process of recruitment, which made desertion easy and rather tempting. Men were called to a nearby town to sign on and were then left to walk for days or even weeks to join their units; not surprisingly, some of them chose to spend the money they were given for the journey in a wayside inn before creeping back home, they hoped undetected. Hence, the figures supplied by civilian authorities seldom tallied with those held by the army. Besides, for much of the period the overall picture was complicated by exemptions and by the fact that a man could buy himself out of personal service by providing a substitute. Police and local administrators did not always find it easy to establish who should be in the army and who had the right to remain in the community.

After conscription was introduced under the Loi Jourdan in 1799, the men of each age group—each *classe*—were called in turn to present themselves for a cursory medical examination, and this made official estimates more reliable. The best figures that were available at the time were those that Antoine-Audet Hargenvilliers sup-

plied to the Ministry of War in 1808, which showed that between 1800 and 1806 around a quarter of a million men had safely evaded capture. But he admitted that this number was almost certainly an underestimate, since it included only those men for whom the government had records. Napoleon used a variety of contrasting measures, from harsh policing to periodic offers of amnesty, to try to bring the recalcitrant to heel. But he never succeeded in rooting out the problem. Even in 1813, after an entire generation had been called before the recruiting sergeant and conscription had begun to appear as something of a rite of passage for adolescent males, disillusionment and despair still led many thousands of young Frenchmen to take the risk of evasion every year. The numbers listed as deserters, or *insoumis*, remained stubbornly high.

These numbers were also very uneven between region and region, department and department. Even in 1813 there were departments where the prefect could claim to have fewer than 100 deserters on their territory, while others admitted to in excess of 2,000. Here the young men took to the woods or sought protection from their families rather than submit to the draft, and where the law was finally imposed on an unwilling community, it was done by compulsion, by threats of retribution, and the use of terror. So what defined the regions that defied the government over service in the armies, the one issue that Napoleon saw as the key to public order? There was no clear link between areas of defiance and areas with a history of counterrevolution, especially since Napoleon specifically reduced the demands made in the west, where the bitter conflict in the Vendée had stripped the countryside of many of its young men and left agriculture dangerously short of labor. Rather, the desertion rates reflected opportunity and the presence or absence of military tradition in the community. Heavily wooded regions, or mountainous areas such as the Pyrenees and the Massif Central, provided deserters and draft dodgers with cover and obstructed the searches of the police. Local history also played its part. Those regions that for centuries had been forced to defend themselves against invasion—from across the Rhine, for instance—were eager to provide soldiers for these wars too, whereas isolated villages and remote areas of mountain pasture, which were themselves safe from the threat of invasion and where news traveled slowly, tended to figure among the most refractory areas of the country. Resistance was a predominantly rural problem: The cities and larger towns—notably Paris and Lyons—had little problem with desertion.

Desertion was taken very seriously by the government, since it undermined the effectiveness of the armies and deprived the generals of much-needed manpower. Napoleon, especially, sought to counter it by repression, especially

where bands of deserters formed in the countryside and turned to crime and banditry. Policing was stepped up in an attempt to deter both the soldiers from deserting and their families from welcoming them back. Gendarmes were ordered to hunt down those on the run, soldiers' families were required to provide evidence that their sons had joined up, and troops were billeted in the homes both of parents and of village notables in a bid to drive a wedge between different interests in the local community. These measures, seen by many as harsh and brutal, risked alienating whole communities. Heavy fines were imposed on those sheltering or employing deserters, and those who conspired to engage in fraud to save friends and relatives from conscription or who made fortunes by forging birth and marriage registers faced severe punishment. Desertion itself was made punishable by death. In practice, however, the death penalty was seldom imposed, except for those who were found behind enemy lines, since its use would have been counterproductive. The army needed live soldiers, not dead ones, and those convicted were usually dispatched back to the front line, where many of them are known to have fought bravely in the later campaigns of the Empire.

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- See also* Conscription (French); French Army; Levée en Masse; Vendée, Revolts in the
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### Díaz Porlier, Juan (1788–1815)

Known as the *marquesito* on account of the fact that he was the illegitimate son of the Marqués de Bajamar, Juan Díaz Porlier was a well-known leader of the Spanish guerrillas. Born in Cartagena de Indias in 1788, in 1802 he enlisted as a midshipman aboard the 80-gun *Argonauta* commanded by his uncle, Don Rosendo Porlier. By 1805 he was serving aboard the 112-gun *Príncipe de Asturias* on the staff of Admiral Don Federico Gravina, and in this capacity he fought against the British at Trafalgar. After this action Porlier transferred to the army, and when war broke out against France in 1808, he was a captain in the Mallorca (Majorca)

infantry regiment. Stationed in Badajoz, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the 1st Regiment of Provincial Grenadiers and along with his new unit was incorporated into the 1st Division of the Army of Extremadura (Extremadura).

In consequence, he first came face-to-face with the French on the battlefield of Gamonal on 10 November 1808. The resultant action was a disaster—the Spanish army was overwhelmed and suffered heavy losses—but Porlier happened to be stationed on the extreme left wing on the edge of a range of hills. As the Spanish line collapsed, he was therefore able to lead a few men to safety and put together a small guerrilla band.

At the head of these men, he launched a series of attacks on the invaders in the provinces of Palencia and Santander. Pleased with his courage, the Patriot authorities promoted him to the rank of brigadier and recognized his command as the so-called Cantabrian Division. To all this, Porlier responded by militarizing his forces, which were transformed into four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. After fighting in the various petty campaigns that surged to and fro in the provinces of Asturias and Santander in the period 1810–1812, in 1812 he cooperated with the naval operations of Sir Home Popham and occupied the region in the wake of the definitive retreat of the French.

At this point, however, Porlier's character began to show itself to disadvantage. Always a difficult subordinate who was noted for his overweening ambition, he objected to orders that would have taken his division out of its home territory and incorporated it into the main Spanish armies. In consequence, his division was broken up, and Porlier sent in disgrace to Oviedo. Rehabilitated the following year, he commanded a division at the Battle of San Marcial on 31 August 1813. Promoted to the rank of major general, he then took part in the Battle of the Nive, after which he and his men were sent back to Bilbao. The following year, however, came disaster: In 1812 Porlier had married Josefa Queipo de Llano, the sister of the liberal leader the Conde de Toreno, and the coup that restored Ferdinand VII as absolute ruler of Spain therefore led to Porlier's arrest as a suspect. Imprisoned in La Coruña (Corunna), Porlier managed to win the sympathy of part of the garrison, and in July 1815 he persuaded his adherents to join him in a revolt. This proved short-lived, however. Porlier and his followers were quickly overcome, and on 3 October he was executed by firing squad.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

- See also* Ferdinand VII, King; Gamonal, Battle of; Guerrilla Warfare; Nive, Battle of the; Peninsular War; Queipo de Llano, José María, Conde de Toreno; San Marcial, Second Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of

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**Diersheim, Battle of**

See Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

**Díez, Juan**

See Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado”

**Directory, The (1795–1799)**

The Directory, an executive body that ruled France for four years after 1795 and lent its name to the later phase of the Revolution, was overturned when Bonaparte came to power in 1799. It was in Bonaparte’s interests to blacken the regime that preceded him, and the coup of Brumaire was justified by the alleged failure of the Directory to restore law and order. Crime and violence were certainly rife in some regions, and in the summer of 1799 France once more risked invasion. The Directory also acquired a reputation for corruption, incarnated in the dissipated person of Paul Barras, the single director who served throughout this period. Maximilien Robespierre’s Republic of Virtue seemed long gone; the rich flaunted their wealth while the poor starved. Yet current historians stress the achievements of the Directory, on which Bonaparte was to build.

The Directory faced a massive task. The polity had been torn apart by civil war, leaving opposing factions with scores to settle; inflation was rampant and conflict abroad unrelenting; reconciliation would prove extremely difficult. The architects of the new Constitution of 1795 sought to found their regime on the wealthy notables, those individuals whom Bonaparte would call “blocks of granite.” As François-Antoine Boissy d’Anglas suggested, only the best qualified candidates would exercise authority in future. Yet the attempt to steer a course between anarchy and tyranny was flawed by an insistence on annual elections, not only for the bicameral parliament and local authorities but also for the Directory itself, one of whose five members would be replaced each year. This safeguard against dictatorship became a recipe for instability as a deeply divided, albeit restricted, electorate returned first royalist and then Jacobin majorities that threatened the very basis of the system.

The Directory’s response was to annul election results, violating its own principles. Hence Bonaparte’s assertion

in 1799 that the directors had already overthrown the constitution. Political impasse notwithstanding, the Directory did make significant progress in financial and administrative terms. The disastrous experiment with paper money was ended and the currency restored, while *commissaires* attached to each department were forerunners of the famous prefects, instituted by Bonaparte in 1800. The Directory remained an innovatory regime, striving to create a republican culture, albeit at the expense of alienating Catholics with a series of anticlerical measures. Religious as well as political divisions thus persisted, but what sealed the Directory’s fate was the turning tide of war. Territory had been gained and favorable terms negotiated with the continental powers, but Bonaparte’s Egyptian campaign produced a fresh coalition against France, and desperate action to defend the territory revived fears of a fresh Terror. Emmanuel Sieyès, an opponent of the constitution, was elected to the executive in 1799, and when Bonaparte returned, a coup was imminent. Yet the Directory had survived for four years, longer than any regime since 1789.

*Malcolm Crook*

See also Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Brumaire, Coup of; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Convention, The; French Revolution; Jacobins; Middle East Campaign; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The

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**Division**

*Division* is a term referring to one of two distinct concepts. The first and of lesser importance is the use of the term *division* as a tactical concept involving the forming of a battalion into column with a front of two companies. In this instance the formation was referred to as a “column of divisions.” In the second usage, a division is a subordinate permanent or semipermanent combined arms formation typically under the command of a general officer, consisting of varying numbers of infantry battalions (from six to twelve), artillery batteries, and on occasion cavalry squadrons or regiments. By the end of the Napoleonic period all major armies had adopted the divisional concept, although the Prussians, for instance, grouped numbers of large brigades directly within a corps.

The limited tactical definition involving the column of divisions originated in the seventeenth century and died out with the demise of formal linear formations in World

War I, although it is still referred to in some formal drill manuals and is sometimes utilized as a parade formation. The second and broader definition began to be used during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and was formalized in various pre-Revolutionary French regulations, most notably the *Ordonnance* of March 1788. Originally the idea of forming divisions was to assist an army moving through broken and restrictive terrain, such as in mountains. The Regulations of 1793 established the concept in the Revolutionary and, later, Napoleonic armies. At that time the division was to consist of twelve battalions, two squadrons of cavalry, and a variable number of artillery batteries. While the concept remained, the static organization did not. Napoleon intentionally varied the strength of divisions and corps in order to aid in deceiving his enemies.

The utility of the division lay in the fact that an army could be divided and could follow several different routes in its advance or retreat with all forces being capable of conducting combat operations for at least a limited period of time. The French utilized the division to gain an advantage in mobility over their enemies. As the Revolutionary Wars continued, the French and later Napoleon began to form larger combined-arms units known as corps, which were capable of sustained fighting for a day or two in the face of the enemy's army. As Napoleon's enemies reorganized and reformed their armies to meet the challenge of his forces, they too adopted the divisional and, in some cases, the corps concept. In the Peninsular War, great distances, difficult terrain, and the relative scarcity of troops restricted the use of the corps, and the forces were generally organized into and fought as divisions. Normally, divisions in the Napoleonic Wars would number between 4,000 and 10,000 troops.

The concept of the division continued to evolve throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and remains today the organizational structure of larger armies in both peace and war. Today, the U.S. Army maintains ten active-duty divisions of various types, with a mix of combat, combat-support, and service-support elements in each, numbering between 12,000 and 20,000 troops. Each is led by a major general and can constitute a joint task force headquarters in conjunction with air and naval forces.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Cavalry; Corps System; Grand Strategy; Grand Tactics, Infantry

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## Divorce

With the victory of the peasantry and the proletariat in the French Revolution, the notion of divorce was radically transformed. After the Revolution, social and religious acceptance of legalized divorce became widespread until the Napoleonic era.

In 1789 a social revolution started in France that not only would transform the political and economic system but also would change the moral and social system. Specifically, the process of divorce and, by fiat, marriage, would undergo change by the Revolutionaries. As the National Assembly passed laws to reform the social, economic, and political system, it also passed legislation to change the institution of divorce. Under the *ancien régime*, which to a large degree was a patriarchal system, divorce was illegal: Marriage was indissoluble under the law.

On 20 September 1792, however, the National Assembly passed the Law of Divorce. Under this law the government acknowledged the principle of marital failure, in which neither the wife nor the husband was held responsible for the divorce. A divorce could occur under mutual consent. Indeed, in a truly revolutionary notion, one party could sue for divorce based on the modern idea of incompatibility. The law specified the exact reasons for a possible divorce, including immorality, cruelty, insanity, and desertion. The law dictated a compulsory resting period of six months in case either side believed that the marriage was salvageable. In the end, the number of divorces in the pre-Napoleonic era increased because of the law's far-reaching grasp as well as its simple affordability for the ordinary citizen. In addition, the concept of divorce reaffirmed the Revolutionary ideal of individual liberty, especially within the institution of marriage.

With the advent of the Napoleonic era, the institution of divorce again underwent a similar phase of transition, becoming more difficult to attain. According to the Napoleonic (Civil) Code of 1803, the grounds for divorce were narrowed significantly. These grounds included adultery and maltreatment, among others. Essentially, the code eliminated a substantial number of grounds for divorce. In addition, divorce was permitted by mutual consent. Unlike the law of 1792, however, the new law allowed divorce only if both families gave their consent. The Napoleonic divorce laws created a double standard for women. For example, whereas husbands could divorce their wives for adultery, women could only sue for the same infraction. Napoleonic laws strengthened the patriarchal system while reducing the number of divorces to 10 percent of those allowed by the 1792 law. Women continued to outnumber men in seeking divorces in the early nineteenth century.

*Jaime Ramón Olivares*

See also Civil Code

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## Doctorov

See Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeyeovich

## Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeyeovich (1759–1816)

Dmitry Sergeyeovich Dokhturov, a prominent Russian military commander, was born on 12 September 1759 to a Russian noble family from the Tula *gubernia* (province). He began service at the imperial court, becoming a page in 1771 and a *kamer* page in 1775. Dokhturov enlisted as a lieutenant in the Life Guard Preobrazhensky Regiment on 17 April 1781, becoming lieutenant captain in 1784 and captain in 1788. He participated in the Russo-Swedish War of 1788–1790, fighting at Rochensalmi (where he was wounded in the right shoulder), near the estuary of the Kumen River, at Hervanland (for which he received a golden sword), and Vyborg (where he was wounded). Dokhturov became a colonel and commander of the Yeletsk Infantry Regiment on 12 January 1795. Two years later, he rose to major general and *chef* of the Sofia Musketeer Regiment on 13 November 1797. Between 11 November 1798 and 3 August 1800, this unit was named Dokhturov's Musketeer Regiment. Dokhturov was promoted to lieutenant general on 5 November 1799.

After brief retirement from July to November 1800, Dokhturov became *chef* of the Olonets Musketeer Regiment on 11 August 1801 and *chef* of the Moscow Musketeer Regiment and infantry inspector of the Kiev Inspection on 7 February 1803. During the 1805 campaign he commanded one of the columns in the Russian army, distinguishing himself at Krems (Dürnstein, for which he received the Order of St. George [3rd class], on 24 January 1806) and Austerlitz (for which he received the Order of St. Vladimir [2nd class]). In 1806–1807, he led the 7th Division in Poland, fighting at Golymin (for which he received the Order of St. Anna [1st class]), Eylau (where he was wounded in the right leg and earned a golden sword with diamonds), Lomitten (for which he received the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle [1st class]), Heilsberg (for which he received the Order of St. Alexander of Neva), and Fried-

land. In 1809 he took part in the operations against the Austrian army in Galicia, for which he received the Order of St. Catherine. Promoted to general of infantry on 1 May 1810, he took command of Fourth Corps that November and of Sixth Corps of the 1st Western Army in early 1812.

During the 1812 campaign Dokhturov defended Smolensk, for which he later received 25,000 rubles, and distinguished himself at Borodino, where he took command of the 2nd Western Army after Prince Peter Bagration was injured. For his actions in this battle Dokhturov was decorated with the diamond signs of the Order of St. Alexander of Neva. At the council of war at Fili he recommended engaging Napoleon in the vicinity of Moscow. In October and November he fought at Aristovo, Maloyaroslavets (for which he received the Order of St. George [2nd class]) and Krasnyi. In 1813 he commanded the right flank of the (Russian) Army of Poland, fighting at Berggieshubel, Dohna, Dresden, Leipzig (for which he received the Order of St. Vladimir [1st class]), Magdeburg, and Hamburg, where he remained until the end of the war. In late 1814 Dokhturov took a furlough to recuperate and nominally commanded Third Corps. During the Hundred Days, he returned to the army, commanding the right flank of the Russian army. Returning to Russia, he took a discharge because of poor health on 13 January 1816 and died on 26 November of the same year in Moscow.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

See also Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Borodino, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Dürnstein, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Golymin, Battle of; Hamburg, Defense of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Donegal, Battle of (12 October 1798)

Minor Anglo-French naval action connected with French attempts to land an expeditionary force in Ireland. When rebellion erupted in Ireland in 1798, the French government naturally wished to support it as a means of diverting British attention from the main theaters of war on the Continent and at sea. As such, the French sent two expeditions

to Ireland, originally intended to be embarked simultaneously. Lack of funds for the troops, however, obliged them to split the expedition into two, with the first force of 1,200 men dispatched under General Jean Humbert, aboard four vessels, none of which carried more than forty guns. The expedition, being woefully understrength, ended in total failure with Humbert's surrender at Ballinamuck on 8 September.

The second expedition was rather stronger: 3,000 men with a respectable complement of artillery and immense quantities of supplies. These were carried aboard a force under Commodore Jean Baptiste Bompert, sailing from Brest on the night of 16 September on the *Hoche* (74 guns) with Bompert aboard, *Romaine* (40), *Loire* (40), *Immortalité* (40), *Coquille* (36), *Bellone* (36), *Résolue* (36), *Embuscade* (36), *Sémillante* (36), and *Biche* (36). Royal Navy vessels of the Channel Fleet spotted the French on the following morning. After failing over the course of several days to shake off British cruisers assigned to watch his movements, Bompert steered west-north-west. This course suggested the destination was Ireland, and the commander in chief of that station was consequently alerted. Three British frigates continued to observe the French for several days before finally joining the squadron off Donegal under Commodore Sir John Warren.

Warren had left Cawsand Bay on 23 September on learning that Bompert's force had left port, and he had made for a point on the Irish coast close to where Humbert had disembarked his men not long before. By 11 October, having recently received reinforcements, Warren's squadron was composed of the *Foudroyant* (80), Warren's flagship the *Canada* (74), the *Robust* (74), *Magnanime* (44), *Anson* (44), *Amelia* (44), *Ethalion* (38), and *Melampus* (36). At midday on the eleventh, while off Tory Island and bound for Lough Swilly, where Bompert intended to land his troops, the French sighted Warren's squadron, and consequently altered course for the southwest with the object of disembarking their troops whenever an opportunity arose. On himself sighting the French, Warren signaled for a general chase and for his ships to form in succession as they reached the opposing squadron. Heavy winds on the night of the eleventh caused serious damage to the *Anson*, *Hoche*, and *Résolue*. Nevertheless, at dawn on the twelfth, when sight was restored to the rival squadrons, the French were so positioned as to have no path of escape, apart from the southwest, to which they were already proceeding.

With his own flagship damaged and another ship leaking, Bompert had little choice but to accept battle, and by 7:00 A.M. his force had established itself in a loose line ahead, with the *Résolue*, supported by the *Biche*, detached inshore in consequence of her disability. Warren enjoyed every advantage over his adversary, but rather than contin-

uing the pursuit he formed line of battle, a formation that enabled the *Robust* and *Magnanime* to be just in range of the *Embuscade* and *Coquille* shortly after 7:00 A.M. Fire was exchanged, and after fifteen minutes, having increased sail, the *Robust* was close upon the *Hoche*, with which she began to exchange broadsides. Meanwhile, the *Magnanime* fought with the *Embuscade* and the *Coquille*, but she also took some raking fire from the *Loire*, *Immortalité*, and *Bellone* as she passed to leeward of the *Robust*. Some of Warren's other ships then came up, including the *Foudroyant*, *Amelia*, *Ethalion*, *Melampus*, and *Canada*, all of which assisted in various ways to compel the *Hoche*, after a stoic resistance, to haul down her colors just before 11:00 A.M. Half an hour later the *Embuscade*, having suffered injury inflicted by both the *Magnanime* and later the *Foudroyant*, surrendered to the former ship. The remainder of Warren's force, apart from the heavily damaged *Robust* and the still-distant *Anson*, aggressively pursued, as a result of which the *Coquille* surrendered around 1:00 P.M., followed by the *Bellone*, which had resisted brilliantly for almost two hours against the *Foudroyant* and *Melampus*. The *Ethalion* accepted the surrender. The remaining French ships made off, inflicting heavy damage on the *Anson* as they effected their escape.

Warren lost 13 killed and 75 wounded, a small number considering his opponent's determination. French losses are not known, but the *Hoche* alone lost 270 killed and wounded, and therefore total losses must have been several hundred. The heavily damaged *Robust* took the completely disabled *Hoche* into harbor, but only after the latter had been saved from foundering by the efforts of her own crew and from recapture by the efforts of the *Doris* (36). Five French frigates were able to escape to leeward, pursued by the *Canada*, *Foudroyant*, and *Melampus*, the last of which captured the *Résolue*, in a sinking state and after brief resistance, on the following day. Other vessels fled successfully or were engaged before breaking off and escaping. The *Hoche*, *Bellone*, and *Embuscade* were renamed and added to British service. The *Coquille* was accidentally destroyed by fire at Plymouth two months after the action. On balance, then, the engagement off Donegal was a marked success, though not an overwhelming victory.

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* Irish Rebellion; Naval Warfare; Second Coalition, War of the

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## Dos de Mayo

See Madrid Uprising

## Dresden, Battle of (26–27 August 1813)

In the fall of 1813 Napoleon resumed his campaign in Germany against the Sixth Coalition, which consisted of all the great powers of Europe: Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia, as well as Sweden. The Allies formulated a strategy agreed to by a convention signed at Trachenberg during the summer armistice. The strategy specified that no one army would fight the forces led by Napoleon in person; only a combination of armies would seek to confront him. The plan thus relied mainly on avoiding forces commanded by Napoleon while aggressively attacking his lieutenants and his lines of communications.

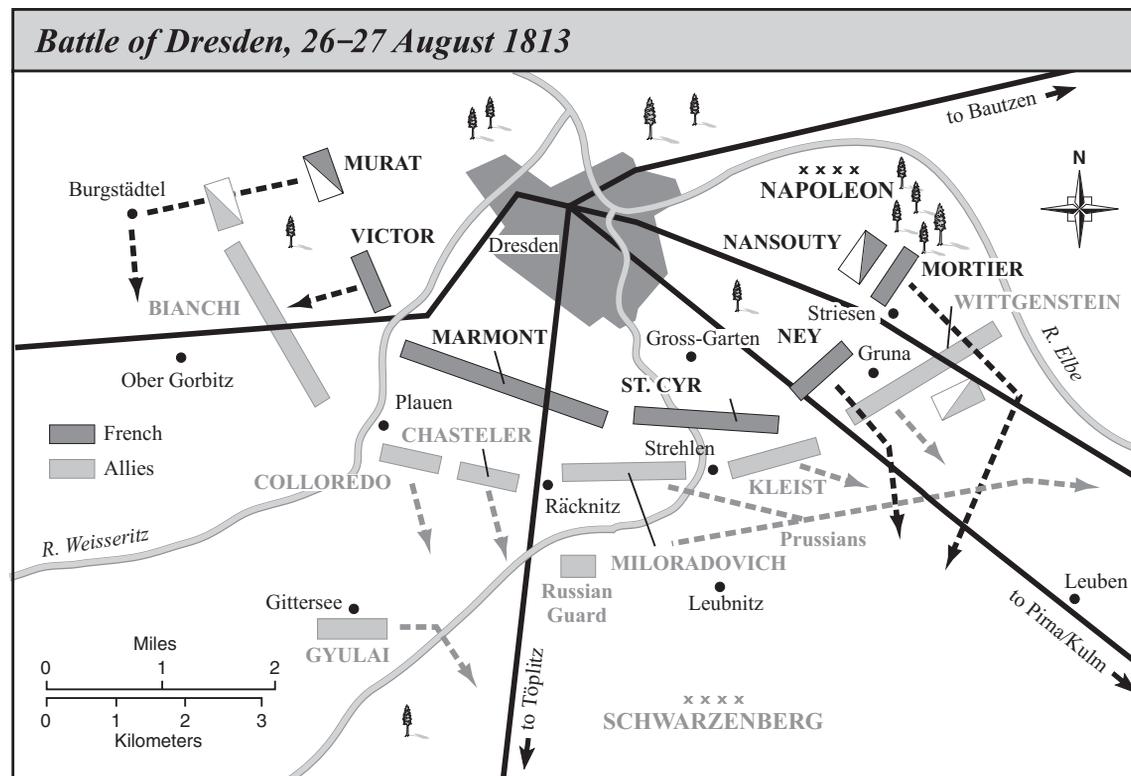
At the outset of the campaign three large armies were poised around Napoleon's defensive salient in Saxony. In the north was former French marshal Bernadotte's army protecting Berlin. In the east was General Gebhard von Blücher's Army of Silesia. The largest army of all was in the south in Bohemia, under the command of Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, who also served as the nominal commander in chief but really was only responsible for coordinating the movements of the other armies. On the French side Napoleon was in overall command of the central reserves in Saxony with subordinate armies under Marshal Nicolas Oudinot in the north facing Bernadotte, and Marshal Jacques Macdonald in the east facing Blücher.

Unity of command was the key French advantage in the forthcoming battle. From the beginning Tsar Alexander I had been unhappy about an Austrian exercising overall command. Alexander now felt he had sufficient resources of military talent—the turncoat French generals Jean Moreau and Antoine Jomini—to reassert his claim to supreme command in the field. Alexander's failure to recognize the distaste an Austrian would have for a partnership with Moreau and Jomini developed into a dispute over strategy. Napoleon's apparent inaction since the end of the armistice caused the Allies to reconsider the wisdom of the Trachenberg Plan. Trachenberg had not allowed for an inert French defense but, rather, had anticipated a move on Napoleon's part. The Allies therefore sought to react to Napoleon's movements. A "general offensive" movement, contrary to the desires of Schwarzenberg and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Joseph Graf Radetzky

von Radetzky was agreed to at a council of war shortly after the campaign began. Schwarzenberg had organized the logistics for the Austrian army to support an eventual advance on Leipzig, and now that an offensive was to be conducted, he naturally recommended Leipzig as the objective. Orders were sent and the huge Army of Bohemia (over 200,000 men) began to advance.

Once again the tsar, advised by Moreau, interfered. Alexander and Moreau felt that a move closer to Blücher in Silesia was warranted; indeed, that was where Napoleon had gone in response to an advance by the Prussian commander in chief. The tsar's view prevailed, despite Schwarzenberg's opposition, and Dresden was chosen as the new objective. Schwarzenberg had considered moving on Dresden as well but had wanted to take advantage of his logistical preparations and to wheel to the east toward the city after advancing through the Bohemian mountains. The crisis of command translated itself to the tactical level. Logistical support, established for a move on Leipzig, soon broke down during the advance to Dresden. The effects of countermarching and the wet, rainy weather further fatigued and slowed the advance of the Allies. The lead elements of the Army of Bohemia arrived cold, tired, wet, and hungry south of Dresden on 25 August. Napoleon was not yet there. Another council of war was held instead of attacking while Napoleon was still absent. Schwarzenberg and Jomini supported the tsar's desire for an immediate assault, but Moreau and General Karl Freiherr Toll (a Prussian in Russian service) advised against it. The attack was eventually postponed until the next day (26 August), when discussion resumed while the troops formed up for battle.

Marshal Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's corps opposed the Allies at Dresden. He had earned his marshal's baton in Russia at Polotsk fighting just the type of battle the Allies now contemplated—a battle in urban terrain naturally suited to fortification and defense. The Allied skirmishers had already found Dresden's walled houses and gardens well fortified in response to their threatened assault. It was at this point that, at about 9:00 A.M. on the morning of 26 August, Napoleon dramatically arrived. Once Napoleon's presence became known, the mood at Allied headquarters changed, and Alexander now favored a withdrawal. The Prussian king, Frederick William III, for the first time, asserted himself and called for the attack to continue—in contravention of the Trachenberg Plan. Moreover, the Allies had not consolidated major formations of their army to include both the Russian Imperial Guard and the corps of General Prince Eugen of Württemberg. They had about 150,000 men initially on hand. However, St. Cyr had only about 30,000 troops. While the Allied supreme command bickered, the assault



Adapted from Lawford 1977, 49.

began on the basis of the orders already issued. This decided the issue, and the battle now commenced in earnest.

The critical action on the battlefield took place south of the river Elbe in the old city of Dresden and was characterized by desperate house-to-house fighting. Walls held up many of the Austrian columns of assault because they had not brought assault ladders. Meanwhile, more French troops arrived by the hour—many after forced marches. Napoleon rapidly reinforced St. Cyr's excellent defenses with portions of the Young Guard. By the end of the day Napoleon had stabilized his position, repulsed the Allied attacks all along the line, and assembled more than 70,000 men. On the same day General Dominique Vandamme, commanding the French I Corps, engaged Eugen's corps, thus effectively preventing it from reinforcing the Allies. Meanwhile Napoleon himself continued to be reinforced and would have almost 120,000 troops for the second day of battle. With Vandamme threatening the Allied line of communication, the Allies diverted another corps to help contain him near Pirna further up the Elbe.

On the second day, 27 August, Napoleon once again displayed his tactical genius for terrain and weather (as he had at Austerlitz in 1805), while his troops exhibited their former élan in executing their emperor's plans. During a furious rainstorm and using a rain-swollen stream that bifurcated the Allied line, Napoleon launched Marshal

Joachim Murat and the cavalry against the Allied left, which annihilated *Feldmarschalleutnant* Frederick Freiherr Bianchi's Austrian Korps. On the far right Marshal Adolphe Mortier had roughly handled the Russian corps under General Peter Graf Wittgenstein. In the center the Allies had massed what they hoped was overwhelming strength, but as news of trouble on the flanks became known a spirit of defeat settled in. Allied headquarters also nearly suffered a serious loss when a round shot (cannonball) narrowly missed the tsar, killing Moreau instead. The Allies had had enough and late in the day ordered a retreat. Napoleon had already retired from the field convinced he would need a third day of battle to complete the victory.

Half-beaten once Napoleon's presence was known, the Allies had compounded their initial mistakes in deviating from the Trachenberg Plan and accepting battle against a strong defensive position. Their losses were heavy even by Napoleonic standards: Some 38,000 Austrians, Prussians, and Russians were casualties, including many prisoners. French losses were approximately 10,000. Dresden was the exception that proved the rule: The Trachenberg Plan had never intended that an offensive battle be fought against Napoleon and his main army by a single Allied army—even the huge Army of Bohemia. The fact that Napoleon occupied such a strong defensive position as Dresden had only made things worse. For Napoleon this battle could

have been a harbinger of one of his most successful campaigns. Dresden seemed to justify the improvements Napoleon had made during the summer armistice. His Young Guard had resolutely defended the city on the first day of action, and his cavalry and horse artillery had been critical in the counteroffensive that forced the Allied withdrawal the following day. However, Marshal Auguste Marmont had expressed to Napoleon his concern about fighting on such a widely extended front with the prophetic words “[I] greatly fear lest on the day on which Your Majesty gains a great victory, and believes you have won a decisive battle, you may learn you have lost two” (Chandler 1966, 903).

Marmont's concerns literally came true. At Kulm, Vandamme was fortuitously cut off from the main French army while leading the pursuit of the dispirited Army of Bohemia. He himself was captured, and his 30,000-man corps was reduced to fewer than 10,000 effective troops. Not long after that, Napoleon learned that General Friedrich von Bülow's Prussian corps had repulsed Marshal Michel Ney's drive on Berlin at Dennewitz. Worse still, at about the same time as the fighting was going on at Dresden, Macdonald had been badly defeated by Blücher along the Katzbach in Silesia and was in headlong retreat.

Thus the fruits of the Battle of Dresden were temporary, and circumstances relegated it to the status of a mere tactical victory. Despite this unfortunate confluence of events, the battle highlights once again the high degree of skill and leadership of which Napoleon was still capable. For the Allies, despite their defeat, the Trachenberg Plan had yielded considerable fruit, and for the remainder of the campaign the initiative remained with them until Napoleon's ultimate and catastrophic defeat at Leipzig that October.

*John T. Kuehn*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Dennewitz, Battle of; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Imperial Guard (French); Jomini, Antoine Henri, Baron; Katzbach, Battle of the; Kulm, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Moreau, Jean Victor; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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## Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon (1765–1844)

Serving in both military and political capacities under Louis XVI, the Revolutionary republic, Napoleon, and Louis-Philippe, Jean-Baptiste Drouet fought in a great number of battles in the period from 1792 to 1815.

Drouet enrolled in the army in 1782. After being dismissed five years later, he returned in 1792, responding to the call of “La patrie en danger!” He climbed quickly in the military hierarchy under generals François Lefebvre and Louis Hoche and later became an important figure in the Grande Armée. He took part in numerous actions, fighting at Zürich (1799), Hohenlinden (1800), and in the occupation of Hanover (1803), where he was promoted to *général de division*. Drouet also played a major role at Ulm (1805), Austerlitz (1805), Jena (1806), and at the siege of Danzig (1807). Danzig and the Battle of Friedland, where he was wounded, together constituted the high points of his career. As a consequence Drouet received two distinctions: the Legion of Honor (1807) and the title of comte d'Erlon (1809). Thereafter, he served in the campaign against Austria (1809) and in Spain (1810–1814).

The First Restoration was a difficult time for him because of his close connection with Napoleon. He finally joined the Bourbons and was made commander of the 16th Military Division (the Bourbons having returned to the pre-Revolutionary system of stationing troops in particular areas of the country, known as military divisions).

This reconciliation was challenged when Drouot was thought to be part of a plot laid by General Charles, comte Lefebvre-Desnouëttes. He was placed under arrest but managed to escape until Napoleon's return. Nominated a peer of France, Drouot enthusiastically joined the Emperor during the Hundred Days as commander of I Corps. His role in the Waterloo campaign is controversial, with some scholars claiming that Drouot received contradictory orders from both Marshal Michel Ney and Napoleon. As a result, his troops wandered from Quatre Bras to Ligny, thereby preventing them from taking an active role in either of the two battles. His corps took a prominent part at Waterloo, where it was badly mauled by a spirited British cavalry charge and later in the day engaged forces resolutely defending the farm of La Haye Sainte.

At the beginning of the Second Restoration Drouot took refuge in Germany, but he was finally granted amnesty by Charles X in 1825. He returned to France as commander of the 12th Military Division in Nantes. In November 1832 he ordered the arrest of the Duchess of Berry on her attempt to raise rebellion in the Vendée. Louis Philippe, toward whom Drouot had always shown loyalty, nominated him as governor-general of the French colonies in North Africa (1834–1835). He received the title of marshal of France in 1843 and died in Paris the following year.

*Eve-Marie Lampron*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Hanover; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Jena, Battle of; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Charles; Ligny, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Drouot, Antoine, comte (1774–1847)

Antoine Drouot was born the son of a baker in Nancy in 1774. He was commissioned in the artillery at the age of nineteen. He took part in the French Revolutionary Wars, serving in Holland and Germany. He also held the odd distinction of being one of only a handful of officers who took part in both the greatest sea battle and arguably the greatest if not most decisive land battle of the Napoleonic Wars: He served as one of a few army artilleryists attached to Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve's fleet during the Battle of

Trafalgar on board a ship of the line, and he was also in command of troops at Waterloo.

A major turning point in Drouot's career occurred in 1808 when he transferred to the Imperial Guard. He fought in the Peninsula and followed Napoleon on his highly successful campaign along the Danube against the Austrians in 1809. During the Battle of Wagram, Drouot was severely wounded in the right foot by grapeshot. He slowly recovered from his wound, which left him with a permanent limp.

Drouot was promoted to colonel in time to direct the Imperial Guard during the invasion of Russia in 1812. He fought with distinction during that disastrous campaign, notably at Borodino. Drouot was again promoted, to *général de brigade*, in January 1813 and served as an aide-de-camp to the Emperor. Napoleon, also an artilleryist by training, was known to like Drouot's style of leadership and his tactical and moral qualities, calling him "the sage of the Grande Armée" (Elting 1988, 249) for his studious demeanor. A pious man, Drouot carried his Bible into battle and read profusely. Although he sometimes disapproved of his Emperor's actions, he remained unfalteringly loyal to Napoleon.

Drouot led the Imperial Guard with distinction during the 1813 campaign in Germany. During the Battle of Lützen he maneuvered seventy cannon forward and inflicted serious casualties on the enemy, an action that is considered one of the most notable deployments of artillery in the Napoleonic Wars. In September 1813 Drouot was made a count of the Empire and continued to serve with distinction throughout the campaign of 1814.

After Napoleon's forced abdication Drouot followed the Emperor into exile on Elba, receiving the title of governor of the tiny island. The exile, however, was short-lived. During Napoleon's return to France, Drouot served his emperor throughout the Waterloo Campaign, fighting well at the head of the Imperial Guard.

After the defeat at Waterloo the Bourbon government charged Drouot with treason. Rather than flee the country, Drouot remained to face the charges. He received an acquittal from his court-martial and went into retirement, refusing a pension until well after the death of Napoleon. He died in 1847, having performed loyal and diligent service to Napoleon and the French Empire.

*Nathan Bartlett*

*See also* Artillery (Land); Borodino, Battle of; Elba; Fifth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Lützen, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Trafalgar, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign

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### Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel (1739–1817)

Pierre du Pont was born in Paris in 1739, the son of the watchmaker Samuel du Pont and Anne de Montchanin. Though Pierre was early apprenticed to follow in the footsteps of his father, his mother made sure that he received an education in the humanities as well. This education laid the groundwork for his later exploits both in the service of the government of Louis XVI and in the early phases of the Revolution. His activities during the Revolution eventually made it unsafe for du Pont to remain in France, so he emigrated to the United States, where he founded a gunpowder mill.

Early on, as a result of his humanist education, du Pont took an interest in the then-nascent field of economics. In the 1760s he wrote several tracts on the national economy. The government of Louis XV suppressed these works for the ideas they advocated, which were clearly physiocratic. Still, du Pont's publications did earn him the notice of such influential figures as Voltaire and Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot. Likewise, he may even have influenced Adam Smith.

The controversy generated by du Pont's writings forced him to leave France. He traveled to Poland in 1773, where he served as tutor to the prince royal. His exile did not last long, however, as he returned to France to serve the new king, Louis XVI. Among the projects he undertook for the monarch were negotiations that led to the Treaty of Paris, ending the American War of Independence (1775–1783). His efforts on this project earned him a title of nobility from the king, as well as the friendship of Thomas Jefferson.

Du Pont continued to serve the finance ministers of the king, first Anne Robert Turgot and later Charles Alexandre de Calonne. Even when the Revolution broke out, he remained involved during the legislative phase, submitting proposals for moderate economic reforms that would have led to a mixture of free enterprise and state paternalism. His ideas were popular enough to win him election to the National Assembly in 1790. Later his moderate stance became more of a burden than an asset.

As the Revolution became more radical, du Pont fell into enmity with the leadership. He was arrested and jailed several times and barely escaped execution during the Terror. In 1799 he left France for the United States. He settled in Delaware, where he founded a gunpowder mill, the basis for the DuPont chemical company.

In 1802 du Pont returned to France, hoping to restart his political career in the more conservative climate of the Consulate. He was instrumental in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase, but he returned to America shortly thereafter. He died on 17 August 1817 from exhaustion after fighting a fire in his gunpowder mill.

James McIntyre

*See also* Consulate, The; Louis XVI, King; Louisiana Purchase; Terror, The

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### Düben, Battle of (16 October 1813)

The German town of Düben is located on the main road between Dresden and Leipzig in Mark Brandenburg along the river Elbe. The town is a historical site, and many of the buildings date from the Middle Ages, including what many have described as a “dreary palace.” It was at this palace that Napoleon set up his provisional headquarters between 10 and 13 October while he pondered what to do as General Gebhard von Blücher and *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg closed in on him from different directions. The year 1813 was pivotal in the War of the Sixth Coalition. The action at Düben would be a minor part of the larger Battle of Leipzig, also known as the Battle of the Nations.

Napoleon had left Düben at the head of his forces to meet Blücher near Leipzig on 13 October. Napoleon's forces were strung out along the road to Leipzig and on both sides of the Elbe when they were attacked on the sixteenth. A French rear guard was located in Düben consisting of the understrength 9th Division commanded by General Antoine-Guillaume Muraillhac d'Elmas de La Costa (known as Delmas).

His forces consisted of elements of the 29th Provisional Regiment, 29th Light Regiment, 136th, 138th, and 145th Line Regiments, and two batteries of foot artillery, totaling some 4,235 men.

To the north of Delmas were the 1,300 men of the Polish 27th Infantry Division commanded by General Edward Żołtowski, part of Prince Józef Poniatowski's Polish forces. Żołtowski's men held the twin villages of Gross Wiederitzsch and Klein Wiederitzsch, partially covering Napoleon's rear. Austrian and Hungarian grenadiers supported by Russian infantry fiercely attacked the Poles across the Elbe, and Żołtowski was hard-pressed, losing control of

Gross Wiederitzsch to the Russians. French forces across the Elbe could do nothing to aid Zołtowski, but Delmas was in position to do so.

Delmas led his troops out of Düben, launching an attack into the flank and rear of the Russians relieving the beleaguered Poles. Delmas and Zołtowski then regrouped and assaulted the woods near Klein Wiederitzsch, putting the Allied troops to flight. Delmas, with the assistance of the Poles including 700 recently arrived Polish uhlans (lancers) commanded by General Jan Dabrowski, recaptured Gross Wiederitzsch that afternoon after a sharp engagement.

Ultimately the battle swung against Napoleon when increasing pressure from Austrian, Russian, and arriving Prussian troops rendered the positions near Düben untenable. After strong resistance, both the Polish and French troops were forced to give way before their formations were shattered by repeated Allied assaults. Düben was only a small part of much larger events, but the Poles that fought there highly distinguished themselves, as did their French comrades.

*Kenneth Vosburgh*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Germany, Campaign in; Leipzig, Battle of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu  
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### **Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier (1739–1823)**

Born in Cambrai, Flanders, on 26 January 1739, Charles François Dupérier Dumouriez was the son of a poet and war commissioner, Anne-François Dupérier Dumouriez. After receiving a preliminary education from his father, Dumouriez spent three years in attendance at the college of Louis-le-Grand, where he studied classics. At the age of eighteen, Dumouriez entered the army and served as a war commissioner in Hanover. His bravery led him to be promoted to the rank of captain in 1761. Dumouriez fought against the Prussians in the Seven Years' War, in which he was injured and taken prisoner. He was awarded the Cross of St. Louis in 1763 at the end of the war and retired with a pension.

During the pre-Revolutionary years, Dumouriez served on a number of secret diplomatic missions for the

Crown. One of these was the post of minister of information in Corsica from 1768–1769. The duc de Choiseul, the minister for foreign affairs, sent him to Madrid, Lisbon, and later to Poland during the early 1770s in an effort to defend the Poles against Russian aggression. While in Poland, he established a Polish militia. Upon his return to Paris, he was sent clandestinely to Hamburg to raise an army for the purpose of intervening in Sweden.

Dumouriez was imprisoned in the Bastille for six months, charged with embezzling funds during these secret missions. He spent his time in prison writing. With the accession of Louis XVI to the throne in 1774, he was released from prison. He married his cousin, Mademoiselle Marguerite de Broissy in the same year, but the marriage proved to be unsuccessful because of his infidelities. His wife sought refuge by entering a convent.

During the decade from 1778 to 1788, he served as commandant of Cherbourg. By the eve of the Revolution he had reached the rank of major general. The Revolution offered the ambitious and adventuresome soldier a world of new opportunities. Dumouriez used the Revolution to further his own aspirations rather than to promote its principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. On the surface, he appeared to be a supporter of the new regime, joining the Jacobin Club of Paris in 1790. Initially, he attached himself to the more moderate Revolutionaries, the Monarchiens, led by the comte de Mirabeau, a prominent Third Estate deputy from Aix-en-Provence who favored a constitutional monarchy in which the king would possess an absolute veto. With the death of Mirabeau in April 1791 and the radicalization of the Revolution with the king's flight and capture at Varennes, Dumouriez began to associate with a more radical group, the deputies from the Gironde region of France, who would later become known as the political faction of the Girondins.

In common with the Girondins, Dumouriez supported war against Austria; however, whereas the Girondins were in favor of war to consolidate the Revolution, Dumouriez wanted war to strengthen the monarchy. The Girondin faction, led by the deputy Jacques-Pierre Brissot, was the dominant faction during the winter of 1791 to 1792, and through their support Dumouriez was appointed minister of foreign affairs on 15 March 1792. This portfolio lasted for three months. With the demise of the Girondin ministry in June 1792—the king dismissed the ministers because he did not support their policies concerning the émigrés and refractory priests—Dumouriez replaced Joseph Servan de Gerbey as minister of war. He remained in this post only for a few days and then resigned to join the Army of the North led by Nicolas, baron Luckner. At this time, the war was not going well for the French. The invading Allies had captured Longwy and

marched on to Verdun, and the Duke of Brunswick, leading the Prussian forces, now began his march on Paris. The monarchy had fallen on 10 August 1792, and the marquis de Lafayette, one of the leading generals, had defected to the Austrians. At this time, Dumouriez was appointed commander of the Army of the North. He joined François Kellermann (the Elder), commander of the Army of the Center and forced the Prussians to retreat at Valmy on 20 September. This battle marked a turning point for the French Army and was its first victory since war had been declared on 20 April.

On 6 November, Dumouriez led the Revolutionary forces to another victory at Jemappes, the Austrians' winter quarters, located in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). Dumouriez's intention was to invade Belgium and create a separate state with himself at its head. With the victory at Jemappes, most of the province had been conquered. The Austrians retreated, leaving some 4,500 men killed or wounded. The French took 1,500 prisoners but lost some 2,000 men. Dumouriez received a hero's welcome from the people when he returned to Paris. However, he was not so popular with the Jacobins, who were now in power, their government being known as the Convention.

He then invaded Holland on 26 February 1793, but the French were forced to retreat into Belgium, where they were defeated by the Austrians at the battles of Neerwinden (18 March) and Louvain (21 March). Dumouriez entered into secret negotiations with the Austrians, who agreed not to pursue his army as long as he would march on Paris, overthrow the government, and restore the monarchy. He would become regent for Louis XVII, the dauphin. Unfortunately for Dumouriez, the Convention became suspicious of his plans and sent the minister of war, Pierre de Riel Beurnonville, and four deputies to his headquarters. Dumouriez arrested the minister and his aides, but his army rebelled, and on 5 April he defected to the Austrians. His treason helped precipitate the purge of the Girondin faction and their allies from the Convention throughout the summer of 1793.

Dumouriez wandered throughout Europe during the next few years. Eventually he settled in England, where he worked for a time as an adviser to the British government and received a small pension for his work. However, no one would take him seriously. With the Restoration of the monarchy in France in 1814, Louis XVIII proscribed his return to native soil. He died at Turville Park, Buckinghamshire, on 4 March 1823. In addition to his memoirs in three volumes, Dumouriez authored many political pamphlets.

*Leigh Whaley*

*See also* Belgium, Campaign in; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Convention, The; First Coalition, War

of the; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Jemappes, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe "the Elder"; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Neerwinden, Battle of; Valmy, Battle of

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## Dundas, Henry, First Viscount Melville

*See* Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount

## Dunkirk, Siege of

*See* Flanders, Campaigns in

## Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte (1765–1840)

French general who served in a number of campaigns but whose performance in Spain caused him to fall out of favor until the Restoration in 1814.

Originally an officer in the Dutch Army, Pierre Dupont joined the French Army in 1791, having received an appointment as a first lieutenant from the comte de Rochambeau. By 1793 he was a *général de brigade*, and in 1797 he rose to *général de division* and was made director of the War Depot. In the Italian campaign of 1800, Dupont served as General Louis-Alexandre Berthier's chief of staff, fighting at the Battle of Marengo and participating in the occupation of Tuscany. It was Dupont who signed the Convention of Alessandria with the Austrian general Michael Freiherr von Melas.

During the War of the Third Coalition in 1805, Dupont served in Marshal Michel Ney's corps, defeating Archduke Ferdinand at Haslach, came to the aid of General Honoré Gazan's division at Dürnstein, and served under marshals Adolphe Mortier and Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte in the campaign of 1806. In June 1807 Dupont served competently at Friedland, for which he was well rewarded, including receiving the honor of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honor.

Dupont's career then took him to Portugal, where in 1808 he was given the title Count of the Empire. After that, however, Dupont's fortunes turned sour. He was entrusted

with the job of gaining control of the province of Andalusia in southern Spain. Dupont soon found himself under heavy attack from a popular uprising and a large Spanish army. He fought bravely and was wounded, but his decision to fight rather than make a quick strategic withdrawal led to disaster, and he was forced to surrender his army at Bailén. This made Napoleon livid, and also convinced him that only his imperial presence would lead to victory in the Iberian Peninsula.

Dupont was sent back to France on parole but for his actions at Bailén he was almost immediately imprisoned and held until Napoleon's fall in 1814. During the First Restoration, Louis XVIII appointed him minister of war (replacing Henri Clarke) among other posts, but with Napoleon's return Dupont was forced to flee France. After Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, Dupont returned and was appointed minister of state and a member of the Privy Council. He pursued an active political career until his death.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Dürnstein, Battle of; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Louis XVIII, King; Marengo, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Third Coalition, War of the

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### **Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Frioul (1772–1813)**

Géraud Christophe Michel Duroc was born on 25 October 1772 to the family of Claude de Michel, chevalier du Roc. Duroc studied at the military school at Pont-à-Mousson between 1789 and 1792 before enrolling as an artillery *sous-lieutenant* in the military school at Châlons in March 1792. As the Revolution became more radical, Duroc emigrated in the summer of 1792, but he soon changed his mind and returned to France. In June 1793 he became a *sous-lieutenant* of the 4th Artillery Regiment and served in the Army of Italy for the next five years, earning promotions to lieutenant on 18 November 1793 and to second captain on 21 November 1794. In late 1794 he took part in the siege of Toulon, where he met the young Napoleon Bonaparte, then a mere captain of artillery. Two years later Duroc became an aide-de-camp to (now General) Bonaparte on 26 October 1796 and distinguished himself at Isonzo, Brenta, and Gradisca during the Italian campaigns

of 1796–1797. Promoted to captain on 2 June 1797, he transferred to the Army of the East and took part in the expeditions to Egypt and Palestine, where he commanded a battalion (November 1798) and a brigade (March 1799). However, he was seriously wounded at the Battle of Aboukir on 25 July 1799. His devotion to Bonaparte earned him a place on the frigate when the latter fled Egypt, and, returning to France, Duroc actively supported Bonaparte in the events of the coup of Brumaire.

During the Consulate, Duroc became the first aide-de-camp to Bonaparte in October 1799 and carried out a series of secret missions in 1799–1800. Appointed *chef de brigade* of the 3rd Artillery Regiment on 14 March 1800, he took part in the second Italian campaign in 1800 and fought at Marengo on 14 June. Over the next two years, he served on diplomatic missions to Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Copenhagen. He was promoted to *général de brigade* on 13 October 1801 and to *général de division* on 27 October 1803.

In 1803–1805 Duroc served with the main French army at the Boulogne camp awaiting the invasion of England. Appointed *grand maréchal du palais* (1804) of the Tuileries palace, Duroc was responsible for Napoleon's personal safety and supervised the imperial household, managing it very efficiently and economically. He accompanied Napoleon during the 1805–1807 campaigns in Austria, Prussia, and Poland and temporarily commanded General (later Marshal) Nicolas Oudinot's grenadier division at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805. Duroc was actively involved in diplomatic negotiations with King Frederick William III of Prussia in 1805, with the elector of Saxony in December 1806, and with Tsar Alexander I of Russia in 1807. Following the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia, Duroc was sent on a mission to Spain, where he negotiated the Treaty of Fontainebleau (27 October 1807) and the agreement at Bayonne (5 May 1808), the first intended to effect the dismemberment of Portugal, and the second to remove the Spanish Bourbon monarchy from power. Both of these diplomatic maneuvers formed part of French machinations for military and political intervention in Spain. In late 1808 Duroc accompanied Napoleon to Erfurt, where he was again involved in discussions with Alexander. For his dedicated service, Napoleon conferred on Duroc the title of duc de Frioul in 1808.

During the 1809 campaign against Austria, Duroc accompanied Napoleon at the battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram and concluded the armistice of Znaim on 12 July. Three years later he followed Napoleon into Russia and tried in vain to persuade Napoleon not to pursue the Russian armies deep into Russian territory. He witnessed the battles of Borodino and Maloyaroslavets and departed the retreating French army in December 1812. Returning to

Paris, he was appointed a senator on 5 April 1813, actively participated in the organization of the new French army, and followed Napoleon back to Germany. He took part in the battles of Lützen and Bautzen in May and was mortally wounded by a cannonball in the action at Würtzen on 22 May, dying the following morning in a farmhouse at Markersdorf, near Görlitz. Duroc's death was a considerable personal blow to Napoleon, who lost a dear friend and trusted confidant. Duroc was later interned in the Invalides in 1847, and his name was inscribed on the eastern side of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Bayonne, Conference at; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Erfurt, Congress of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Lützen, Battle of; Maison, The; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Toulon, Siege of; Wagram, Battle of; Znaim, Battle of

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### Dürnstein, Battle of (11 November 1805)

A rearguard action fought between Russian and French forces on 11 November 1805. As the Russian army quickly retreated to the east, Napoleon pursued it with his main forces. To prevent General Mikhail Kutuzov from crossing the Danube, he ordered Marshal Adolphe Mortier to operate along the northern bank of the river. Mortier crossed the Danube with his newly created VIII Corps on 6 November and hurried General Honoré Gazan's division (6,255 men) to Dürnstein, while the remaining divisions of generals Pierre-Antoine Dupont (6,203 men) and Jean-Baptiste Dumonceau were moving behind along the north bank. At the same time, Marshal Joachim Murat lost contact with the Russians and, after some hesitation, decided to move toward Vienna, which was undefended. By moving his forces eastward, Murat left Mortier isolated and exposed to attack by the entire Austro-Russian army.

Kutuzov immediately took advantage of the situation and decided to destroy the French divisions piecemeal as they marched along the riverbank. Gazan's division bore

the brunt of attack. Advised by the Austrian general Schmidt, Kutuzov divided his troops into five sections in order to attack the French division from the front, the flank, and the rear in a narrow defile near Dürnstein. In total, over 35,000 Russian troops converged on some 6,000 French under Gazan, attacking them early on 11 November. Despite their disadvantage in numbers, the French fought with remarkable tenacity and élan and managed to repulse Russian attacks for several hours before Dupont arrived in time to rescue Gazan and drive the Russians back.

The French suffered very heavily: Gazan's division lost almost half of its men, with 1,700 killed and wounded and 1,300 captured. The Allied losses are less accurately known since Kutuzov did not include them in reports, but most scholars acknowledge around 3,000–4,000 killed and wounded.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Third Coalition, War of the

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### Dutch Forces

When in 1789 the French Revolution broke out, the Dutch republic (United Provinces) was militarily unprepared for the onslaught to come. Dutch land forces were known as the State Army, the name emphasizing the sovereignty of the States-General and its control over the armed forces. The States-General were dominated by the notoriously anti-Orangist tradesmen of Holland, and since both the army and navy traditionally supported the Prince of Orange in his capacity as the *stadtholder* and captain general, the States-General were loath to invest in the armed forces.

Moreover, the tradesmen in the States-General considered any investment in the armed forces rather wasteful,

and the provinces were divided as well: The powerful merchant provinces in the west relied on overseas trade and felt relatively well protected behind the Water Line, a stretch of polders that could be inundated if the country was invaded. The “land provinces,” on the other hand, were both far more rural and vulnerable to invasion. Thus, the “sea provinces” wanted—if anything—to invest in the navy, while the “land provinces” preferred investment in land forces and fortifications. As a result, nothing was done to benefit either branch of the armed forces. Thus, when Revolutionary France proved to be a threat, the State Army was understrength, inefficient, and ill equipped.

Early in 1793 the French invaded the Netherlands (not to be confused with the Austrian Netherlands, present-day Belgium) for the first time. Dutch Brabant was occupied, but the (French) *Armée du Nord* (Army of the North) under General Charles François Dumouriez met significant resistance and was prevented from crossing the *Hollandsch Diep*. Dumouriez was defeated at Neerwinden, and the Netherlands were evacuated, but the next year the French returned, now under the command of General Jean-Charles Pichegru. Often in conjunction with Allied troops, Dutch forces were heavily involved in the contest for the Austrian Netherlands, capturing Landrecies and Charleroi and pushing the *Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse* (Army of the Sambre and Meuse), under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, behind the river Sambre. However, Pichegru’s army marched north again, and, notwithstanding fierce resistance, notably at Grave and Sluis, and several unsuccessful attempts to cross the Maas (Meuse), Waal, and Rhine rivers, the French eventually succeeded on Christmas Day 1794, for an extraordinarily severe winter cold had frozen solid the rivers and inundated polders, rendering Dutch defenses effectively useless.

The French soon renamed seven provinces of the Netherlands as the Batavian Republic, and the army was reformed on the French model, effectively transforming an old-fashioned, burdensome force into an effective fighting force. Numbers were almost halved, however, largely because the Batavian Republic was obliged by treaty to admit a force of 25,000 French troops upon its territory and to pay for their maintenance, a severe burden on the defense budget. Although a national guard was created, general conscription was avoided.

During the following years the Batavian army would take part in several campaigns, both within and without the borders of the Dutch republic. In 1796 a division was sent to fight in the campaign along the Rhine, but although the Batavians did not see action, desertion was endemic, probably as a result of poor conditions and supply. In 1797 Batavian forces prepared to invade Ireland but never sailed. However, the army would soon be called to defend its own

soil, as an Anglo-Russian army invaded North Holland in August 1799. Batavian troops fought several engagements, notably at Castricum, Bergen, and Alkmaar.

In 1800 a Batavian division took part in the Rhine campaign and fought at Aschaffenburg and at Würzburg, the latter of which they were involved in particularly heavy fighting at the fortress of Marienberg. Between 1803 and 1805 a Batavian division was maintained for service in Napoleon’s planned invasion of Britain, but when that expedition was abandoned in August 1805 the division was instead ordered to march into Germany, where it served with the French in the War of the Third Coalition. The Batavian division saw action at Passau, Augsburg, and Krems but suffered from desertion and straggling, probably because the Batavians were not prepared for the relentless marching speed expected of them by the French.

In 1806 the Batavian Republic became the Kingdom of Holland. The army was again reformed, now after the French imperial example, which resulted in the introduction of cuirassiers (heavy cavalry wearing steel breastplates and helmets) and a rather substantial Royal Guard. The King of Holland, Napoleon’s brother Louis Bonaparte, considered the army his personal toy, resulting in a flood of decrees and subsequent chaos. However, whether by accident or design, this seems to have assisted Louis in resisting his brother’s exorbitant demands on manpower. Under Louis’s rule general conscription was held at bay, thus preventing the kingdom from being bled white, but in doing so the king greatly angered Napoleon.

During Louis’s reign the Dutch army served on several fronts. During the 1806–1807 campaign in Germany, two divisions and the Royal Guard marched into Hanover and Westphalia, but when Napoleon would not allow the Dutch divisions to serve as separate and undivided units, Louis angrily marched back to Holland with his Royal Guard. The remaining troops were divided between other commands, with some Dutch units involved in the capture of Hameln and Nieburg. In 1807–1808 a Dutch corps took part in the capture of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania, and from 1808 to 1810 a Dutch brigade served in Spain, where it was present at Durango, Mesa de Ibor, Talavera, Almonaci, and Ocaña. In 1809 two Dutch brigades served in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, taking Dönitz and (again) Stralsund.

In 1809 a British force invaded the Dutch island of Walcheren. King Louis immediately assumed command but was overruled by his brother, who relieved him from command and put Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte in his place. Franco-Dutch forces—and the outbreak of a deadly fever—eventually succeeded in forcing the extremely ill-prepared British to evacuate the island. Dutch troops distinguished themselves during the capture of the fortress of

Bath, yet Napoleon ostracized Louis and used this incident as an excuse to force his brother to abdicate—an excuse, for Louis was not an incompetent commander and had responded adequately to the invasion. On 13 July 1810 Holland was annexed by imperial France, and the army was subsequently incorporated into the French Army. However, by order of the Emperor, some regiments remained homogenous, that is, both the officer corps and new recruits remained overwhelmingly Dutch. Two regiments deserve special mention: the Royal Guard Grenadiers and the Royal Horse Guard, which were incorporated into Napoleon's Imperial Guard as the 2nd (later 3rd) Guard Grenadiers (“Dutch Grenadiers”) and the 2nd Guard Lancers (“Red Lancers”), respectively.

The Dutch departments of the French Empire now became subject to general conscription. As part of the French Army, Dutch troops served in the Russian campaign and took part in many actions, in some cases with distinction. In particular, Dutch troops fought at Borodino and Polotsk, the Dutch Grenadiers were almost eradicated during the second Battle of Krasnyi, and the *pontonnières* who built the two bridges over the Berezina were largely Dutchmen. During the following year, further troops were recruited in the Dutch departments, and they fought in Germany in 1813, being present at several battles, including Lützen, Bautzen, and Leipzig.

When Napoleon abdicated, the territory of the former Dutch republic and the Austrian Netherlands was merged into the Kingdom of the Netherlands to provide a buffer against future French territorial ambitions. The new army drew heavily upon the experience of the recent past, relying on a professional core of troops bolstered by a national militia. About one third of the Duke of Wellington's troops at Waterloo were Dutch, and on several occasions Dutch participation was decisive, most notably at Quatre Bras—where Karl Bernhardt of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and Baron Jean-Victor Constant de Rebecque chose to hold their positions, in defiance of Wellington's orders—and two days later at Waterloo, where General David Hendrik Chassé launched a decisive bayonet charge. On the other hand, a significant proportion of Dutch forces were composed of raw militia, and their commander, the Prince of Orange, though courageous, was inexperienced and cocky, making a series of blunders at Waterloo. On balance, however, the Dutch troops themselves performed reasonably well.

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*See also* Bautzen, Battle of; Belgium, Campaign in; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at; Bergen, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bonaparte, Louis; Borodino, Battle of; Conscription; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; Dutch Navy; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Jourdan, Jean-

Baptiste; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Landrecies, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Netherlands, The; North Holland, Campaign in; Ocaña, Battle of; Orange, William, Prince of; Peninsular War; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Polotsk, Battle of; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Talavera, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Würzburg, Battle of

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## Dutch Navy

The story of the Dutch Navy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a tragic record of pride, effort, and failure. When war broke out in 1793, the Dutch Navy was in a bad state of repair, largely due to poor funding typical of the Dutch republic (United Provinces) in times of peace. However, it succeeded in fending off attempted French landings, notably at Willemstad when it prevented General Jean-Baptiste Dumonceau from crossing the Hollandsch Diep. When in 1795 the Dutch Republic was overrun by the French—rivers and inundated areas defending the north of the republic were frozen over because of an extraordinarily cold winter—the fleet was taken over by the Batavian Republic, a French satellite created out of seven provinces of the Netherlands. Most notably, a major part of the Dutch fleet off Texel was taken by cavalry crossing the ice—perhaps the only instance in history of such a feat.

In 1795, because the navy was in bad condition due to the aforementioned low funding and action against the French, measures were taken to render it ready for action. However, the fleet almost immediately suffered severe setbacks; for example, in June 1796 a squadron under Captain

Engelbertus Lucas, sailing for the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies, was cornered by a superior British force in Saldanha Bay and forced to surrender by Orangist mutineers. This was an unnecessary loss, for promised French naval assistance evaporated when the fleet simply never sailed out of port, leaving the Dutch squadron at the mercy of British numerical superiority. Another squadron, sailing for the West Indies, suffered from dwindling supplies and French privateers, who attacked notwithstanding a Franco-Dutch accord. Upon returning home the squadron was bottled up by the British in Norwegian harbors. Because the ships were unable to sail, they were sold off. Meanwhile, the remaining vessels of the fleet in the Netherlands were also unable to leave port because of a British blockade.

The French failed to send a fleet to support Lucas because they had reallocated the funding to prepare for an invasion of Ireland at Bantry Bay. In December 1796 the invasion failed due to bad weather and inadequate generalship, but France continued to pursue the ambition to bring Britain to its knees by invading Ireland, which was notoriously rebellious. Shortly thereafter a new landing was planned in which the Batavians, in Dutch ships, would play a major part. However, lack of wind held up operations, and the British were alerted providing them sufficient time to quell the mutinies of their own fleets at Spithead and the Nore before the Dutch fleet appeared in British home waters. Then, on 11 October 1797, Admiral Adam Duncan decisively defeated the Dutch at Camperdown (Kamperduin), where a major part of the Dutch fleet was lost. The defeat was largely due to bad judgment on the part of the central command, which ordered the fleet to sail despite the objections of the acting commander, Admiral Johan Willem de Winter, thereby putting it at great risk without any set goal in mind.

The Dutch fleet could not prevent an Anglo-Russian army from landing during the invasion of North Holland in 1799, for the fleet was simply too small to protect the long western Dutch coastline. Instead, it remained at the Marsdiep between Texel and Den Helder, so when the British fleet finally sailed into the Zuiderzee, the Dutch allowed themselves to be cornered. It is not known exactly why the fleet did not sail out to battle, but the commander's indecision probably played a role, in conjunction with a mutiny

among the crew precipitated by the appearance of Orangist banners flown from the mastheads of the British vessels. In any case, the Dutch fleet surrendered, and the ships were taken, largely with the collusion of the crews. The vessels sailed under the British flag for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars, manned with Dutch crews and officers.

After 1799 the Dutch/Batavian fleet played an increasingly defensive role, although the republic did provide ships to assist in Napoleon's preparations for invasion of Britain, a plan that was frustrated by the Franco-Spanish defeat at Trafalgar in 1805. In spite of this, Napoleon continued to entertain ambitions of attaining a powerful fleet. The British invasion of Walcheren Island in 1809 was partially intended to neutralize a renewed Franco-Dutch effort to rebuild the fleet. The limited Dutch fleet did what it could, but it was unable to prevent the invasion. When in 1810 Holland was annexed by France, what remained of the Dutch fleet was incorporated into its French counterpart. Only after the defeat of Napoleon and the creation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1814 was the Dutch Navy able to rebuild a significant force, its first feat being the Anglo-Dutch bombardment of Algiers—one of the Barbary States that preyed on European shipping in the Mediterranean—on 27 August 1816.

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*See also* Blockade; Camperdown, Battle of; Cape Colony, Second Expedition against; Dutch Forces; England, French plans for the invasion of; French Navy; Netherlands, The; Nore, Mutiny at the; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Spithead, Mutiny at; Texel, Capture of the Dutch Fleet off; Trafalgar, Battle of; Walcheren, Expedition to; Winter, Johan Willem de

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# E

## Ebersberg, Battle of (3 May 1809)

Also known as Ebelsberg, a minor French victory over the left wing of the Austrian army during its withdrawal through western Austria during the campaign of 1809. Separated from the main Austrian army in Bavaria, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Hiller had retreated to Linz by 2 May with three corps. Followed by Marshal André Masséna with IV Corps, Hiller fought a defensive action at Ebersberg, which was the main crossing over the river Traun, on 3 May. After fierce fighting on the 550-meter-long bridge and in the town, Hiller continued his retreat to Vienna.

After a brief counterattack around Riedau, Hiller had to defend the Traun crossing on 3 May to allow the brigade under *Generalmajor* Emmanuel Freiherr von Schustekh-Herve to catch up, and he was unable to burn the only wooden bridge. At 8:00 A.M., the main Austrian column crossed leaving *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Freiherr von Vincent's rear guard on the left bank. As the Austrians prepared breakfast, the first skirmishing began around 9:30 A.M. The town was garrisoned by three battalions, with the rest of the Austrian force on the hills behind. Leading the French advance guard, General Jacob François Marulaz engaged Vincent with eighteen squadrons of light cavalry, while four attacked the approaching Schustekh. At 11:00 A.M., as the Austrians retreated to the bridge, Marulaz pressed forward, reinforced by General Louis-Jacques, Baron de Coëhorn's brigade from General Michel-Marie Clarepède's division, turning the bridge into a scene of disorder. In the confusion, the French reached the far end of the bridge by 11:30 A.M. Coëhorn massed his troops for an assault on the southern part of Ebersberg but came under heavy Austrian artillery fire from the castle to the north. Clarepède added his two other brigades (under generals Joseph Lesuire and Florentin Ficatier) to the battle, and his eighteen guns opened fire. An Austrian counterattack from the north threatened the French in the town, but by 1:00 P.M., Lesuire's brigade had taken the marketplace and

was trying to outflank the enemy near the castle. As Lesuire's brigade faltered, Ficatier assaulted the castle in three columns but was repelled.

The main Austrian force was surprised to find Clarepède's skirmishers on the hills. Three battalions of Vienna Volunteers charged into the burning town and, reinforced by four infantry battalions, drove the French from the marketplace. Outflanking attacks came from the castle and from the south, threatening to cut the French off from the bridge. By 2:00 P.M. Hiller was preparing to retreat as General Claude Legrand's division arrived to reinforce Clarepède. Within half an hour, Legrand had secured the bridge and town gate; Masséna directed his men in the marketplace as fires consumed the whole town. The French could not advance further, but by 3:00 P.M. the Austrians were pulling out. André-Jean, baron Ledru's brigade quickly took control of the castle as the Austrians evacuated it, and by 4:00 P.M. the fighting was over. This bloody battle had cost the Austrians 8,340 men, and the French about 12,000.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Fifth Coalition, War of the; Masséna, André

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## Education (French)

While Napoleon is often seen in terms of his military image, he was also one of history's great administrators. Education was high on his list of priorities, which were in large part the priorities of the middle class. Napoleon believed in a system of merit, and for such a system to be ef-

fective there must be some form of widespread education, especially at the secondary level. His statement “The real conquests, the only ones that do not cause regret, are those that are won over ignorance” (Napoléon 1858–1869, 3: no. 2392) expresses his intense interest in the educational system in France.

The French Revolution had given some emphasis to education, a subject that formed a part of its numerous constitutions. Perhaps the most dramatic change brought by the Revolution was the removal of religious influence from all educational institutions. The Paris Normal School was created with a curriculum that included indoctrination in republican values as well as more traditional subjects, and schools were to use books to be published and prescribed by the Convention. The Revolution continued the French tradition of extreme centralization of educational policy. Also instituted at this time was the policy of establishing a public secondary school for every 300,000 people. The curriculum for these *écoles centrales* (central schools) consisted of literature, languages, science, and the arts.

These efforts notwithstanding, when Bonaparte came to power in 1799 the position of public education in France was not good. Numerous problems existed, including a shortage of qualified teachers and, more important, a shortage of qualified students. Schools in Paris and several other major population centers did well, but in the rest of the country the story was not always as positive. One problem had to do with the organization and curriculum of the schools. There was no continuity in the curriculum and very little in the way of required courses. Thus, a “graduate” from a central school might or might not have met some reasonable standards, either academic or curricular. In short, the system of central schools had not lived up to its promise.

The Revolution had removed most religious influence from the public schools, a move that was not universally popular with the French people. This issue was partially resolved by the 1801 Concordat between the pope and Bonaparte, which allowed some of the religious elementary schools to be reestablished. These schools again provided most of the education available to girls, a fact that reflected Bonaparte’s attitudes toward female education. He felt that education was important for girls but did not generally expect them to receive the same sort of education provided for boys. Bonaparte believed that religion and assorted domestic skills necessary to attract husbands should be stressed for girls. While Bonaparte’s attitudes regarding women and education may seem less than progressive by modern standards, he at least called for them to learn numbers, writing, and the principles of their language, as well as history, geography, physics, and botany. This made him relatively progressive by the standards of his day.

Secondary education was extremely important to Bonaparte. He wanted to divide education into two parts: for those under age twelve and for those over. The first four grades would teach general topics such as reading, writing, history, and the use of arms. The later grades would be divided into those boys who were destined for a civil career and those destined for a career in the military. Civil careers would stress languages, rhetoric, and philosophy; military education would stress mathematics, physics, chemistry, and military matters. Both civil and military graduates would be guaranteed employment in their chosen career. On 1 May 1802 a decree established what was to be a new system of education in France, which continues to serve as the foundation of French education today.

Under the new system, elementary schools (*écoles populaires*) were to be the responsibility of the local municipalities. Bonaparte had relatively little interest in this level of education and was not firmly committed to the mass education that would result from a statewide elementary education system. Consequently, religious schools were to share a significant amount of the responsibility for elementary education.

Secondary education, however, was the base education for the future leaders of the nation, as well as for members of the bureaucracy and the military—hence Bonaparte’s greater interest. The state had a strong interest in the curriculum being presented, and control would be easier with a system of secondary schools under the direction of a central authority. Many of these schools, including clerical ones, would be established by private initiative, but all such institutions were controlled by the state. Covering students roughly from ages ten to sixteen, these schools would provide a level of education designed to develop students who could go on to higher levels of education. Indeed, some bonus plans were established for teachers who had large numbers of students qualifying for advancement.

The heart of the new system was the establishment of thirty *lycées*. Every appeal court district was to have a *lycée*, and they were to be completely supported and controlled by the state. Scholarships were provided, with about one-third going to sons of those in the military and the government and the rest being for the best pupils from the secondary schools.

The *lycées* had a six-year term of study, building on the work of the secondary schools. The curriculum included languages, modern literature, science, and all other studies necessary for a “liberal” education. Each *lycée* was to have at least eight teachers, as well as three masters (a headmaster, an academic dean, and a bursar). In a reflection of modern debate on the subject, the government provided a fixed salary for teachers but also paid bonuses to successful teachers. They were also provided a pension. Teachers were

chosen by Bonaparte from a list of recommendations provided by inspectors and the National Institute.

It is clear that the new system of education introduced by Bonaparte had more than one purpose. It was intended, of course, to provide an educated elite that could help run the country and the military. It was also designed to provide for an increased middle class—a middle class that would be successful and hence nonrevolutionary. Moreover, there was a great emphasis on patriotism in the schools, an emphasis that was to increase during the years of the Empire.

When Bonaparte became the Emperor Napoleon in December 1804, he became even more interested in centralized control of the educational system. He saw education as a tool through which each generation could be taught the values of society. He also believed education was of critical importance in developing greater unity among the French people. To fulfill those goals, Napoleon wanted increased control over the curriculum.

Financial constraints had limited the number of *lycées* that had actually opened, and competition with private schools had limited their enrollment, a situation that rendered control of the curriculum of all French students impossible. This was unacceptable to Napoleon, and his solution was to create the ultimate in centralized control of the French educational system: the establishment of the Imperial University in 1808. This body had complete control of public education in the Empire. All schools were part of the Imperial University, and none could be established outside its control. Every teacher had to be a graduate of one of its member schools.

The Imperial University was actually something of a compromise with those who wanted to eliminate private education altogether. Private schools were allowed to exist, but they were put under strict public control and various taxes were demanded from them, designed to reduce the educational outlay of the central government. The quality of instruction in private schools was controlled, however, in part by a requirement that teachers must have degrees. Later revisions to the law reduced the number and enrollment of private schools, especially those administered by the Catholic Church.

Perhaps the most important element in the development of the Imperial University was that for the first time the state took responsibility and control of the elementary education of its citizens. Teachers were placed under stricter controls, including on dress, discipline, and salary.

Napoleon had long been concerned about the teaching profession, recognizing the central importance of teachers to the educational system. He had at times suggested that the teaching profession should take on some of the characteristics of an order, or corporation, with very

specific expectations, privileges, and rewards, even proposing at one point that newly trained teachers might be forbidden to marry. On the other hand, a teacher, by the end of his career, was to see himself as among the highest ranks of state officials, having been placed under the protection of the Emperor himself.

As is the case with French schools today, inculcating patriotism and loyalty to the state played a major part of the function of educational institutions; for instance, the law establishing the Imperial University called for the teaching of the Catholic religion and of fidelity to the Emperor and his dynasty, among other things.

The system of education under the Imperial University was as follows: First came elementary education. This was, as before, of the lowest priority for Napoleon. Following that came secondary education for the middle class. Napoleon placed the greatest emphasis on this level of education. Beyond that, the *lycées* were mainly boarding schools supported by the state and providing a six-year course heavy on classics and mathematics. In addition to the *lycées* were the *collèges*, which were municipal or communal secondary schools, a bit lower than the *lycées*. These schools stressed French, Latin, geography, history, and mathematics. There were also some independent schools known as *instituts*, which were more or less the equivalent of the *collèges*. This system was not, of course, uniquely Napoleonic; it mirrored ideas of earlier systems as well as of other contemporaneous systems in Europe. Not surprisingly, Napoleon stressed various military aspects in his schools, including uniforms, formations, music, and discipline.

The real value of an institution may be in its ability to survive the ravages of time. On this basis, one must evaluate the Napoleonic educational system largely favorably. After Napoleon's downfall, it might have been expected that his system would be abolished or greatly modified. There has certainly been some turmoil in French education over the years, especially as regards the role of the Catholic Church. During the Third Republic, the separation of church and state was made complete, and the teaching of religion no longer formed a part of the public school curriculum. Thus, the curriculum of the Revolution replaced the curriculum of Napoleon. The Imperial University has, of course, disappeared, but centralized control lives on in the Ministry of Public Instruction. The *lycée* continues and, indeed, plays an even more important role. It is a virtually self-contained unit, and graduation from a *lycée* is adequate for many careers (unlike, for instance, the U.S. high school). As in Napoleonic times, French education is somewhat stratified and elitist in nature; success and progression are based on examination results rather than on a belief in universal education.

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- See also* Concordat; Constitutions (French); Convention, The; France; French Revolution
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### Eggmühl, Battle of (21–22 April 1809)

The French victory at the Bavarian village of Eggmühl (also referred to as Eckmühl) ended the Austrian offensive phase of the 1809 campaign.

While Archduke Charles pulled back, having failed to destroy Marshal Louis Davout's III Corps during the action at Teugn-Hausen on 19 April, Napoleon launched his counteroffensive on the following day, splitting the Austrian army in two. Napoleon pursued what he erroneously believed was the main force southward toward Landshut, leaving Davout and Marshal François Lefebvre to deal with what he perceived as an Austrian rear guard. However, on 21 April, as Davout closed in on the village of Eggmühl, he realized that he faced a much stronger force. Despite this Davout attacked, but a tenacious Austrian defense held firm.

That evening Charles repositioned his army and prepared to attack a French concentration, which information incorrectly led him to believe was about 6 miles northwest of the Eggmühl line. Four Korps (II, III, IV, I Reserve) formed for the assault, and the attack was delayed until early afternoon to allow II Korps to get into position. The IV Korps (*Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Fürst von Rosenberg-

Orsini) was to maintain the position at Eggmühl until the attack gained momentum.

Davout sent Napoleon a number of messages during the day expressing his concerns, but it was only in the early hours of 22 April that Napoleon finally recognized his error. Immediately he redirected the axis of his advance northward toward Eggmühl. Davout, having benefited from the Austrian delay, recommenced his attack as the leading elements of Napoleon's force appeared south of Eggmühl. With his plans now in disarray, Charles ordered the assault columns to withdraw toward Regensburg. Meanwhile, Rosenberg at Eggmühl, commanding 18,000 men, received orders to pull out as best he could as about 69,000 men under Davout, Lefebvre, and Marshal Jean Lannes converged on his position, with another 30,000 under Marshal André Masséna close behind.

Having overcome stubborn resistance at the village of Eggmühl, Napoleon ordered forward his overwhelming mass of cavalry. Davout's attack against the village of Unterlaiching proved successful too, but in the woods behind it the Austrian defenders put up ferocious resistance as the first of many cavalry clashes swirled between Unterlaiching and Eggmühl. Heavy fighting also took place in the woods to the north. After about two hours a brief lull in the battle allowed Rosenberg to pull his hard-pressed men back, a determined rearguard defense by the Austrian cavalry and artillery allowing the infantry to break contact. A final cavalry action at Alteglofsheim halted any further French pursuit that day.

Retreating across the Danube at Regensburg, the Austrian army marched through Bohemia to link up with the left wing of the army arriving from Landshut. The French advanced and occupied Vienna on 13 May. Eight days later the reunited Austrian army engaged Napoleon once more at the Battle of Aspern-Essling.

*Ian Castle*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Masséna, André; Teugn-Hansen, Battle of

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### Egmond-aan Zee

*See* North Holland, Campaign in

## Egypt

Egypt proved a difficult province for the Ottomans to control. During the period of Ottoman rule in Egypt (1517–1805), it remained dominated by the Mamelukes (originally slaves from the Ottoman Empire) until it was conquered by the French in 1798. Egypt was divided into twenty-four districts. Each one had its own Mameluke bey (provincial governor), who received orders directly from a pasha named by the sultan in Constantinople each year. Besides the beys, the pasha had five cavalry and two infantry units under his direct orders. He was responsible for keeping order in the country and collecting taxes. The pasha had to pay tribute to the sultan in Constantinople, but over time the Mamelukes grew tired of this practice and decided to govern Egypt by themselves. After the death of Mohamed Bey in 1778, a ten-year war took place between the beys and their Ottoman overlords for control of Egypt. Eventually Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey emerged triumphant and ruled Egypt jointly. The last attempt of the Ottomans to maintain direct control of Egypt took place in 1786 with the dispatch of an expedition to the province. Murad Bey attempted to resist but was easily defeated, and together with Ibrahim Bey decided to settle in Upper Egypt. The Turkish commander entered Cairo and instituted violent measures to restore order in the country. Ismail Bey was made a sheikh again, and a new pasha was installed as governor. In 1791 an epidemic broke out in Egypt, Ismail Bey becoming one of its victims. Owing to the need for competent rulers, Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey were reinstated in order to resume their dual government. They were still in office in 1798 when Bonaparte conquered Egypt.

After the French invasion, the Ottoman army remained in Egypt, hoping to continue in power and to replace Mameluke rule after the expulsion of the occupiers. The Ottomans appointed Khusraw Pasha as viceroy. An internal struggle for power between the two parties (the Ottomans and the Mamelukes) took place in the absence of the French, and by 1803 a third party in Egyptian politics had come to the fore: the Albanian contingent of the Ottoman forces. From their ranks emerged Muhammad Ali, who had arrived in Egypt in 1801 to fight the French. Initially a junior commander, after two years he became a commandant, and by 1805 had become the Ottoman viceroy. By 1811 he exercised complete power in Egypt after having defeated the Mamelukes and their beys in Upper Egypt.

*Elvio Ciferri*

*See also* Ibrahim Bey, Al Kabir Al-Muhammadi; Middle East Campaign; Murad Bey; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Empire

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## Egypt, Expedition to

*See* Middle East Campaign

## El Arish, Convention of (24 January 1800)

On 24 August 1799 Bonaparte departed from Egypt and returned to France leaving General Jean-Baptiste Kléber in command of the 10,000 French forces in the Ottoman province. Kléber faced a difficult position. The French army was restless and near mutiny, a Turkish force under Grand Vizier Yussef was approaching from Syria, and Kléber believed that Bonaparte and France had abandoned the army in Egypt. Kléber approached Sir Sidney Smith, a temporary commodore in the Royal Navy, to serve as a mediator between himself and Yussef. Many scholars have questioned whether either man had the political authority to negotiate a treaty. However, considering the distance from Europe and the fact that instructions could take up to two months to reach Kléber from Paris or Smith from London, one can understand why the men would enter political negotiations without authorization from their respective home governments.

Kléber had a number of conditions he wished to see fulfilled: He insisted his men should be allowed to depart Egypt with honor, carrying their weapons and baggage with them and without molestation from Turkish forces. He also demanded that Turkish vessels carry French troops home to France, that the British and Russians guarantee their safe conduct during the passage, that Turkey should end its alliance with Britain and Russia, and, finally, that the Turks should pay the costs of maintaining the French army in Egypt as it awaited transport. Yussef refused to honor the request for a halt in his advance as the negotiations were being conducted. As Yussef's men approached the 250-man French garrison at El Arish on the northern coast of the Sinai Peninsula, the French troops mutinied against their commanders, raided the town's liquor supply, and actually helped the Turkish force enter the town. The Turkish army immediately began to massacre the French, an atrocity only halted at the insistence of a British officer serving as an adviser to the force.

Smith and two French negotiators arrived at Yussef's headquarters in El Arish on 13 January 1800 in order to open direct negotiations. Yussef agreed to Kléber's request for the safe departure of French troops aboard Turkish vessels, but he proved reluctant to accept the other points. Kléber's counteroffer conceded to Yussef's demands that the Turkish army enter Egypt prior to the French departure and that the alliance with Britain and Russia be maintained until after a peace agreement was achieved with France. However, Kléber insisted on Turkish financial support for the French troops awaiting departure.

The parties signed the Convention of El Arish on 24 January, Kléber ratified his copy on the twenty-eighth, and the two parties exchanged ratifications on the thirtieth. In accordance with this agreement, French forces evacuated Katia, Es Saliya, Bilbeis, and Cairo and moved to Alexandria, Aboukir, and Rosetta to await Turkish transport vessels. In the meantime, Smith received a message from Vice Admiral Lord Keith, written prior to the signing of the convention, directing that British military and naval commanders should ignore any agreement reached separately between the French and Turkish forces. Keith added that the Royal Navy would intercept any enemy troops trying to reach France. Meanwhile, in London, the British government repudiated the terms of the convention, though word did not reach Keith, who acted unilaterally.

On 18 March Kléber received a letter from Keith stating in strong terms that the British would accept nothing less than unconditional surrender of the French forces in Egypt. By this time Yussef had arrived at Cairo with 40,000 troops. An angry Kléber terminated the armistice, marched from Cairo, and defeated the numerically superior Turkish army at the Battle of Heliopolis.

*Terry M. Mays*

*See also* Heliopolis, Battle of; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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### El Bodón, Action at (25 September 1811)

This small engagement took place during the Peninsular War in Spain between the British infantry of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton's division, supported by a small detachment of cavalry, and French cavalry under General

Louis-Pierre Montbrun. The British infantry were caught dispersed along a series of ridges near the village of El Bodón and were charged repeatedly by the enemy cavalry. However, the British were able to hold their ground and then conduct an orderly withdrawal. At one point the infantry actually countercharged their mounted opponents, disregarding all the rules of infantry tactics that strongly advocated against this extremely dangerous course.

In the autumn of 1811 Viscount Wellington was planning to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo. Marshal Auguste de Marmont, commanding the French army in the area, decided to reinforce the garrison and moved with his main force of over 50,000 toward the city. He hoped to ascertain whether the enemy was just trying to blockade the fortress or to conduct a formal siege, and he sent his cavalry forward to search for the location of the enemy siege train. Montbrun led a body of French cavalry to El Bodón, 10 miles south of Ciudad Rodrigo, on 25 September. He quickly found himself among the dispersed units of the British division under Picton's command. In fact, the elements of the two brigades of the division were separated by at least 5 miles. Montbrun, realizing there was an opportunity to destroy an entire division of the opposing force, called on Marmont to support his attack with infantry. No support, however, was forthcoming. Marmont was as yet unsure of the location of the main part of Wellington's force and would not commit himself to a general engagement.

The cavalry then launched repeated attacks upon the infantry along the summit of the hills above the village. Picton's division was supported by a small detachment of cavalry composed of dragoons and troopers from the King's German Legion, the whole time enjoying the advantage of being able to charge downhill. The charges conducted by these squadrons broke the impetus of many of the French attacks. At one point Picton lost four of his guns that belonged to a Portuguese battery. However, these were recovered when Major Henry Ridge brought up the 5th Foot in line and advanced toward the French—in breach of tactical doctrine that forbade infantry to advance on cavalry except in square formation. Disciplined volley fire from these troops was enough to drive the cavalry off long enough for the guns to be recovered. Picton now sought to withdraw his division from its precarious position and was able to do so with the loss of only 80 casualties. Picton's division withdrew toward Fuenteguinaldo, 25 miles southwest of Ciudad Rodrigo. During the cavalry melees the British lost around 70 casualties while Montbrun lost around 200.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas

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**Elba**

A small island off the northern coast of Italy close to the island of Corsica, Elba was of little consequence historically until it became forever connected to Napoleon as the place of his first exile.

When Napoleon abdicated in 1814, the Allies were faced with the question of where to send him. At the suggestion of Tsar Alexander I of Russia they chose the island of Elba. Alexander saw this as quite fair to Napoleon, for it had a pleasant climate and its population of more than 100,000 spoke his native Italian. However, the Allies refused to reunite him with his wife and son, a decision that was hardly designed to make Napoleon content to live on the island forever.

By the provisions of the first Treaty of Paris, Napoleon's family kept their titles and Napoleon was granted a pension of 2 million francs per year. Napoleon became the emperor of Elba with a guard of 400 soldiers (actually closer to 1,000). The treaty did not require him to remain on Elba, nor did it forbid him from ever returning to France. On 20 April, in a scene that ranks among the most poignant in history, Napoleon bade farewell to the soldiers of his Old Guard in the courtyard of Fontainebleau, near Paris.

While on Elba, Napoleon spent much of his time in a serious effort to improve conditions there. He revised the laws, improved the collection of taxes, and initiated a number of physical improvements. What few roads there were, he extended. Fearful of attack, he improved the defenses; when he was done, he was in a position to fend off all but the most massive assault on his fortified island empire. Providing for the cultural life of his subjects, he even started a theater. He was joined by his mother and his sister Pauline and was visited by many people, including his former Polish mistress, Marie Walewska. Sadly, he learned of Josephine's death shortly after he arrived at Elba.

Napoleon soon began to hear of plots to assassinate him or to remove him to a prison island or the remote island of St. Helena. He also began to hear that the people of France, and especially his veterans, wanted him to return. Louis XVIII was trying to return France to its pre-Revolutionary days, and many felt that only Napoleon could save the great principles of the Revolution. In a move of monumental stupidity, and over the objections of the Allies, Louis refused to pay Napoleon his pension, rendering

Napoleon in danger of exhausting his funds. He decided to risk everything by returning to France and reclaiming power. Napoleon left Elba on Sunday, 25 February 1815, and arrived in France on 1 March. There he began the amazing period of his career known as the Hundred Days.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bonaparte, Pauline; Imperial Guard (French); Josephine, Empress; Louis XVIII, King; Marie Louise, Empress; Paris, First Treaty of; St. Helena; Waterloo Campaign

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**Elchingen, Battle of (14 October 1805)**

French victory during the War of the Third Coalition that led to the Austrian surrender at nearby Ulm.

Napoleon's objective was to capture Ulm, and he wished to do so before the Russians could bring their forces to bear. The Austrians were commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, the Russians by the underestimated, one-eyed General Mikhail Kutuzov, who was approaching from the east.

Unknown to the Allied generals, Napoleon's Grande Armée had already crossed the Rhine and the Danube and made a wide encirclement with troops commanded by marshals Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, Auguste de Marmont, Louis Davout, and Jean Lannes. Meanwhile, marshals Nicolas Soult and Michel Ney were to create a smaller encircling movement around Ulm meant to cut off Mack's line of supply. Mack was unaware of having been surrounded.

Ney had been repulsed by the Austrians on 13 October because his men had marched 15 miles from Stuttgart in cold, wet, snowy weather and were exhausted. In the early morning of 14 October Ney received orders from Napoleon that he was to prevent Austrian and Russian forces from meeting. However, later in the morning Marshal Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, ordered Ney to take the bridge at Elchingen, a small village 5 miles north-east of Ulm. Ney, who had a reputation for breaking into a rage, was dismayed because he realized that his men would be decimated by the numerically superior Austrian forces. However, he obeyed orders. Elchingen was fought between

*Feldmarschalleutnant* Graf von Riesch, who led 15,000 men, and Ney, who committed only 7,500 of his infantry and artillery to the fighting.

The first confrontation began at 8:20 A.M. The Austrians initially fought off the French 39th Line, which suffered 300 casualties. Ney's VI Corps then outflanked the Austrians causing a retreat by the Infantry Regiments (IR) nos. 16 and 35. The 8th Kurassier Regiment attempted to halt the French but was fired upon, suffered 130 casualties, and, together with the infantry, retreated to Ober-Elchingen to gather strength and regroup. The VI Corps and the 69th Line proceeded to attack Ober-Elchingen, which was covered by grenadiers belonging to IR nos. 3 and 4. The French infantry retreated as soon as they faced heavy volley fire. While covering the French rear guard, the Austrian 5th and 2nd Kurassier Regiments charged, only to be annihilated and lose one of their colonels as a prisoner.

Around 10:00 A.M. some French dragoons were met by the 8th Kurassiers and a grenadier battalion. This resulted in 400 French casualties. The Austrians pushed their troops forward an hour later, but they fell back once Ney thrust their division into Ober-Elchingen using the 25e Légère (light infantry) and the 27e de Ligne (line infantry). All the Austrian troops retreated except for the elite IR no. 3, which served as a rear guard.

In order for Ney's troops to cross the Danube they needed to cross the partially destroyed bridge at Elchingen. Believing they were setting a trap for the French, the Austrians allowed some of Ney's troops to cross before the bridge deteriorated even more. Ney's men were halfway across the bridge at Elchingen when the Austrians charged and inflicted heavy French casualties. Ney, a father figure to the men he had personally trained, was furious, took the matter into his own hands, and supervised the bridge repairs. He ordered planks placed across the bridge and crossed on his horse as they were being laid. Then, rallying his cavalry and artillery and quickly capturing the two Austrian regiments while he was facing heavy fire, he stormed Elchingen.

The Battle of Elchingen was a spectacular victory for the French. It cost the Austrians 4,000 casualties and around 2,500 captured. Ney lost 1,589 men and suffered 1,400 wounded. Once Ney crossed the bridge he decided to rest in the monastery at Elchingen. Mack, realizing that he was completely surrounded, formally surrendered to Napoleon at Ulm on the twentieth. In 1808 Ney would receive the title duc d'Elchingen from Napoleon, who had been present at the battle.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Marmont, Auguste

Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at

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### Emancipation Edict (9 October 1807)

The Emancipation Edict replaced the feudal societal and economic structure of Prussia and transformed it into a modern state during the French occupation of 1806 to 1813.

After Prussia rose to great heights under successively strong eighteenth-century monarchs, most notably Frederick the Great, it began a downhill slide into a caste-ridden society indirectly controlled by the interests of the nobility. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras Prussia was ineptly ruled by the indecisive, feeble King Frederick William III, whose lack of foresight and reasoned judgment demonstrated that he was unfit to rule.

The Prussian state completely collapsed after Napoleon's crushing victories at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt on 14 October 1806. The French rapidly occupied Prussia and gained total control over the stagnant kingdom, which became a vassal state utterly dependent on France. A huge indemnity issued by Napoleon wreaked havoc on the economy and caused a series of recessions. The humiliating Treaty of Tilsit concluded on 9 July 1807 between Napoleon and Frederick William (separate from that signed two days earlier between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander of Russia), and imposed appalling terms on Prussia, including the surrender of half of its far-flung territories to Jérôme Bonaparte, who would rule the new Kingdom of Westphalia.

Napoleon forced Frederick William to reappoint Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein, who had promoted domestic administrative reform before the campaign of 1806. Stein had been dismissed by the king because he had insisted on creating ministerial departments. Napoleon entrusted Stein with dictatorial powers to enable Prussia to enter the modern era. Stein was neither liberal nor revolutionary, but he adopted a cogent, pragmatic approach and realized that reforms could form the basis for ultimate victory over Napoleonic supremacy. He aimed to inspire his dejected fellow subjects by comprehensive reforms that would ensure Prussia's survival.

With this view, an exceptionally large number of reforms were instituted in Prussia from October 1807 to December 1808. The result was the Emancipation Edict of 9 October 1807, the first peaceful and legal societal reform that offered a semblance of equality and led to the modernization of Prussia. The edict consisted of two provisions: that of 9 October 1807, and the Edict of the Municipal Statutes that became law on 19 November 1808. The October edict abolished the prohibitive hereditary social estates, and peasants, merchants, artisans and bourgeoisie were made equal citizens. Serfs would be liberated as of 11 November 1810. Although bondage was eradicated, peasants were not granted their personal freedom; that remained under the auspices of the Statute of Servants. Stein had hoped to create yeoman farmers on the British model, but this was thwarted by more conservative elements. Peasants were still obliged to fulfill their ancient legal responsibilities, and ultimately they became workers in a capitalist system controlled by the nobility. The Jews, constituting only 1 percent of the population, had been exploited and persecuted for centuries. Stein accorded them full citizenship status.

Stein's wide-ranging municipal statutes gave towns, cities, and provinces the right of self-governance. Urban and provincial officials would be elected rather than appointed. Representative assemblies were established. Ministries were created to control finance, foreign affairs, education, and the army. The ministers gained personal access to the king, and they could not be overruled by the king's personal advisers. Administrative centralization eliminated the possibility that the personal whims of the king or his court advisers would have any effect on Prussian affairs. On 24 November 1808 these reforms came into effect.

The reforms were not on the magnitude of those carried out in France or elsewhere on the Continent, and thus complete modernization was not achieved. Nevertheless, they constituted a huge step for Prussia. Reform was not universally popular: Some peasants, artisans, and members of the nobility feared such far-reaching reforms, some of which they did not fully understand. The nobility in particular were very disgruntled by the loss of their power. They detested the edict, and Stein even more. They deviously sent a letter to Napoleon, written by Stein, that indicated his involvement in a military conspiracy against France. Napoleon thereupon immediately forced the king to dismiss Stein once again.

The reform program was continued by Karl August von Hardenberg, who had signed the Treaty of Basle in 1795 and had been chief minister before Stein's reappointment in 1807. The slow disintegration of the Prussian Army, once the greatest in Europe, also warranted reform. Military reorganization was led by the Hanoverian Ger-

hard von Scharnhorst. Maintaining that everyone should be liable to serve and defend the country, he established a system of universal military service, eliminated the use of mercenaries, and opened up the officer corps to all competent men, regardless of their background. Education and ability became the criteria for acceptance, and promotion would arise from merit.

Wilhelm Freiherr von Humboldt reformed the education system in 1809. Arguing that the state was morally obliged to educate its citizens, Humboldt helped found the University of Berlin in 1810, opened preparatory and grammar schools, and established the *Abitur*, a school exit exam. The high educational standards that Humboldt implemented would prove their worth during the rapid period of industrialization that followed the Napoleonic Wars.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand Freiherr von; Jena, Battle of; Prussia; Prussian Army; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tilsit, Treaties of; Westphalia

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## Emigrés

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic era was a time of massive personal displacement when, as a result of war and upheaval, soldiers marched toward and civilians fled from zones of conflict. Many individuals left France altogether during the 1790s, in successive waves that became a tide of emigration. The émigrés, as they were known, probably numbered some 100,000 in total, though precise figures are difficult to obtain since the official records both omitted genuine cases and included those who had left their homes but remained in the country. Unlike loyalists fleeing the earlier American Revolution, for instance, most émigrés would eventually return to France within a decade, but their departure and subsequent fate was a significant factor in French politics for far longer.

The first émigrés were aristocrats, notably members of the royal household such as the comte de Provence and the

comte d'Artois (the future kings Louis XVIII and Charles X), who quit France in disgust as early as 1789 and were the last to return. Military officers left in droves in 1791 and 1792, as the monarchy was menaced and radical change threatened their livelihoods. Such émigrés stripped the army and navy of their leadership and posed a counter-revolutionary threat to the new order, since many of them plotted its overthrow from abroad. Thousands of priests were also leaving France, as a consequence of reform and schism in the Catholic Church. Their opposition to the Revolution fanned the flames of anticlericalism and brought deportation in its wake. War and civil war in 1793 produced a fresh exodus of involuntary émigrés. Emigration was a matter of necessity rather than choice for the 20,000 inhabitants who escaped, in order to avoid arrest for collaboration, after an Austrian army of occupation evacuated Alsace. Likewise in rebel areas of the west and the Midi: Thousands fled from Toulon after the collapse of revolt rather than endure republican reprisals. The frontier areas of France were most deeply affected by this huge surge of fugitives, both on account of turbulence and on account of their proximity to foreign havens. There was a final flurry of departures under the Directory, when priests and moderates fled a renewed government crackdown in 1797, but the émigrés had begun to return.

Although the Terror claimed the majority of its victims among ordinary people, the emigration involved peasants and artisans as well as the privileged classes. Yet nobles and priests were significantly overrepresented: Roughly 17 percent of recorded émigrés were aristocratic, while an even greater percentage, 25 percent, were clergy (Greer 1951, 127). These categories accounted for almost half the émigrés who have been identified. They left earlier and spent longer in exile than their lower-class counterparts. The aristocratic experience, often vividly conveyed in colorful memoirs such as those of the marquise de la Tour du Pin, has inevitably influenced perceptions of the emigration, painting a picture of genteel poverty and efforts to re-create a courtly life abroad. Many nobles gathered in the Rhineland around Coblenz (Koblenz) or in Baden, forming armies that participated in the invasion of France in 1792. Following the French victory at Valmy, the émigrés' main force was disbanded, but Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, prince de Condé continued the struggle. The gradual expansion of the French Republic and later the Empire into the German and Italian territories where they had first sought refuge dispersed these émigrés more widely, with Britain a popular and secure destination (as it always had been for Breton and Norman refugees). Provence and Artois arrived there after a continental odyssey, while others traveled to Russia or the United States (where they encountered émigrés of another sort,

those who were fleeing slave rebellion in the French colony of St. Domingue (later established as Haiti).

The penalties imposed on emigrants had become increasingly severe as the Revolution progressed. In December 1790 the loss of public office was the price to be paid for continued absence, but a year later the Legislative Assembly ordered capital punishment in the event of unauthorized return. After the outbreak of war in 1792 émigré property was seized by the local authorities and it was later put up for sale as national property (*biens nationaux*). The end of the Terror brought little respite, and émigrés arrested on French soil still faced punishment, while the relatives of émigrés were barred from holding public office. The 700 émigrés comprising the ill-fated invasion force that landed at Quiberon Bay in July 1795 were simply shot, while priests and other returning exiles were executed following the purge of parliament in 1797. Yet steps to address the problem of reintegrating the émigrés had been taken, albeit in a halting fashion. Recognizing that in 1793 many people took flight because of fear of repression rather than because of opposition to the Revolution, a partial amnesty was offered (of which others took advantage).

When Bonaparte came to power in 1799, he initially forbade the return of returning émigrés because they had abandoned their country and did not deserve to be allowed back. Yet from 1800 onward exceptions multiplied, and by 1802 only those who had led military operations against the Republic, served in princely households, or committed treason remained proscribed. Like the royalist vicomte François-René de Chateaubriand, émigrés banned from France for a decade rushed to make their declarations of loyalty to the Consulate. Many recovered property that was unsold or had been acquired by agents; the loss to the nobility in general was not as severe as once thought. Only a small, hard-core group of émigrés, some 1,000 in number, were excluded from the general amnesty and stayed abroad until the reestablishment of the Bourbon monarchy in 1814. Yet they were to play a notorious role in souring the Restoration, demanding compensation that climaxed in the infamous *milliard des émigrés* of 1825, which indemnified those expropriated during the Revolution to the tune of more than 600 million francs. Napoleon may have virtually closed the circle of emigration, but its psychological legacy, like that of the Terror, far outlived its more immediate consequences.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Consulate, The; Directory, The; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; French Revolution; Louis XVIII, King; Quiberon, Expedition to; Terror, The; Toulon, Siege of; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Emmendingen, Battle of (19–20 October 1796)

In the Rhine valley, 15 kilometers north of Freiburg im Breisgau in the Elz valley, Emmendingen was the site of the main Austrian victory over General Jean Moreau's retreating French army, which forced the French to withdraw across the Rhine. It was the culmination of the Austrian plan devised in mid-July to gain local numerical superiority and defeat the two French armies individually to win the 1796 campaign in southern Germany.

News of Archduke Charles's victory over General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Würzburg on 3 September had prompted Moreau to abandon his offensive in southern Germany against the Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour and retreat back up the Danube valley to the Rhine bridges. He defeated Latour at Biberach on 2 October and withdrew down the Höllental between the Black Forest and the Swiss border over 13–15 October, while General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's troops on his left secured Freiburg. After his victory at Altenkirchen on 19 September, Charles had marched south up the Rhine valley with 16,000 troops to join Latour and attempt to defeat Moreau. Charles had committed 8,000 troops to besieging the Kehl Rhine bridgehead opposite Strasbourg, so Moreau, with 16,000 troops massed at Freiburg with his advance guard holding Waldkirch (just southeast of Emmendingen), decided to reopen his communications with Kehl. On 17 October Charles secured Kintzingen, while from the east *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Graf Nauendorff (Latour's advance guard) had reached Schweighausen, but there was little fighting the next day, while Latour joined the archduke.

Both commanders decided to attack on 19 October, but Charles struck first: *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Alois Fürst von Fürstenburg held Kintzingen in the northwest with 4,000 men; Nauendorff with 6,000 troops headed for Waldkirch from the northeast; *Feldzeugmeister* Wilhelm Graf Wartensleben with 8,500 marched from the north on the Elz bridge at Emmendingen, alongside Latour with

6,000 men. To the southeast, *Generalmajor* Franz Freiherr von Fröhlich and Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé pinned down Moreau's right wing under General Pietro Maria Ferino in the Stieg valley. St. Cyr's French division made the main attack on Nauendorff around Bleibach, but the Austrian commander used his hidden detachment at Sieglau to assail St. Cyr's left and forced the French back through Waldkirch. Wartensleben fought his way into Emmendingen and by nightfall had reached the Elz bridge, which had been broken by the retreating French. In the meantime, Latour crossed the Elz and reached Denzlingen village. As night fell, Moreau withdrew to a position north of Minburg between Riegel and the Gundelfingen forest to the southeast. Charles renewed the general assault the next day: Wartensleben's and Nauendorff's columns drove the French from Langendenzlingen and the Gundelfingen forest, while after four attacks, Latour crossed the Resiam, and Fürstenburg took Riegel.

Moreau's left wing under General Louis Desaix crossed the Rhine at Breisach the next day, and after a further clash at Schliengen on 24 October, the main French army fell back across the Hüningen bridge near Basle two days later.

David Hollins

*See also* Altenkirchen, Battle of; Biberach, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Schliengen, Battle of; Würzburg, Battle of

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### Empecinado, El

*See* Martín Díez, Juan, "El Empecinado"

### Enclosure Act (1801)

Officially known as the General Enclosure Act of 1801 (41 Geo III c.1 09), a change in British agricultural practice that reallocated land, stripped subjects of common rights to grazing land, and allowed landowners to use the land as they pleased. It was passed in 1801 during a time of social upheaval, fluctuating currency, and war with France.

Enclosure, a change from the open-field system of farming to individual ownership, had been used for centuries and dated from statutes of 1235 and 1285. The Board of Agriculture and its secretary, Arthur Young, had been lobbying for years to improve the procedure for enclosures.

By confining itself to model clauses and suggesting reduced costs, the act easily passed in Parliament. The Enclosure Act of 1801 efficiently organized the enclosure procedure and standardized the previous enclosure acts; it was meant to save Parliament time. Acts of Parliament introduced privately had significantly increased in the latter half of the eighteenth century despite the £6,000 fee. The former tenants were displaced, vagrancy increased, and social unrest occurred, forcing many of the dispossessed to seek work in urban areas.

Some 5,000 individual enclosures had been passed involving 21 percent of the land, or almost 7 million acres (28,000 square kilometers). About two-thirds of the land was arable, while one-third was either common land or wasteland. The enclosures resulted in more agricultural output, which was necessary to feed the ever-increasing population. The Enclosure Act would also later prove useful in blocking the negative effects of Napoleon's continental system by encouraging increased agricultural production and partially compensating for the reduced volume of imported foodstuffs.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Continental System; Great Britain

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## Engen, Battle of

*See* Stockach, Second Battle of

## Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d' (1772–1804)

Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'Enghien, a member of the house of Condé, a junior branch of the royal house of Bourbon, was arrested on Bonaparte's orders and executed after a staged military trial.

D'Enghien was born on 2 August 1772 in Chantilly, France, as the only son of Louis Henri-Joseph, duc de

Bourbon, and Louise Marie Thérèse Mathilde d'Orléans. The intelligent boy was privately tutored and grew up with a strong, noble character and an astonishing command of French and European affairs. He joined the army in 1788 but left France, along with his parents, in 1792. He served in his grandfather's émigré army until 1801, when it was dissolved by the Treaty of Lunéville. He married Princess Charlotte de Rohan-Rochefort and the couple lived at the hunting lodge of Ettenheim in the Duchy of Baden.

In 1803–1804, in response to plots to assassinate him, Bonaparte ordered his police to put an end to royalist plotters in France. Of the royalist leaders, Georges Cadoudal was captured and executed, General Jean-Charles Pichegru died in suspicious circumstances in prison, and General Jean Moreau, despite his probable innocence, was exiled from France. During the investigation, one of Cadoudal's lieutenants confessed about the participation of "a prince of the house of Bourbon." Wishing to send a forceful warning to the émigrés and the Bourbons to refrain from future plots, Bonaparte accepted the insinuations of Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand and Joseph Fouché against d'Enghien.

On the night of 14–15 March 1804, d'Enghien was abducted from his house in Baden, in violation of that principality's neutrality, and brought to Vincennes, where he was tried for treason before a military tribunal. Despite the lack of evidence or of any witnesses and despite the absence of a lawyer, d'Enghien was found guilty and executed at 2:00 A.M. on 21 March. He was buried in a grave that had been dug that evening in the moat of the fortress.

Rulers throughout Europe were outraged at Bonaparte's role in the murder of the last prince of the house of Condé. Any hope of renewed relations between Bonaparte and the exiled royal family was destroyed. Bonaparte later admitted responsibility for the duke's execution but declared it necessary for the security of the French people and the government. At the same time, the d'Enghien affair was used to prove that the life of the First Consul was in danger and to pave the way for hereditary rule under the house of Bonaparte.

In 1816 Louis XVIII had d'Enghien's body exhumed and moved to a chapel in Vincennes, securing a fitting monument to honor the duke's memory.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Emigrés; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Lunéville, Treaty of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Murat, Joachim; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince

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## Engineering

The relation of engineers and the military intensified during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Revolutionary France, the country with the most developed and sophisticated engineering tradition, built on the achievements of the *ancien régime*. The most famous example is Lazare Carnot, an engineer and mathematician known as the “Organizer of Victory.” Carnot, like his fellow member of the Committee of Public Safety Claude-Antoine Prieur (usually referred to as “Prieur de la Côte d’Or”), was a graduate of the French school of military engineering at Mézières and a member of the army’s Corps of Engineers. Carnot and Prieur led in the establishment of the Manufacture of Paris, a workshop that attempted to rationalize weapons production on an unprecedented scale. The original goal of the manufacture, which employed over 5,000 workers under the day-to-day headship of Prieur, was to produce 1,000 muskets per day, a goal never attained. The government even set up an experimental workshop for producing firearms with interchangeable parts, another goal never achieved. The Manufacture of Paris, which had produced well over 100,000 weapons despite poor labor relations, was disbanded with the demise of the Reign of Terror at the end of 1794.

The Revolutionaries also founded new institutions to teach technical knowledge. The most famous was the Ecole Polytechnique founded in Paris in 1794 and led by the mathematician Gaspard Monge. Monge, a Jacobin who became an ardent Bonapartist and an imperial senator, was also the author of *Description de l’art de fabriquer les canons* (1794) and *Gomtrie descriptive* (1795), which established the practices of engineering drawing in France and continental Europe. The Ecole Polytechnique moved from an emphasis on technical drawing and wide dissemination of engineering knowledge to an elitist emphasis on mathematical theory and serving the military’s needs. This culminated in Napoleon’s militarization of the school in 1804. The Ecole Nationale des Arts et Métiers at Châlons supported the Ecole Polytechnique’s mission by training skilled draftsmen to mediate between theoretically trained engineers and ordinary workers. Institutions modeled on the Ecole Polytechnique were founded in Berlin in 1799, Prague in 1805, and Vienna in 1815. Its curriculum and

textbooks also profoundly influenced the new U.S. military academy at West Point, America’s leading source of technically trained engineers in the early nineteenth century.

Britain’s engineering culture was strikingly different. British engineers were trained in an apprenticeship system rather than in state schools (with the exception of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich) and were much more closely attached to businesses than to the state or the military. Civil rather than military engineers had the most prestige. One curious result was that a technology in which Britain led the world, the steam engine, found no direct military or naval applications. Among the few British engineering innovations of direct military application were the Congreve rocket and machinery for the mass production of uniform wooden pulley blocks for the Royal Navy.

*William E. Burns*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Congreve Rockets; Jacobins; Public Safety, Committee of; Terror, The

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## England, French Plans for the Invasion of (1797–1805)

One of the greatest threats to Britain in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was invasion. The Royal Navy guarded against this possibility, which became a serious threat with the French occupation of Belgium and Holland by the end of 1795. These areas lay near Britain’s southern coast and could be used as staging points for armies to attempt a landing in the British Isles. The French did not ignore the prospect of invading Britain. The first plans for such an operation were laid by the Directory in late October 1797 in the wake of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which had left Britain as the only belligerent power opposing Revolutionary France. These plans resulted in the creation of the Army of England under Bonaparte’s command. Transport was to be provided by an armada of flat-bottomed craft that were constructed at various points on the southern coast of the English Channel. French doubts about the operation surfaced, however, in early 1798 when these craft failed in operations to seize the Saint Marcouf Islands in the Channel. The scheme was ultimately aborted the same year when the Directory gave approval for Bonaparte’s campaign in Egypt, which diverted manpower resources away from designs against Britain.

Plans for an invasion of Britain did not resurface until the Peace of Amiens between France and Britain collapsed

in May 1803. Bonaparte, who was now governing France as First Consul, was convinced that such an endeavor was necessary to ensure French domination of the Continent. Britain served as a source of supply and financial aid to Bonaparte's continental enemies. The country also represented a threat as a potential staging point for forces to attack French-occupied territory in mainland Europe. In 1803 Bonaparte began to assemble a new Army of England at the channel ports of Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Wimereux, and Etaples. By August 1805, now Emperor, Napoleon had enough landing craft to transport 167,000 troops across the Channel to various points in southern England. Even so, the feasibility of an invasion appeared doubtful for several reasons. In July 1804 some 2,000 men had drowned during a test of the craft built to carry the invasion force. Aside from technical problems that were evident from the failure of this test was the reaction of the British to intelligence concerning French preparations. Recruiting for local militias in southern England increased greatly while new defensive works were hurriedly constructed in the region. These measures greatly reduced the possibility of success for a French invasion force.

Aside from these considerations, the most fundamental problem for France in any plans to invade England was the protection afforded by the Royal Navy in the face of a numerically weaker French Navy. Numerous schemes—some utterly unfeasible—had been hatched to obviate this British strength, including building a tunnel under the English Channel and using balloons to transport troops to England. These were eclipsed by more conventional plans to surmount the problem. Napoleon ordered Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve, in command of the French fleet at Toulon, to sail for the West Indies and thereby draw the British Mediterranean Fleet, under the command of Vice Admiral Viscount Horatio Nelson, away from Europe in pursuit. Villeneuve was supposed to elude Nelson, sail back to Europe, and rendezvous with French fleets in Brest and Rochefort and Spanish ships from the ports of Cádiz and Ferrol. This combined force would then sail into the English Channel in early August in order to escort the invasion force and protect it against the skeleton force that the Royal Navy would have in place while Nelson was diverted elsewhere. Villeneuve set sail on 30 March 1805, bound for the West Indies. On 3 August, in expectation of Villeneuve's arrival in the Channel, Napoleon took personal command of French forces in Boulogne.

Although this plan enjoyed success in its initial stages insofar as Nelson was decoyed to the West Indies, the situation deteriorated for the French. Nelson soon realized the deception and went in pursuit while sending a fast dispatch vessel to inform the Admiralty in London that Villeneuve was returning to European waters. This ship happened to sight Villeneuve's force heading for the Spanish

port of Ferrol to rendezvous with the squadron stationed there. This information led to orders for British squadron commanders to increase the vigilance of the blockades of French harbors. As a result, the French fleet at Brest failed to break through the cordon of enemy vessels. This blow to the operation was compounded when Villeneuve failed to rendezvous with the French fleet from Rochefort, which had managed to put to sea. Villeneuve's force was subsequently engaged by a British squadron and forced into the port of Cádiz, where it was blockaded in September 1805 by Admiral William Cornwallis.

Napoleon had decided in late August, before Villeneuve was bottled up in Cádiz, to cancel his plans for invasion. Without naval support to protect his Army of England, the Emperor had little choice. He also needed to divert resources to confront the Austrians and Russians, who with the British had combined to form the Third Coalition. Subsequent plans for an invasion never materialized, in part because of the destruction of a large portion of the Franco-Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar, fought on 21 October 1805 by a fleet under Nelson. New schemes to conquer Britain were also scrapped in favor of Napoleon's Continental System, which was instituted in November 1806 with the issuance of the Berlin Decrees. The decrees were designed to force Britain to withdraw from the war with France by crippling it economically.

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*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Berlin Decrees; Blockade; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Continental System; Cornwallis, William; Directory, The; Middle East Campaign; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Royal Navy; Third Coalition, War of the; Trafalgar, Battle of; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Erbach, Battle of

*See* Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800)

### Erfurt, Congress of (27 September–14 October 1808)

Napoleon faced a dilemma during the summer of 1808. The French suffered a series of reversals in Spain during early summer followed in July by the defeat and capitulation of an army under General Pierre Dupont in the wake of the Battle of Bailén. The outcome of this battle stirred many European states to consider redressing their differences with France. Austria began to rearm, forcing France to consider the prospect of fighting a two-front war. Napoleon needed to transfer troops from occupied Prussia to Spain while maintaining sufficient forces to keep Austria at bay. In order to secure the cooperation of Tsar Alexander I of Russia at a time when war with Austria seemed imminent, Napoleon proposed a conference. The two emperors met at Erfurt from 27 September to 14 October 1808.

The Congress of Erfurt centered on four main issues. The first involved Napoleon's reversals in Spain. The French emperor needed to reinforce his army in the Iberian Peninsula while keeping an eye on Austria. Second, Napoleon wanted Alexander to exert pressure on Austria to prevent it from rearming and attacking France. Third, Russia desired the evacuation of French forces from Prussia. These troops secured the French position in Prussia and sat poised to oppose an Austrian offensive. On the other hand, they were also too close to the Russian frontier for Alexander's comfort. Fourth, an internal rebellion in Turkey was attracting the interest of the European states.

Alexander approached the congress from a position of strength since Napoleon required Russian cooperation. Alexander's interest centered on the Russian absorption of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Romania), both belonging to the Ottoman Empire, with whom Russia was then at war. Russia also wished to annex Finland, which belonged to Sweden, with whom Russia would go to war the following year. Napoleon wanted to pursue the issue concerning Austria and persuaded Alexander to postpone discussion on Moldavia and Wallachia while giving a vague promise to acknowledge the incorporation of the two principalities into Russia, pending approval by Turkish authorities. Napoleon conceded to Alexander's demands that France should remove its forces from the Duchy of Warsaw, though in the end he failed to comply. Alexander also asked Napoleon to remove French troops from Prussia. This, however, Napoleon declined to promise, successfully arguing that such troops were needed to watch Austria's northern flank and would be called upon in the event of an Austrian attack on France.

The Austrian issue proved to be the most important and controversial topic during the Congress of Erfurt. Napoleon demanded that Austria disarm and recognize Joseph

Bonaparte as King of Spain. Failing this, Napoleon wanted a Russian commitment to a joint offensive against Austria. Alexander stubbornly resisted Napoleon's position on Austria, and Napoleon reportedly lost his temper at least once while debating this point with the tsar. While Napoleon expected Alexander to concede in the face of confrontation, the latter informed the French emperor that he must regain his composure and negotiate sensibly or the tsar would leave the meeting. After more than a week of intense negotiations, the two compromised: Alexander would not join Napoleon in an attack on Austria, but he did pledge that Russia would aid France if it were attacked by Austria.

On 12 October 1808 the two leaders signed the convention resulting from their discussions. The Congress of Erfurt proved to be the last face-to-face meeting between Napoleon and Alexander and produced an agreement of little substance. Thus, during the congress, Russia assured Austria that the agreement to aid France in the event of war was simply a theoretical declaration. It is also interesting to note that while some scholars ignore or minimize the role of Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, during the congress, others maintain strongly that he worked against Napoleon's interests at the meeting.

*Terry M. Mays*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Bonaparte, Joseph; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre, comte; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Peninsular War; Poland; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de

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### Erlon, comte d'

*See* Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon

### Ermolov (Yermolov), Aleksey Petrovich (1772–1861)

Russian general and army commander. Aleksey Ermolov was born to a Russian noble family from the Orlov *gubernia*

(province). After graduating from the boarding school of Moscow University, he enlisted in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment on 16 January 1787. Four years later, he was promoted to lieutenant and transferred to the Nizhegorod Dragoon Regiment with the rank of captain. He briefly taught at the Artillery and Engineer Cadet Corps in 1793 before being sent to fight the Polish insurgents in 1794. He participated in the assault on Praga and in the following year took part in the Persian campaign along the Caspian Sea. However, he was arrested on 7 January 1799 for alleged participation in a conspiracy against Tsar Paul I and spent two years in exile. He was restored under Alexander I and appointed to the 8th Artillery Regiment on 13 May 1801. He then transferred to the horse artillery on 21 June.

During the 1805 campaign Ermolov served in the rear and advance guard and distinguished himself at Amstetten and Austerlitz. For his services he was promoted to colonel on 16 July 1806. The following year he participated in the campaign in Poland, serving in Prince Peter Bagration's advance guard. He distinguished himself commanding an artillery company in numerous rearguard actions during the retreat to Landsberg as well as in the Battle of Eylau. In June 1807 Ermolov commanded a horse artillery company in the actions at Guttstädt, Deppen, Heilsberg, and Friedland, receiving the Order of St. George (3rd class) on 7 September 1807. He was promoted to major general on 28 March 1808 and was appointed inspector of horse artillery companies. In early 1809 he inspected artillery companies of the Army of the Danube. Although his division took part in the 1809 campaign against Austria, Ermolov himself commanded the reserves in the Volhynia and Podolsk *gubernias*, where he remained for the next two years. In 1811 he took command of the (Russian) Imperial Guard artillery company, and in 1812 he became the chief of staff of the 1st Western Army.

During the 1812 campaign, Ermolov took part in the retreat to Smolensk and played an important role in the quarrel between General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly and Bagration. He opposed Barclay's strategy and appealed to Tsar Alexander to replace him with Bagration. After the Russian armies united on 2 August, Ermolov fought at Smolensk and Lubino (Valutina Gora), for which he was promoted to lieutenant general on 12 November 1812 with seniority dating from 16 August. He distinguished himself at Borodino on 7 September, where he was lightly wounded leading a counterattack that recaptured the Great Redoubt. During the rest of the campaign, he served as a duty officer in the headquarters of the main Russian army and fought at Maloyaroslavets on 24 October.

In October and November 1812, Ermolov served in the advance guard under General Mikhail Miloradovich

and fought at Vyazma and the second Battle of Krasnyi. In late November he commanded one of the detachments in the advance guard under General Fedor Rosen, taking part in the actions on the Berezina. On 3 December he was recalled to the main headquarters, where he became the chief of staff of the Russian Army. Three weeks later he was appointed commander of the artillery of the Russian Army.

During the campaign of 1813 in Germany Ermolov fought at Lützen, where he was accused of insubordination and transferred to command of the 2nd Guard Division. He then fought at Bautzen, commanding the Russian rear guard during the retreat, and at Kulm, where he was decorated with the Prussian Iron Cross. In 1814 he distinguished himself in the fighting around Paris and was awarded the Order of St. George on 7 April. Two years later he was appointed commander in chief of the Russian forces in Georgia and commander of the Independent Georgian Corps on 21 April 1816. He proved himself an able administrator and successfully negotiated with Persia in 1818, receiving promotion to general of infantry on 4 March 1818 (Ermolov was in retirement in 1827–1831, so his seniority was changed to 1 February 1822).

Ermolov served in Georgia for nine years but was dismissed on 9 April 1827 because of an argument with General Ivan Paskevich, who was patronized by Tsar Nicholas I. Ermolov was discharged on 7 December 1827 with a full pension. However, four years later, Nicholas restored his rank in the army (6 November 1831) and appointed him to the State Council. Ermolov's rank of general of infantry was confirmed in 1833. During the Crimean War Ermolov was elected the head of the Moscow *opolchenye* (crudely armed, virtually untrained citizenry) on 10 March 1855. He died on 23 April 1861 in Moscow and was buried at the Trinity Church in Orel. Ermolov was one of the best artillery officers in the Russian Army. He proved his abilities throughout the Napoleonic Wars and later in the Caucasus. However, he was also a shrewd and cunning courtier, who often intrigued against his superiors. Because of his enigmatic character, he was often called the "Modern Sphinx." He proved himself a ruthless ruler in the Caucasus and brutally suppressed the Chechen uprisings. Ermolov left interesting and valuable memoirs, his "Zapiski," of his service from 1796 to 1816, covering his early career, the Napoleonic Wars, and his rule in the Caucasus.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amstetten, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Borodino, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany,

Campaign in; Heilsberg, Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the

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### Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of (10–11 November 1808)

A serious Spanish defeat, the Battle of Espinosa de los Monteros marked an important moment in the counteroffensive Napoleon launched in Spain in November 1808. Following the Battle of Bailén and the subsequent evacuation of Madrid, Joaquín Blake's Army of Galicia occupied Bilbao, where it was joined by the division commanded by the Marqués de la Romana that had just been repatriated from Denmark by the Royal Navy, and a division from Asturias commanded by General Vicente María de Acevedo. A substantial force, Blake's command was renamed the Army of the Left, and it was agreed that it should advance eastward along the Cantabrian coast in an attempt to outflank the French, whose main body was massed around Vitoria and Pamplona. Little progress was made in this endeavor, however: Dogged by inclement weather and lack of supplies, by late October Blake's men were still at Bilbao, and it was in consequence the French who took the initiative.

On 29 October, then, the Army of the Left's advance guard was attacked at the village of Zornoza (today Amorebieta) by the corps of Marshal François Lefebvre. Much alarmed, Blake pulled back southwestward and took up a strong defensive position at the town of Espinosa de los Monteros. Well placed though the Spanish were, they were in no fit state to fight. Many men had fled, fallen sick, or been cut off; there was no cavalry; most of the artillery had been sent to the rear; the weather was appalling; and the troops had neither food nor shelter. To Blake's immediate front was Marshal Claude Victor, while Marshal Lefebvre was swinging round his right flank and Nicolas Soult was heading north from Burgos to cut his communications at Reinosa. Aware only of the 21,000 men to his immediate front, however, Blake resolved to stand and fight.

Attacked on 10 November by Victor, his 23,000 men initially did well: In a day of furious fighting every French assault was beaten off. Thus, had he retreated immediately, Blake might still have escaped, but he was apparently still unaware of the threat to his flank and rear and in consequence decided it was safer to stand firm. On 11 November the battle was resumed. The French, however, had learned their lesson, and their attacks were much better coordinated than on the previous day. In consequence, Blake's line was soon broken. Streaming westward toward Reinosa, however, the fugitives found their path blocked by Soult.

Desperate to escape, Blake now led his remaining troops northward across the Cantabrian Mountains before turning southwestward for León, which he finally reached in mid-December. Carried out in the depth of winter in the midst of some of the highest mountains in Spain, these forced marches saved what remained of the Army of the Left, but the survivors were in terrible condition, and the campaign still cost the Spanish at least 20,000 men. As for Blake, he was stripped of his command, being replaced by Romana.

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*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Blake, Joaquín; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Espionage

Espionage, the use of spies to gather information, was prevalent throughout the Napoleonic period because of the almost-constant state of war. Military intelligence operations played an important role in all of Napoleon's campaigns and contributed significantly to his victories in 1805 and to French defeat in Spain after 1812. International relations were also shaped by espionage. Embassy officials were routinely used to gather intelligence and often passed secret information to their own or other countries. Rival political factions and royalist intrigues made France a fertile field for clandestine operations, as the many attempts on Napoleon's life demonstrate. Finally, there existed the networks for police spying on citizens of their own countries. Joseph Fouché, Napoleon's police minister, was the best-known master of police spies, but each country, including Britain, practiced a similar policy.

The French were famous for gathering military intelligence. Early on, the Emperor ordered the construction of a

card catalog that allowed him to file information, sent from his embassies, on troop movements all over Europe. This informed him of the locations and strength of all his enemies' units before a campaign began. Shortly before the army marched, Napoleon sent senior officers, in civilian clothes, to reconnoiter enemy territory and fortifications. Before the Austerlitz campaign, Marshal Joachim Murat, General Anne Jean Marie René Savary, and General Henri-Gatien Bertrand traveled through Bavaria in disguise to collect information on Austrian troop movements and geography. Once on the march, cavalry patrols preceded the army and collected information by reconnaissance or by kidnapping local officials and bringing them back to camp for interrogation. In addition, spies infiltrated enemy camps and reported on battle plans and troop movements. Karl Ludwig Schulmeister was probably the most famous of Napoleon's military spies. His activities as a smuggler in Strasbourg provided him with many contacts, and during the Austerlitz campaign he spied for Savary, head of military police operations. Posing as an Austrian spy, Schulmeister informed *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich of a British invasion of France and of Napoleon's plans to return to Paris. This misinformation convinced the Austrian general to remain in Ulm and ultimately led to his defeat in October 1805. Schulmeister then disguised himself as an Austrian officer and roamed freely through the Austrian and Russian armies. Eventually arrested and imprisoned in Vienna, he was rescued when the French captured the city later that year. Savary had enough confidence in Schulmeister to appoint him commissioner general of police for Vienna. This was only the beginning of an illustrious career, which included supervising police activities at the Congress of Erfurt and returning to Vienna in 1809 as commissioner general of police.

Another important part of espionage was encryption. The French had two official codes, known as the Grand Cipher and the Little Cipher. Handed down from the court of Louis XIV, the Grand Cipher was used primarily for diplomatic messages until 1811, when it was adapted for military use. It used a system of substituting words, syllables, and single letters for numbers and contained over 1,000 predetermined substitutions. There were also personal codes used by individual commanding officers. They could be as simple as basic letter substitution. Some were more complicated, such as one by which two officers would have a copy of the same book and then cite the page number, line number, and numerical position in the line for each word they used. This system was used by the Duke of Wellington in the Iberian Peninsula. George Scovell, a British officer, decoded the Grand Cipher in 1812, a success that played a large part in Wellington's victory at Salamanca.

The focal point for international espionage was France itself. The royalists set up the first spy networks in Paris. The comte d'Artois ran the English Committee, which controlled Normandy, Brittany, and the Vendée. The comte de Provence headed the Swabian Agency, formerly the Philanthropic Institute. It was organized along Masonic lines and reached into eastern and southern France. In 1799 these agencies notified British secret services that the time was ripe for a coup. Based on this intelligence, Sir Sidney Smith negotiated with Napoleon in Egypt, temporarily lifting the British naval blockade, and inadvertently allowing him to escape back to France. Implicit in this negotiation was Napoleon's agreement to participate in a royalist coup—a promise that was never fulfilled. After Napoleon's seizure of power in 1799, the royalists hatched a new plot. Their intention was to recruit important legislators to their cause, vote out the current government, and establish a royalist council until a member of the royal family could arrive to take charge. Simultaneously, the Chouans would rise up in the west, which, it was hoped, would spark a general rebellion. Hyde de Neuville went to London and convinced the British government to finance the scheme. Planned by Nicholas-François Duthiel, head of royalist intelligence in London, the plot was abandoned when the plebiscite affirming Napoleon's coup made a general uprising seem improbable. Still, the precedent for British funding had been established, and "perfidious Albion" would contribute to royalist schemes thereafter. Not content merely to fund royalist plots, though, the British began setting up their own network of spies in France.

Faced with British-funded, royalist coup attempts, Napoleon built an extensive intelligence network of his own. To his chagrin, it was not entirely under his control. Both Fouché, the minister of police, and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, operated spy networks. Interior ministers had their own spies. Savary had his military spies. To keep track of all these, Napoleon had his own spy network. Fouché and Talleyrand were notorious for using their information for personal gain. Fouché took the newly reinstated Ministry of Police in 1798 and built it to serve his own needs. Perpetually underfunded by the government, he found his own sources of financing by taking protection money from illicit businesses in Paris. He was also presented with an unprecedented opportunity to recruit informers from the ranks of political prisoners serving long sentences or condemned to death. He gave them freedom in exchange for future services as information gatherers. Thus, he very quickly had an independently funded agency served by the largest number of informers in the history of France. Headed by Pierre-Marie Desmarest, this secret branch gathered information from all walks of life, distilled it, and presented the Emperor with a daily re-

port. In addition, Fouché arranged for a royalist counterpolice operation to flourish within his own organization. This protected certain royalist agents from arrest, but it also allowed the police minister to track many of their plots. Talleyrand also rebuilt his ministry to suit his own needs. Becoming foreign minister in 1797, he staffed the organization with trusted friends who served him rather than the government. His office maintained a workshop for forging documents, which included a file of signed letters written by important people and copies of official seals. He used these forged letters when dealing with other nations, but he also used them to influence Napoleon. His duplicity is legendary, and he is known to have been supplying the British with information as early as 1806. After Napoleon removed him from office, he continued working against the Emperor. He counseled Tsar Alexander against negotiating with Napoleon at Erfurt in 1808 and sold information on French military plans to Klemens Graf Metternich in 1809. Napoleon also made use of the *cabinet noir*, an agency run by the Minister of Post, the comte de Lavalette, for opening, reading, and resealing letters.

In spite of this abundance of information, Napoleon was not well informed. There is no better evidence for this than the many assassination attempts on his life. The best known of these are the Infernal Machine Plot (1800) and the Cadoudal Conspiracy (1804), which illustrate British involvement, Fouché's double-dealing, and the influence of espionage on international affairs. After Marengo (1800), Napoleon felt secure enough to reject Louis XVIII's proposal for a restoration. With no other options, the royalists turned to assassination. Georges Cadoudal, a Chouan leader exiled in London, kept the British apprised of royalist plans. Their own agent in Paris, Antoine Talon, did the same. Alexandre Chevalier, an explosives expert, had been hired with British secret service money. He was arrested before completion of the project, but another expert was employed to take his place. Cadoudal returned to France in September to assist in the assassination preparations. However, in November Napoleon's police foiled another assassination plot and in so doing captured the plotters' papers, which revealed the presence of 5,000 royalist troops in Paris. Napoleon demanded that Fouché arrest their leader. Fouché did so, but this ended the liaison between Fouché and the royalists' leader in Paris, the comte de Ghaisne de Bourmont. Thus, when Cadoudal and his associates went into action, Fouché had lost his primary source of intelligence. Joseph Picot de Limoelan came from London to position the bomb, which was disguised as a water wagon, and to light the fuse on Christmas Eve. Napoleon, riding to the opera in his carriage, barely escaped death. This most dangerous in a series of over ten assassination attempts led Napoleon to purge Jacobins and royal-

ists alike. Fouché performed some impressive detective work. He reconstructed the horse and wagon, located the blacksmith who had recently shod the horse, and from him obtained a description of Limoelan. This did not, however, hide Fouché's collusion with the royalists, which came to light during the many arrests that followed and no doubt played a part in his dismissal in 1802.

Hardly dissuaded from his project of assassination, Cadoudal escaped to London and, with British assistance, began building a nucleus of leaders for a new conspiracy that he called the "coup essentiel." It differed little from the plan of 1800. A group of chosen men would neutralize Napoleon, either by abduction or murder. They would then establish a royalist council, supported by anti-Bonapartist generals and senators. The council would rule until the comte d'Artois arrived. General Jean-Charles Pichegru, who was in exile in London, hoped to rally dissident generals. Napoleon found out about the plotting generals as early as October 1802 when police captured incriminating letters being carried to England. A new liaison, Louis Fauche-Borel, was appointed by the British secret service, and after meeting with generals Jacques Macdonald and Jean Moreau, he was also captured. In desperation, an Englishman went to Paris to negotiate with Moreau, proposing that Moreau lead troops to Saint-Cloud to capture Napoleon. The general remained noncommittal.

It was not until February 1803 that General Bon Adrien de Moncey, inspector general of gendarmerie, captured two plotters who implicated Desmarest, head of the Bureau Secrète, and revealed the seriousness of the plot. One month later Moncey gave Napoleon details of the plot. Moreau was to be named head of the Republic, while Pierre Augereau and André Masséna were to take command of French troops in Paris. A long list of senators and generals would support the change of government. Unbeknownst to Moncey and Napoleon, Fouché, no longer minister of police, was one of the plot's Paris leaders. Barricades and police checkpoints soon surrounded Paris but provided no new information. In July the defection of a British agent in Boulogne revealed that a large part of the departmental administration was in British pay and assisting royalists with secret entry into France.

Finally, in January 1804, Jean Pierre Querelle, in order to avoid his own death sentence, revealed the complete plot. He informed the police of the chain of safe houses leading to Paris, the intended roles of Pichegru and Moreau, and of a prince waiting just outside France to take charge of the new government. In addition, he told them that Cadoudal had been in Paris for the last four months. It was not long before Paris police had tracked down Moreau (13 February), Pichegru (26 February), and Cadoudal (9 March). Moreau, it seems, had reneged on his promise to

help the royalists and demanded control of the government for himself. The awaited prince never arrived, and so the plot went nowhere. The police arrested 356 conspirators, and Talleyrand exposed the British attempt at assassination to all the embassies in Paris. The number of plotters and the participation of the British government shocked Napoleon. No doubt having been the target of assassins for four years influenced his decision to execute the duc d'Enghien and to have himself declared Emperor. Both actions strongly influenced European diplomacy during the Napoleonic period; both were the result of espionage and clandestine operations in France.

Doug Harmon

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien; Chouans; Emigrés; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Erfurt, Congress of; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Jacobins; Louis XVIII, King; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Moncey, Bon Adrien Jannot de; Moreau, Jean Victor; Murat, Joachim; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Salamanca, Battle of; Savary, Anne Jean Marie René; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Ulm, Surrender at; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Espoz Ilundaín, Francisco (1781–1836)

A peasant from Idocín in northern Navarre, Francisco Espoz Ilundaín was beyond doubt the most successful of the Spanish guerrillas. As is the case with many of his counterparts, the early part of his story is shrouded in legend, and our knowledge of him is not helped by his memoirs, which are a farrago of lies and half-truths. At some point in the autumn of 1808, however, he fled Navarre, which was occupied by the French, and enlisted in a new volunteer regiment that formed part of the garrison of the Aragonese town of Jaca. Why he did so is unclear—it is possible that he may have killed a French soldier in a brawl. All that is certain is that when Jaca was summoned to surrender by the French in February 1809, he slipped back to his home province, where he enlisted in the guerrilla band of his distant kinsman, Martín Javier Mina y Larrea. In March 1810, however, this commander was captured by the French, whereupon Espoz—the correct short form of his name—set himself up as Mina's successor and proceeded to unite the scattered guerrilla bands that were then roaming Navarre into a single force under his own leadership.

So much for historical fact. But underlying this story there is almost certainly a much darker tale. As is shown by his later career, the new leader was both utterly ruthless and intensely ambitious, and there is little doubt that his chief motive for taking up arms was to make his fortune. At the very least, the methods he used to impose his authority in Navarre were unscrupulous in the extreme: Rival leaders who failed to submit to his authority were executed on the grounds—essentially true, be it said—that they were mere bandits. At the same time, to legitimate his position, Espoz claimed that he was Mina's uncle rather than his very distant cousin and began to call himself “Francisco Espoz y Mina” (which in practice was often shortened simply to “Mina”). All this can be justified, perhaps, by exigency, but there is also very strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that Espoz betrayed Mina to the French in order to clear the way for his own rise to power. Just as damaging, meanwhile, was the new commander's consistent reluctance to subordinate himself to any sort of political or military control, the fact being that he was at heart an adventurer who had little interest in anything other than his own reputation and advantage.

That said, however, he, like the somewhat similar Juan Martín Díez (often referred to by his nickname, “El Empecinado”), was also a realist, as well as a man of very real military talent. Exactly as was the case with El Empecinado, then, he saw that to succeed he had to secure a genuine military reputation, to gain the recognition of the Patriot authorities, and, more fundamentally still, to avoid

elimination at the hands of the invaders. Faced by this situation, there was only one way forward, namely, the creation of a disciplined force that could carry the war to the enemy and withstand all attempts at its suppression. In all this Espoz was remarkably successful. Aided by divisions in the French command structure that made effective operations against his forces very difficult, the rugged nature of the terrain, the availability of isolated mountain strongholds that could serve as safe havens for his forces, and the fact that his heartland of northern Navarre was for a variety of reasons far more committed to the struggle against Napoleon than almost anywhere else in Spain, he was able to build up a private army that in the end amounted to nine regiments of infantry and one of cavalry.

At the head of these troops—a disciplined fighting force arrayed in proper uniforms and trained in the use of formal military tactics—he waged a relentless war against the French, gaining particular fame by his capture of two major French convoys on the highroad from Vitoria to the French frontier. It is important not to exaggerate these achievements—given sufficient troops and unity of command, the French might easily have crushed his forces, as was proved by the massive offensive launched against him by the enemy in the early part of 1813—but there is no doubt, first, that the guerrilla struggle in Navarre was far more developed than anything the rest of Spain could produce, and, second, that by diverting large numbers of French troops, Espoz made an immense contribution to the campaigns of the Duke of Wellington.

Unfortunately, however, his later history is not as happy. Confirmed as commandant general of Navarre and northern Aragón with the rank of major general (not, as is often claimed, field marshal) by the Spanish Council of Regency in the wake of the Battle of Vitoria, he played little part in the rest of the war, behaved in the most despotic fashion in his dominions, and engaged in a series of disputes with the liberal authorities. Increasingly embittered, moreover, when Ferdinand VII returned to Spain in 1814 he immediately rallied to the cause of absolutism. To his dismay, however, the king would no more tolerate his pretensions than had the regency, and Ferdinand not only ordered the demobilization of his forces but also stripped him of his position as commandant general of Navarre. In a desperate bid to force Madrid to change its mind, in September 1814 Espoz therefore instigated a rebellion in Navarre whose aim seems to have been to show that he was so powerful that Ferdinand could not afford to do without him. The revolt, however, was a complete failure, and Espoz was left with no option but to flee into exile and affect the guise of an ardent liberal.

Returning to Spain in 1820, he played a leading role in the war of 1821–1823, and on the defeat of the liberal

cause he once again fled into exile in England, where he made his home at Sevenoaks, in Kent, and spent the rest of the reign of Ferdinand VII playing a less than creditable role in the long series of plots that were hatched to rid Spain of absolutism by means of military rebellion. Increasingly unpopular with his fellow exiles, who justly regarded him as a pompous and unprincipled braggart, in 1833 he returned to Spain and was given command first of the Army of Navarre and then of the Army of Catalonia by the loyalist *crístinos* in the struggle against the Carlists. Following the revolution of 1836 he was elected as a deputy to the constituent Cortes, but he was now a sick man, and on 24 December of that year he died of stomach cancer.

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*See also* Ferdinand VII, King; Guerrilla Warfare; Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado”; Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier; Peninsular War; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Espoz y Mina, Francisco

*See* Espoz Ilundaín, Francisco

## Ettlingen (Malsch), Battle of

*See* Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

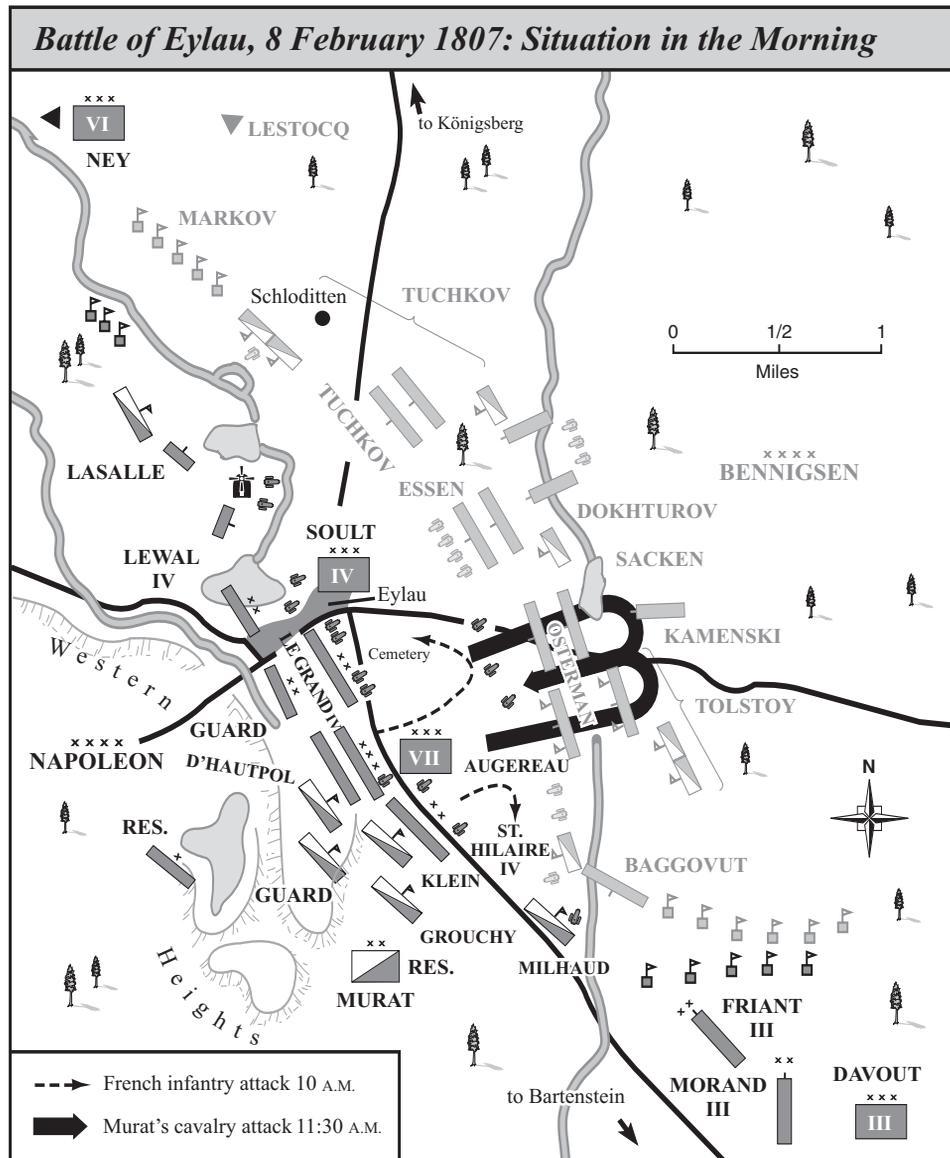
## Eylau, Battle of (7–8 February 1807)

Eylau has the dubious distinction of being one of the bloodiest and most futile battles of the Napoleonic Wars. Some 200 years after the inconclusive event, it is difficult for historians to calculate the true scale of the losses incurred by the participants. One thing remains clear: The figures involved would not look out of place in the attrition rates for the soldiers of World War I. Modern scholars put a figure of 25,000 men on French casualties, approximately one man in three. The opposing Russians lost some 15,000 men, including a number of Prussians. One officer described it as “the bloodiest day, the most horrible butchery of men that had taken place since the beginning of the Revolutionary wars” (quoted in Haythornthwaite 2001, 56). The grueling combat, which saw the forces

under Napoleon pitted against Russian troops under General Levin Bennigsen, is also noteworthy for a number of other reasons. It gave rise to one of the greatest cavalry charges in history (spearheaded by Marshal Joachim Murat); it was fought in some of the most atrocious weather conditions; and was one of the few occasions when the Emperor himself almost fell into the hands of his enemies.

Following an indecisive action at Jankovo, Napoleon, on 7 February 1807, with 30,000 men under his corps commanders Murat and Marshal Nicolas Soult, met the Russian army of 67,000 near the small village of Preussisch Eylau in Poland. The Russians drew up in a line running roughly from the north to the east behind the town. The French were drawn up from just northwest of the town

down to the southeast. Hostilities began when, probably ignorant of the enemy's presence, Napoleon's own baggage train entered Eylau in search of cover for the night. Bitter street fighting ensued, accompanied by intense combat in the town graveyard. Eylau changed hands several times until Bennigsen conceded the place to the French and pulled back to a ridge behind the town, leaving around 4,000 casualties on each side. With French supply wagons lagging behind the army and the Russian supply system on the verge of collapse, both sides suffered from severe shortages of food. Worse still for Bennigsen, loss of the village forced his men to spend the night in subzero temperatures. During the evening 15,000 French reinforcements arrived, with an equal number again expected on the following day under Marshal Louis Davout. To the northwest stood a



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 539.

corps under Marshal Michel Ney, operating independently to keep the 9,000 Prussians under General Anton Wilhelm Lestocq from uniting with the Russians, but with orders to join the main body on the eighth.

The size of the respective armies during the second day's fighting remains unknown, but it is estimated that though Napoleon was clearly outnumbered in the morning, the successive appearance of troops over the course of the day increased the strength of each side until they stood about equal—perhaps 75,000 men, but with Bennigsen enjoying a clear superiority in artillery: 460 guns to about 200 for Napoleon.

The French, occupying heights slightly north of the town and only 1,200 yards from the Russian positions, stood in expectation of a frontal attack. At about 8:00 A.M. the massed artillery of the Russians opened the battle with a bombardment that left the village of Eylau ablaze, but in concentrating their guns at relatively short range they exposed themselves to counterbattery fire from the French, whose accuracy soon began to tell. Amid a shrieking blizzard, Soult, supported by cavalry under General Antoine Lasalle, carried out a diversionary attack against the Russian right to deflect attention from the arrival of Davout from the southwest, where Napoleon hoped the decisive blow would be delivered. At about 9:00 A.M., however, Soult was beaten off by the stoic Russians, and General Louis Friant's division (the advance guard of Davout's corps) was effectively stalled by an attack at about the same time by a large body of Russian cavalry.

The stage was set for even more carnage. With both his flanks seriously threatened, Napoleon ordered the 9,000 men under Marshal Pierre Augereau, on the French right, to counterattack the Russian center, with a division under General Louis St. Hilaire in support. Augereau's ill health and the atrocious weather conditions ensured that the attack ended in grisly chaos. The columns became separated, and Augereau's men—advancing blindly and losing their way—ended up walking directly into the mouths of seventy massed Russian guns. A withering bombardment ensued, while the beleaguered French troops were also subjected to fire from their own artillery, whose gunners could not make out anything through the swirling snow. By 10:30—in under an hour—Augereau's corps had all but been destroyed, with over 5,000 killed and wounded, Augereau included among the latter, and St. Hilaire's men had been halted in their tracks.

Napoleon's fortunes were taking a turn for the worse as General Dmitry Dokhturov's reserve infantry corps pushed into Eylau on the heels of Augereau's reeling formations. With the appearance of something on the order of 6,000 Russians in the town, the Emperor himself only narrowly avoided capture, thanks to the self-sacrifice of his

escort, who lost heavily until relieved by the arrival of Imperial Guard infantry. Characteristic of the carnage of the day's fighting was the fate of the French 14th Regiment of the Line: Finding itself completely encircled by the enemy, it refused to surrender and was consequently annihilated near the cemetery.

With the battle reaching a critical phase and with only one major formation still uncommitted, Napoleon ordered the 10,500 men of his reserve cavalry into the fray. Around noon, Murat deployed his eighty squadrons into two vast columns before launching them against the Russian center in a maneuver that has become almost legendary. It gave rise to the oft-quoted vignette in which General Louis Lepic exhorted his men as they waited for the charge with the rejoinder: "Heads up, by God! Those are bullets, not turds!" (quoted in Lachouque and Brown 1997, 88). With inexorable momentum, Murat's massed horsemen smashed through Bennigsen's infantry and rode over a seventy-gun battery before reforming, facing about, and returning to friendly lines as a single column through the wreckage left by their initial advance. The charge cost the French 1,500 men, but it brought the relief Napoleon's infantry desperately needed, allowing him to restore order among his hard-pressed formations. Historians have pointed out that Murat's feat validated the cavalry as an independent (and



The Battle of Eylau. Napoleon inspects the field after a tremendous bloodletting that left both sides shocked and exhausted by the carnage. (The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Dagli Orti)

useful) fighting force in its own right rather than as a mere adjunct to the artillery or infantry.

While Lestocq's Prussians had meanwhile arrived around 11:00 A.M. to bolster their beleaguered Russian allies, Davout's corps was not far behind and by 1:00 P.M. was applying pressure against Bennigsen's left, which had to shift its position by 45 degrees to maintain a solid front against ever-increasing numbers of French troops. Nevertheless, so determined was Russian resistance that despite the continuous increase of French troops on the field as the day wore on, they still found themselves unable to wrest ground from dogged Russian infantry who preferred to die where they stood.

Ney's corps did not arrive until dusk, by which time the bulk of the fighting had ended. That night Bennigsen withdrew from the field, leaving Napoleon in possession of Eylau. Despite Napoleon's subsequent claims in *Le Moniteur*, the government's official newspaper, the battle was far from a great victory and is now generally viewed by historians as a costly draw at best, with losses estimated at 15,000 Russian casualties and as many as 25,000 French, whose exhausted state rendered pursuit impossible. Both sides, severely mauled, went back into winter quarters to recover from the bloodletting, but with the certain expectation of renewed fighting in the spring. Eylau's signifi-

cance cannot be underestimated because, as David Chandler points out (Chandler 1966, 551), it was one of the first occasions when the chinks in Napoleon's considerable armor were exposed for all his contemporaries to see.

*Stephen Stewart*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Ermolov (Yermolov), Aleksey Petrovich; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friant, Louis, comte; Imperial Guard (French); Jankovo, Battle of; Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis, comte; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond

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# F

## Fédérés

The term *fédérés* can apply to either of two very different groups who participated in various stages of the French Revolution. Both groups played significant roles at pivotal points in the progress of events. The parts each group played were profoundly different, as the first furthered the political changes wrought by the Revolutionaries, while the second assumed more of the demeanor of a conservative backlash.

The first fédérés were composed of the volunteers of the National Guard who marched from the various provincial towns in order to take part in the Fête de Fédération celebrated in Paris on 14 July (Bastille Day) of each year after 1789. Many of the men who composed these units hailed from the regions of France where the Revolutionaries encountered the greatest resistance in enacting reforms. These included regions such as Brittany, the Midi, and eastern France. By the same token, these men represented the more radical elements of the population of their respective areas. Those who came to Paris to celebrate the fete in 1792 were thus in favor of replacing the monarchy with a republic. They stayed on after the celebration of 14 July and took part in the uprising of 10 August. The uprising culminated in the storming of the Tuileries, in which many of these fédérés took part. This action precipitated the fall of the monarchy and the creation of the Republic.

The second group of fédérés constituted those who opposed the growing centralization of the Revolutionary government that took place during the Terror. The exclusion of the Girondins from the Convention in 1793 launched these men into action. It is important to keep in mind regarding this group that they were neither royalists nor Chouans; they simply disagreed with the path taken by the government in Paris. In a number of areas of France, including the cities of Caen, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, royalist revolts broke out against the government in Paris. In Lyons the fédérés attempted to drive out

the Jacobins, and in Toulon the rebels welcomed the presence of Anglo-Spanish troops and a British fleet. Maximilien Robespierre had not trusted the earlier fédérés who had participated in deposing the monarchy. Now, as a key member of the Committee of Public Safety, he unleashed the full repressive power of the Revolutionary government on this second group. The suppression of the fédérés revolts thus became intimately linked to the wider Reign of Terror. The forces of the central government besieged both Lyons and Toulon in 1793. Joseph Fouché, minister of police, ordered the repression of the fédérés in Lyon, an event often considered one of the most brutal of the Terror.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Chouans; Convention, The; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Lyons, Siege of; National Guard (French); Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The; Toulon, Siege of

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## Ferdinand IV, King (1751–1825)

The third son of Charles (Carlos) III of Spain (VII of Naples) and Maria Amalia of Saxony, Ferdinand was born in Naples on 12 January 1751. When Carlos inherited the Spanish throne in 1759, he and his eldest son relocated to Madrid, leaving Ferdinand and a mentally handicapped brother behind in Naples under the regent, Bernardo Tanucci. Tanucci deliberately neglected Ferdinand's education and encouraged

him to spend his time hunting or among Naples's lower classes. This changed in 1768, when the now-adult Ferdinand married Maria Carolina of Austria, a daughter of the empress Maria Theresa. By the terms of her marriage contract, Maria Carolina joined the royal council after the birth of her first son. She dismissed Tanucci in favor of Sir John Acton, a British adventurer and the Neapolitan minister of marine. The queen also favored the British envoy Sir William Hamilton and his wife, Emma.

In 1793 Ferdinand joined the First Coalition against France, but in December 1798 he was forced by invading French troops to flee to Palermo, Sicily, on board Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson's ship. In 1799 he launched troops under Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo against the French-backed Parthenopean Republic, and when that collapsed, he convinced Nelson to take part in savage reprisals against the revolutionaries. In 1805 Ferdinand joined Austria in the war of the Third Coalition, but after the Battle of Austerlitz he again fled to Sicily, while Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the Neapolitan throne. Under British protection in Sicily, Ferdinand was convinced by Lord William Bentinck, the British minister to Naples, to adopt parliamentary reforms (including exiling the much-disliked Maria Carolina to Austria, where she died in 1814) and to leave ruling to Francis, the crown prince. Unfortunately, upon his restoration on 23 May 1815, Ferdinand abandoned the British-style constitution, declared the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and proclaimed himself head of a new government as King Ferdinand I.

Hated by his subjects and despised by his Austrian relatives, Ferdinand ruled as a tyrant until 1820, when a revolution by General Guiguelmo Pepe forced him to sign a new constitution. Ferdinand wasted no time in appealing to the Holy Alliance for aid. The alliance grudgingly sent assistance in 1821 in the form of Austrian troops, who were sent to stabilize Italy rather than Ferdinand's own rule. Austria attempted, without success, to restrain Ferdinand's vicious oppressions and hold him to reforms until his death on 4 January 1825.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; First Coalition, War of the; Hamilton, Emma, Lady; Holy Alliance; Naples; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Sicily; Third Coalition, War of the  
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## Ferdinand VII, King (1784–1833)

King of Spain from 1808 to 1833, Ferdinand (Fernando) VII has the reputation of being the worst monarch in Spanish history. In some respects this is unfair. So formidable were the problems faced by Spain during his reign that even the greatest of rulers would have been hard put to cope with them. That said, however, Ferdinand was hardly an admirable figure. Deeply hurt by the hold that the favorite, Manuel de Godoy, possessed over his parents, Charles IV and María Luisa, he emerged as a cowardly, narrow-minded, unintelligent, suspicious, and highly vindictive young man whose chief characteristic was a violent hatred for king, queen, and favorite alike.

Extremely foolish and easily malleable, in the years leading up to 1808 Ferdinand fell prey to the machinations of an aristocratic faction that was eager to reverse the inroads that a century of Bourbon enlightened absolutism had made on the privileges of the nobility and that saw him as a puppet whom they would be able to manipulate at will once the aging Charles IV had died. Terrified of retribution from Charles, these conspirators encouraged Ferdinand to seek Napoleon's protection. At the same time, they also popularized Ferdinand as a "prince charming" who would initiate a new golden age. The result was a serious crisis at court, considerable popular agitation, and in the end, French intervention in Spain and the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy.

Exiled in France following the Conference of Bayonne, Ferdinand spent most of the war that followed in comfortable imprisonment at Valençay in the company of his younger brother, Prince Charles. Back in Spain, patriot propaganda conjured up visions of Ferdinand bravely defying Napoleon, but in reality, the exiled monarch not only made no attempt at resistance but wrote frequent letters to Napoleon congratulating him on his victories.

Released by the Emperor in 1814 in Napoleon's desperate bid to end the Peninsular War, Ferdinand then overthrew the constitution of 1812. Forced to accept this document by the Revolution of 1820, he was restored to full power by the French in 1823 and continued to block political change until his death ten years later. Yet Ferdinand was not quite the disaster of legend. Although he was ferocious in his persecution of the liberals, he did not quite turn the clock back in 1814. Several of the reforms of the war years were retained—the feudal system was never reestablished, for example—although the king refused point-blank to abandon the gains made in royal power by his predecessors in the course of the eighteenth century. By the end of his reign Ferdinand had also rehabilitated many of the reformist thinkers and bureaucrats who had backed the French in the Peninsular War. If he did not advance the

cause of modernization in Spain, he nevertheless did not set it back as much as has often been suggested.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bayonne, Conference at; Charles IV, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Peninsular War; Spain

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### **Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany (1769–1824)**

The second son of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold II and brother of Holy Roman Emperor Francis II (later Francis I of Austria), Ferdinand was a peripatetic ruler, starting as Grand Duke of Tuscany before becoming Grand Duke of Salzburg and then Grand Duke of Würzburg before returning to Tuscany at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Pursuing a policy independent from that of his older brother, Ferdinand was sympathetic to France and in 1806 joined Würzburg to the Confederation of the Rhine.

Ferdinand was born in Florence and with his oldest brothers, Francis (Franz) and Charles (Karl), he was given a well-rounded education by his tutor, Marquis Federigo Manfredini, although it excluded military subjects. In 1790, at age twenty-one, Ferdinand had both inherited the Habsburg Grand Duchy of Tuscany from his father, Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor Leopold II), and married his first wife, Ludovika, daughter of Ferdinand IV of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with whom he had five children. Influenced by his father's policies, Ferdinand was a liberal Enlightenment personality, supporting independent justice and proper state finances to contribute to economic and cultural advancement. He supported the principles of the French Revolution and declared Tuscany neutral when war began in 1792. Under British and popular pressure, he was forced to expel the French ambassador in 1793, but he continued to protect French citizens in Tuscany. Neutrality was restored when French armies invaded Italy in 1795, and relations with Paris remained good. When Britain tried to evict the French from Leghorn (present-day Livorno), neutrality was compromised, and Bonaparte occupied the port in 1796 before stripping Tuscany of 2 million francs. The Treaty of Campo Formio of 1797 restored Tuscan neutrality, but renewed French advances into southern Italy in late 1798 forced Ferdinand to seek Vienna's help. Florence was occupied by the French in March 1799, so after issuing a proclamation to his people to remain calm, Ferdinand fled to Austria.

By the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville (8 February 1801) and the rearrangements within the Holy Roman Empire known as the Imperial Recess (1803), Ferdinand was compensated with the new Grand Duchy and Electorate of Salzburg. He was then moved to the new Grand Duchy of Würzburg in 1806, although he was unable to develop good relations with his people, as unfamiliar with them as they were with him. His relationship with Napoleon improved in September 1806, when Würzburg joined the Confederation of the Rhine and Ferdinand became a welcome regular guest at Napoleon's court. He was the only Habsburg to attend Napoleon's wedding to Marie Louise in Paris in 1810, and his reliable friendship prompted the French emperor to announce in 1812 that Ferdinand would be the next king of Poland. However, he actually returned to Tuscany in 1814, where he continued his enlightened policies and built the foundations of a peaceful state. He married his second wife, Maria of Saxony, in 1821.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Confederation of the Rhine; Francis I, Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Lunéville, Treaty of; Marie Louise, Empress

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### **Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke (1781–1854)**

A member of the ruling d'Este family of Modena, who were also governors of Lombardy and closely linked to the Habsburgs by marriage (Ferdinand was a brother of Empress Maria Ludovika of Austria and a grandson of Empress Maria Theresa). An intelligent and energetic soldier, Ferdinand was a graduate of the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy. He was appointed Austrian army commander in Germany in 1805 and commanded VII Korps in Poland in 1809.

Born in Milan, Ferdinand was appointed *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of the Austrian 3rd Hussars in 1793. When his family was exiled to Austria in 1796 by Bonaparte's advance through Italy, he studied at the Wiener Neustadt Academy. Promoted to *Oberst*, he led his regiment in Germany in the 1799 campaign, distinguishing himself by his personal bravery and military leadership at the first Battle of Stockach and at the capture of Mannheim, for which he was rewarded with the Order of Maria Theresa and promotion to *Generalmajor*.

In 1800 he was promoted to *Feldmarschalleutnant* and commanded a mixed light brigade in *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Graf Nauendorff's advance guard of the Austrian army in Germany (under Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova) during the battles of Engen and second Stockach in early May against General Jean Moreau's (French) Army of the Rhine. Marching southeast of Donauechingen with *Generalmajor* Ignaz Gyulai's troops, his force was overwhelmed by General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's corps around Engen on 2 May. Kray withdrew on Ulm, but counterattacked against the French wing on 16 May around Erbach. Ferdinand commanded the cavalry and led the initially successful assault until French reinforcements under St. Cyr sealed the Austrian defeat. When the fighting resumed in November, Ferdinand commanded a division under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Michael Freiherr von Kienmayer. At Hohenlinden on 3 December, this division fought on the Austrian right wing, engaging General Paul Grenier at Buch until, toward nightfall, the division was ordered to retreat.

Having commanded a cavalry division in Hungary in the 1801–1805 peacetime, Ferdinand was appointed to command the Austrian army in Germany in 1805 and advised against a rash advance deep into Bavaria. Unable to overcome the political support enjoyed in Vienna by the chief of staff, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, Ferdinand nevertheless escaped Napoleon's trap at Ulm on 14 October with Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and twelve cavalry squadrons, forcing his way through French outposts and evading Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry to reach Bohemia. There he expanded his force to 10,000 troops and defeated the Bavarian general, Karl Freiherr von Wrede, at Stecken on 5 December. After raising the *Landwehr* (militia) in Bohemia in 1808, Ferdinand was appointed commander of VII Korps in 1809, which fought in Poland and defeated Prince Józef Poniatowski's Polish-Saxon army at Raszyn on 19 April to take Warsaw. Repulsed at Thorn on 19 June, Ferdinand had to retreat as the Russians entered the war on the enemy side.

After commanding the Austrian Reserve Army in France in 1815, Ferdinand was *General Kommandant* (a peacetime military post with responsibility for a province of the empire) of Hungary from 1816 until he became governor of Galicia in 1832. During that period, he spent four years as imperial commissar reorganizing Siebenbürgen.

David Hollins

*See also* Fifth Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Stockach, First Battle of; Stockach, Second Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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### Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814)

Philosopher and early supporter of Immanuel Kant and the French Revolution, who later became a proponent of German nationalism. Johann Gottlieb Fichte was born on 19 May 1762 to an artisan family in Rammenau near Bischoffswerda in Upper Lusatia in the Duchy of Saxony. Precocious as a child, he attended school in Leipzig and in 1780 entered the University of Jena as a theology student. In 1791 Fichte attended lectures given by Immanuel Kant. In 1792 Fichte's *Critique of All Revelation* was published by Kant's printer, a circumstance that accidentally led many people to think that it was a new work of Kant's. The book was very successful among German intellectuals and earned Fichte a professorship at the University of Jena (1793). In the *Critique* he argued that the Bible does not reveal an objective divine authority but, rather, reveals a moral principle within each person.

Starting in 1794 Fichte gave lectures at the University of Jena that were later published as *The Vocation of the Scholar*. The French Revolution attracted Fichte's attention along with that of numerous students at the University of Jena. Most of the students and Fichte himself supported the Revolution and were supporters of the French anti-monarchists. He also met with students for private study of French political ideas.

As excesses occurred in France, the Revolution was condemned by some. Fichte, however, defended it in the philosophical work "Contributions to the Rectification of Public Opinion Concerning the French Revolution." The work's aim was to defend liberty as an inherent part of the human condition and to hold up the French Revolution as a movement of progress. Between 1796 and 1798 Fichte published his legal and ethical ideas in *Basis of Natural Right* and *System of Ethics*. His assertion that within a few years monarchy would disappear and be replaced by democratic governments, along with his Jacobinism and his atheistic reputation, led to his dismissal from his teaching position in 1799.

At first Fichte considered going to French-governed territory; however, in the spring of 1799 he moved to Berlin, where he began to develop a feeling of German patriotism. His philosophy began to move in a Romantic direction. In 1799 he published the *Vocation of Man* and in

1800 *The Closed Commercial State*, which presented a theory of economic autarchy.

After Prussia was defeated by Napoleon in the 1806–1807 campaign, Fichte followed Frederick William III and the army to Königsberg. Even while Napoleon's troops occupied Berlin, Fichte returned to the capital to deliver his "Addresses to the German Nation." His speeches represent one of the key features in the genesis of German nationalism. In them Fichte called for a national educational system for teaching patriotism. In 1810 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin. In 1814 a typhus epidemic broke out in Berlin. Fichte and his wife volunteered for hospital work, in the course of which they contracted the disease, which resulted in Fichte's death on 27 January 1814.

Andrew J. Waskey

*See also* Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; French Revolution; Kant, Immanuel

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### Fiedovoisky, Battle of (3 November 1812)

During the retreat of the Grande Armée from Russia, Marshal Louis Davout's I Corps formed the rear guard of the army. At Fiedovoisky the Russian general Mikhail Miloradovich attacked with his corps and supporting Cossacks. Davout was heavily outnumbered and would have suffered a major defeat, but his force was reinforced by the troops of the Viceroy of Italy Eugène de Beauharnais and Marshal Michel Ney. Davout escaped, though losing almost 5,000 men, and Ney's corps became the rear guard.

On 3 November Davout's corps was at Fiedovoisky, 50 miles to the west of Borodino. Davout was forming the rear guard of the Grande Armée in the retreat from Moscow. Davout officially had almost 20,000 men in his corps, although the morale and fighting ability of some of these troops was suspect. It was at this point that Miloradovich chose to attack. He had around 30,000 infantry in Eugen of Württemberg's corps supported by cavalry under the command of generals Fedor Korf and Illarion Wasiltschkov and large numbers of Cossacks. Davout's corps was surrounded within a short space of time, and it seemed poised to be overwhelmed. However, at this point Eugène recognized Davout's perilous situation and sent two divisions of his command, led by General Jean-Baptiste Broussier, to try and break through to Davout. In this they were partially successful, and Davout was able to

begin withdrawing his troops from the Russian vise. However, further Russian pressure threatened to engulf the French, and after five hours of fighting the situation still remained very serious, not least because Miloradovich was able to deploy most of his artillery and kept the French under constant bombardment. Further French reinforcements now arrived in the form of General Jean Nicolas Razout's division from Ney's corps. These troops had been sent from Viasma, about 5 miles distant.

Miloradovich observed the arrival of these fresh troops and decided to cease his attack, though he refused to relinquish any of the gains he had made, and as a result Davout was only able to escape through a narrow corridor to Viasma. Nevertheless, he was forced to abandon all his guns and much of his baggage, as a consequence of which Davout's corps ceased to exist as an effective fighting unit. His losses amounted to approximately 5,000, but the damage to the morale of his troops was more serious. Nightfall was also approaching, and the Russian army was spread over quite a wide area, requiring Miloradovich to spend time reorganizing his troops. However, the large body of Cossacks in the area maintained contact with the French and attacked them the following day. Ney was now given instructions to assume command of the rear guard, in which capacity he served for the remainder of the retreat with exceptional bravery, earning for himself an almost legendary status among his countrymen.

Ralph Baker

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Cossacks; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Ney, Michel; Russian Campaign

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### Fifth Coalition, War of the (1809)

The War of the Fourth Coalition (1806–1807) had left only Britain and Austria capable of contesting Napoleon's control of Europe and willing to do it. Britain had begun somewhat earlier and very inauspiciously. In December 1807 Napoleon sent an army through Spain to Portugal in an effort to tighten his continental blockade against Britain. Britain replied by sending an army in the summer of 1808 to help Portugal. Thus began the long Peninsular War, or what Napoleon termed his Spanish ulcer.

During this conflict, lasting until Napoleon's abdication in 1814, the British army and Portuguese and Spanish

regular and irregular forces inflicted a heavy cost on the occupying French army, whose losses numbered in the hundreds of thousands in the course of this six-year conflict. Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, led the first army and defeated the French at Vimeiro in August 1808. In early December Sir John Moore, who replaced Wellesley, was forced to retreat from Spain before Napoleon himself, and Napoleon returned to France thinking he had triumphed.

Austria thought the time for renewing war with France was auspicious, not least owing to the surrender of a French army under General Pierre Dupont at Bailén—the first capitulation of a major French force since 1801, when the French had laid down their arms to the British in Egypt. Not only was Napoleon at least momentarily preoccupied with the Iberian Peninsula, but he seemed to be losing his energy and fighting ability. The French victories over Prussia at Jena and Auerstädt in the War of the Fourth Coalition, highlighted by speed and maneuver, were characteristic of Napoleon at the height of his abilities. On the other hand, the subsequent battles against the Russians at Eylau and Friedland were bloody and unimaginative; Napoleon relied on massive frontal attacks and suffered great and—as would be proven later—irreparable losses. Meanwhile, Austria wanted to avenge its terrible defeat of eighteen months earlier at Austerlitz, though the Habsburg government was utterly unable to renew hostilities.

In 1809, however, Austria decided to act, in alliance with Britain, in what has come to be called the War of the Fifth Coalition, although, with only two main participants, each operating independently on fronts separated by great distances from one another, the Fifth “Coalition” is hardly worthy of the name. The emperor, Francis I, would use his three brothers, all archdukes, to lead armies against France. A small Austrian army operating from Galicia would threaten the French-created Duchy of Warsaw from the south, and another army would seek to retake the north Italian plain and reestablish Austria’s position there, lost after the Battle of Marengo in 1800. Finally, the main Austrian attack would be directed against Bavaria, a French ally and the principal member of the French-controlled Confederation of the Rhine. Thus, the decisive theater of operations would be along the Danube River in Bavaria and Austria.

The fighting began on the Italian front in northeastern Italy near the Adriatic Sea. The French general, Eugène de Beauharnais, who was Napoleon’s stepson, commanded a combined army of nearly 40,000 men; they confronted a similar-sized Austrian army commanded by Archduke John. The two armies fought a disorganized battle on 16 April at Sacile, where the Austrians were able to mount a flank attack that threatened to turn the French position and cut their line

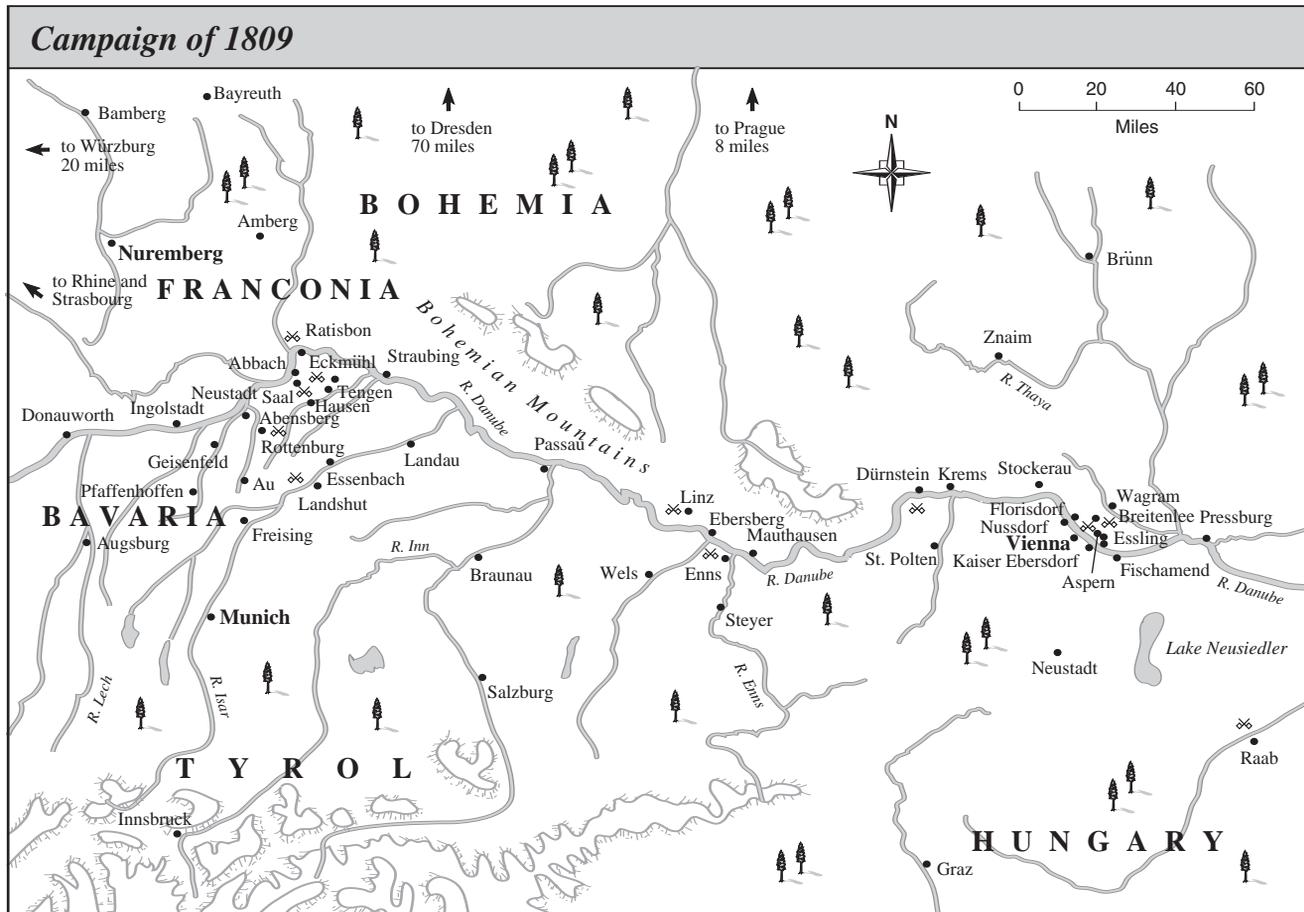
of communication and retreat. Eugène ordered a retreat, first to the Piave River and later to the Adige, largely conceding northeastern Italy. After this initial Austrian victory, however, the focus of war turned elsewhere.

Another brother of Francis I, Archduke Charles, a *Feldmarchall*, commanded the main army, some 200,000 men, and on 10 April, several days before the Battle of Sacile, he began marching into Bavaria, south of the Danube. Charles was seeking to trap French troops commanded by Marshal Louis Davout, whom he greatly outnumbered. The Austrians advanced in a pincer movement, with the goal of trapping Davout’s corps in the middle.

Recognizing the danger to this central front, Napoleon reacted quickly. Arriving at the threatened front, he sent a corps commanded by Marshal Jean Lannes south of Abensberg against the comparatively weak Austrian center, judging that sector to be the critical hinge or joint of the Austrian advance. The French drove back the center, and largely split Charles’s army in two. The right wing retreated to Eggmühl, the left to Landshut, toward the south. Napoleon had gained an easy victory, with few casualties, but there would be hard fighting ahead.

Napoleon believed the larger wing of the now-divided Austrian army was the left, which was retreating toward Landshut. He committed the bulk of his army against 36,000 men commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Hiller. The French drove into Hiller’s position along the Isar River and even fought their way across a burning bridge, eventually driving the Austrian left out of town and further south, away from the Austrian right. While Hiller lost a quarter of his men and most of his artillery and baggage wagons, Napoleon had left Davout with only a small force with which to face the bulk of the Austrian army, the right wing, commanded by Charles.

As Napoleon was winning at Landshut, Davout was in a precarious position at Eggmühl. Charles wanted to turn the French left along the Danube. He did not pursue the attack vigorously on 22 April, and it took until early afternoon for the Austrian attack to put pressure on the French. This gave time for Lannes to rush north to Eggmühl from Landshut with badly needed reinforcements. Another French force under the command of Marshal François Lefebvre joined Lannes in a crushing attack against the Austrian left, pushing it back and capturing Eggmühl. The Austrians retreated, having suffered twice as many casualties as the French. Charles decided to withdraw north of the Danube and then eastward along the north bank as the French seized Ratisbon (now Regensburg). Hiller rejoined Charles, and the Austrians retreated toward Vienna. Napoleon’s army beat the Austrians to their capital and took it on 13 May, while Charles took a defensive position on the far side of the Danube to the north and east of Vienna.



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 674–675.

This somewhat unusual situation would lead to the two great battles of the campaign. The Austrians did not seek peace when they lost their capital; rather, Charles rebuilt his army to about 95,000 men. Napoleon believed that he had to find, fix, and assault Charles's position rather than remain in Vienna. Napoleon tried to cross the Danube, which was flooding from melted snow and spring rains, below Vienna, and he had his engineers construct a pontoon bridge to Lobau Island. He then began sending men across to Lobau, which was close to the far bank of the Danube.

The French vanguard crossed the river and occupied the small villages of Aspern and Essling. It seems there were no Austrians in sight, and so the risky crossing over a single bridge appeared justified. Napoleon had the bulk of his army on the Vienna side of the Danube, and a smaller force, about 23,000 men, on the far side—tempting targets for the Austrians who were situated entirely on the far side of the Danube.

Charles attacked on the afternoon of 21 May, the day after the French moved into Aspern and Essling. His troops had a marked superiority in infantry, cavalry, and artillery,

and they pursued the attack against Marshal André Masséna's men in Aspern and Lannes's men in Essling. The French held on, but it was a grim scene as the Austrians pounded them with shot and shell from several hundred guns throughout the afternoon and evening until nightfall brought a temporary halt to the fighting.

During that night Napoleon moved reinforcements across the bridge and tried to seize the initiative. On 22 May the French attacked the Austrian center, and there was fighting all along the front lines. Each side held, and the Austrians were as unable to drive the French into the Danube as the French were to break out in strength on the Austrian side of the river. Charles realized that between the flooding Danube, the deliberate floating of heavy debris down the river, and his own artillery, the bridge had been destroyed. He also recognized that the French had difficulties moving supplies and reinforcements onto the bridgehead. Charles therefore decided to rely on his artillery to pound the French. When nightfall brought an end to the bombardment, the French retreated to Lobau Island leaving nearly 20,000 of their compatriots as casualties, including Lannes, one of their

best senior commanders and consequently a great loss to the army. For weeks thereafter, Napoleon continued to strengthen his position on Lobau Island, biding his time for a renewed effort to cross the river and renew the fight against Charles.

To the south, the quiet Italian front came to life as Napoleon confronted Charles across the Danube. Eugène had rebuilt his army after the defeat at Sacile and once again faced John, Emperor Francis's youngest brother. Eugène attacked to drive John back and away from the Danube, and thus to cut him off from his brother Charles. John retreated across the Isonzo River in May and into Hungary. When John heard of Charles's fight at Aspern-Essling, he felt somewhat emboldened, taking up a position at Raab, about 70 miles southeast of Vienna. On 14 June, Eugène pressed the attack at Raab. John held all day and then retreated that night, crossing the Danube in an attempt to unite with his brother. French forces, however, cut him off at Pressburg, and Eugène meanwhile took Raab on 25 June, thereafter marching to Vienna to join Napoleon.

The final battle of this brief conflict took place at Wagram. Napoleon had not given up on crossing the Danube in great strength near Vienna, and he continued to concentrate his forces on Lobau Island. By early July he had most of his nearly 200,000 men on the island, and on the night of 4–5 July he ordered his men to begin landing on the east bank, having constructed many bridges across the river, and to drive off the weak Austrian screening force.

In the early afternoon of 5 July Napoleon had most of his army on the east side and began to press the Austrian defenders. Charles conceded the plain, but, as the French moved to attack on the Wagram plateau, Charles's troops held their position. The second day's fighting was also heavy. Charles sought to turn the French left and cut off Napoleon from his bridges across the river. Napoleon responded by sending General (shortly to be Marshal) Jacques Macdonald's corps against the Austrian center, and the French drove through taking heavy casualties. Charles had to retreat, but the French were too exhausted to pursue that night. John finally arrived from Pressburg, but he could not fight his way past the French. Napoleon had 34,000 casualties, and Charles suffered about 43,000.

Charles retreated for four days, and after further brief resistance at Znaim asked for an armistice on 10 July. Napoleon granted it, and several months later Emperor Francis, realizing that he was unable to rebuild and field a new army, agreed to the Treaty of Schönbrunn on 14 October. Austria ceded territory and agreed to join Napoleon's Continental System, intended to ban trade between Britain and the European continent. Napoleon now faced only Britain in the Iberian Peninsula. There Napoleon would continue to suffer great losses, and he personally would never return

to Spain, where the costly conflict occupied 200,000 French troops. Equally important, the 1809 campaign against Austria revealed that the aura of Napoleonic invincibility was weakening, and the high tide of the French Empire in a greater sense had begun to ebb.

Charles M. Dobbs

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austria; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eggmühl, Battle of; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; John, Archduke; Landshut, Battle of; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Peninsular War; Raab, Battle of; Ratisbon, Storming of; Sacile, Battle of; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Tengen, Action at; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna; Wagram, Battle of; Znaim, Battle of

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### Figueras, Battles of (17–26 November 1794)

The battles of Figueras were the decisive actions on the western Pyrenean front during the fall of 1794. They decisively shifted the fighting on this front to Spain and opened the northeast of the country to invasion by French forces.

Following their defeat at St. Laurent, the Spanish forces in the eastern Pyrenees began building a series of field fortifications, known as the Lines of Figueras. Their commander, Conde de la Union, received reinforcements to increase his army to nearly 50,000. On the opposing side, General Jacques Dugommier commanded the (French) Army of the Eastern Pyrenees. His army continued to receive additional troops because of the mobilization overseen by Lazare Carnot. Although his forces totaled only 40,000, Dugommier believed he could dislodge the Spanish from their fortifications. The key was the Spanish center around Figueras. Dugommier reinforced his right flank under General Pierre-François-Charles Augereau. Augereau was known as an aggressive commander and was willing to take his men through the mountainous terrain to get into the rear of Figueras. The French left flank, although reduced in size, would launch a diversionary attack to tie down the Spanish reinforcements.

Dugommier opened his offensive on the morning of 17 November. Augereau's attack was successful and drove the Spanish left back from St. Laurent, despite stubborn resistance. On the brink of total victory, Augereau halted his assault, seeing that the rest of the French army had not moved forward. He did not know until later that Dugommier had been killed. After watching Augereau's attack open, Dugommier had retired behind the French center for breakfast. While he was eating, a Spanish mortar shell landed near by, exploded, and killed him instantly. No clear succession to command had been prepared, and for a time the French army in the Pyrenees remained leaderless.

The fighting straggled to an end on 17 November. A representative assigned to the army from the Committee of Public Safety decided that General Catherine Dominique Pérignon would succeed Dugommier. He and Augereau were rivals and their working relationship was sometimes rocky. Pérignon took two days to reconnoiter the situation and to determine his next step, eventually deciding to continue the attack that Dugommier had planned. Augereau was again reinforced from the center and left. He opened the second offensive on 20 November. The Spanish left wing wavered under the blow. De la Union led a counterattack to drive the French back but was killed before the issue

was decided. The Spanish left fled in disorder, abandoning most of their equipment. The French assault on the Spanish right was also successful, although the attackers were outnumbered.

Spanish casualties totaled approximately 10,000 men and 200 guns lost. They established a new line around Gerona, leaving the roads into central Spain open to the French. Pérignon failed to follow up on his victory, however. The fortress of Figueras remained in Spanish hands, and he was determined to capture it to clear his lines of supply. Citizens of the city opened the gates for the French, and the garrison was penned in the citadel. On 26 November the discouraged commander surrendered to Pérignon. Over 9,000 more Spanish troops went into captivity, along with another 171 pieces of artillery and large amounts of supplies.

Tim J. Watts

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; First Coalition, War of the; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); St. Laurent, Battle of

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### Finisterre, Battle of

*See* Trafalgar, Battle of

## Finland

Under Swedish dominance since the early Middle Ages, the Finnish gradually developed a sense of unity with Sweden. In 1581 King John III of Sweden raised Finland to a grand duchy, which sparked a conflict with Tsar Ivan IV “the Terrible.” After the administrative reforms of King Gustavus Adolphus (reigned 1611–1632), Finland became an integral part of the Swedish kingdom. Starting in the late sixteenth century, the main threat to Finland came from the rising Russian principality. Sweden was initially successful in containing Russian expansion in the Treaties of Täysinä (1595) and of Stolbova (1617). However, with the ascendancy of a strong, centralized Russian state in the early eighteenth century, the two powers were on a collision course. Russia had no coastline, was deprived of maritime trade, and considered the Baltic Sea of strategic importance to its interests.

Therefore, Tsar Peter I “the Great” (reigned 1682–1725) concentrated most of his resources on “cutting the window into Europe” through the Baltic. He faced King Charles XII, who had turned Sweden into a formidable power. The Great Northern War between Russia and Sweden continued for twenty-one years (1700–1721) and resulted in the Treaty of Nystadt on 30 August 1721. Russia annexed the territory along the southern Baltic coastline (Livonia, Estonia, Ingermanland) and part of Finland. Thus, Peter the Great achieved his major goal of ensuring Russia’s access to the sea. A new capital of the empire, St. Petersburg, was built on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Finland, and the political center of the Russian Empire was shifted northwest.

However, the struggle between Sweden and Russia over Finland continued. Sweden, supported by France and Turkey, declared war in 1741, but within two years its armies were defeated and a new peace was concluded at Åbo (Turku). Russia received new territories in Finland, including the towns of Fredrikshamn, Villmanstrand (Lappeenranta), and Neschlodt (Savonlinna). During the war Russia pledged to the Finnish people that it would establish Finland as separate state under Russian suzerainty; some Finns favored this idea. Some forty-five years later, Sweden tried to recover these Finnish lands and, in 1788–1790 the two powers clashed in another campaign. Although the war ended in a draw, Sweden signed a treaty of peace at Wereloe that confirmed Russia’s previous territorial acquisitions. During the following decade, Russia secured its positions along the Baltic coastline, despite increasing tension with Sweden. Russian rulers wanted to establish their dominance on the Baltic Sea in order to secure free navigation, provide for commercial routes into western Europe, and protect the capital of the empire, St. Petersburg.

To achieve these goals, Tsar Alexander wanted to annex the rest of Finland. In the course of the next Russo-Swedish War (1808–1809), the Russian army defeated the Swedes throughout the region and occupied all of Finland. Alexander treated the Finns very compassionately and offered them autonomy within the empire. The political framework of Finnish annexation was provided for by the Porvoo (Borgå) Diet in 1809. Summoned by Alexander, the diet was composed of four estates (nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasantry) and swore its allegiance to the tsar. In return, Russia promised to govern Finland in accordance with its laws and to respect the religion, privileges, and rights of the inhabitants. The Russo-Swedish peace treaty of Hamina (Fredrikshamn) of 17 September 1809 confirmed the Russian acquisition of Finland. Finland was transformed into a grand duchy with the Russian tsar as the grand duke and represented by a governor-general.

Russian governance brought growing prosperity and favorable economic conditions to the region, but it also suppressed the Finnish language and culture.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

See also Alexander I, Tsar; Russia; Russo-Swedish War; Sweden

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### First Coalition, War of the (1792–1797)

The War of the First Coalition began after the governments of Austria and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz in August 1791 proclaiming their commitment to restore Louis XVI and the Bourbon monarchy in France if the other powerful monarchical rulers in Europe would support them. The French Revolutionaries responded with a declaration of war against Austria on 20 April 1792.

A combined Austro-Prussian army commanded by the Duke of Brunswick crossed the border to invade France, and such prominent French military officers as the comte de Rochambeau and the marquis de Lafayette resigned their commands given the violent turn the Revolution was taking. Despite the absence of many veteran generals, French forces—which combined some traditionally organized and led regular units with new units consisting of raw recruits fueled by Revolutionary fervor—met Brunswick’s army at Valmy on 20 September. The Prussians had advanced slowly and ponderously, as was the custom of eighteenth-century warfare, and many men were detached to guard the ever-lengthening line of communications. The two forces were approximately equal in number; when they came together, a grand artillery exchange raged for several hours in a thick fog. The Prussians

advanced and then, after a brief exchange of musket and artillery fire, retreated before either side had suffered many casualties and before the abilities and steadfastness of the recently recruited and only partially trained French volunteers could be tested.

Maintaining the initiative, the French government, the Convention, ordered advances into the Austrian Netherlands (modern-day Belgium) and the Rhineland. General Charles Dumouriez, the victor of Valmy, advanced to Jemappes in the Austrian Netherlands, and on 6 November 1792 his larger but less-well-trained French troops (perhaps 40,000 men) overwhelmed the smaller but veteran Austrian defending force (about 13,000 men). French Revolutionary forces then moved to secure all of Belgium. Previously, other French forces had invaded Piedmont, taking Savoy and Nice.

France sought to build on these initial military successes. It offered support to other peoples willing to overthrow their royal rulers; the French executed their king and Marie Antoinette on 21 January and 16 October 1793, respectively, and they threatened the independence of Holland. In response, Britain, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia (which was responding to France's occupation of Savoy and Nice the previous September) joined Austria and Prussia in the First Coalition. Concern about the Revolutionary tide in France combined with the view that opportunities would arise in which to pursue more traditional territorial goals on the Continent—for example, for Russia in Poland and for Prussia in northwestern Germany—helped unite several European monarchies into the First Coalition. France responded by declaring war against Britain and Holland on 1 February and against Spain on 7 March 1793.

Initially, the expanded conflict went badly for France. Dumouriez advanced from Belgium into Holland, and on 18 March he arrived at Neerwinden. While the French outnumbered the defenders, the Austrians, commanded by Archduke Charles, easily defeated the invaders, whose plan of attack was too complicated for the officers and troops to carry out, and Dumouriez, fearing Revolutionary justice, defected to the Austrians. Meanwhile, the Austrians retook Brussels.

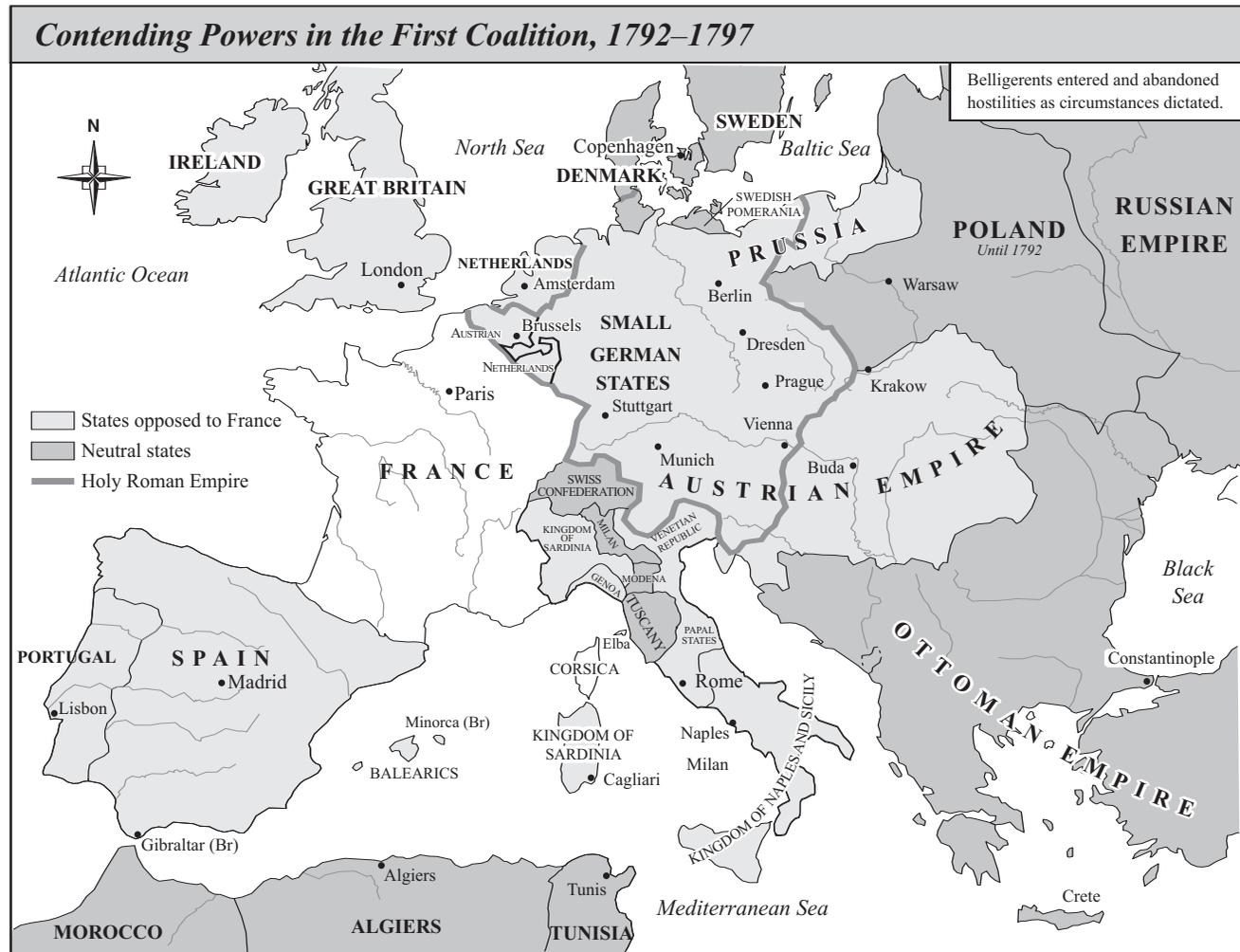
France responded, and the Revolutionaries instituted some far-reaching reforms that were to radically transform warfare. First, the newly formed Committee of Public Safety announced a *levée en masse*, the first genuine draft of all able-bodied young men, by which large armies of relatively undertrained men caught up with Revolutionary fervor would be pitted against the traditionally smaller, superbly trained armies of the monarchical powers. In addition, the committee executed defeated generals as much to encourage their audacity in combat as to discourage any possible inclination to retreat. Thus, Dumouriez defected

after being accused of betrayal for losing Brussels to the Austrians, and General Adam de Custine died on the guillotine for failing to hold onto territory along the Rhine that he had earlier seized, as well as for the defeat he suffered at Valenciennes.

This new fighting led to resounding French victories by the end of 1793. General Jean Houchard restored France's gains in the Austrian Netherlands when, using troops raised from the *levée en masse*, he defeated the British at Hondschoote on 8 September. Some 24,000 ill-trained French troops charged 16,000 disciplined British and German infantry, and their numbers carried the day. The Duke of York was fortunate to survive, although the British had to abandon their artillery. Fate was not so kind for Houchard, who was guillotined after an indifferent result at Menin and his failure to drive the Austrians from France. He was succeeded by General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, who won at Wattignies in mid-October: Although the first day favored the Austrians, Jourdan surrounded the Austrian right wing on 16 October and forced it backward, gaining the town.

In southern France, at the great port of Toulon, French royalists turned the town and port over to British and Spanish forces. A French army besieged the defenders and initially could not make any headway. However, by 18 December Revolutionary forces had returned to the attack, regaining control of the port. A young artillery captain, Napoleon Bonaparte, received credit for his placement of the artillery, his vigor in pressing the attack, and his ability to energize his troops. Proposing a plan that led to the seizure of a key fort, he then deployed his artillery so as to drive off the Anglo-Spanish fleet. His plan allowed French forces to overwhelm the remaining defenders, now cut off from any prospect of retreat. In return for this great victory, Bonaparte was promoted to *général de brigade*—an extraordinary rise through the ranks.

French armies in the field moved to the offensive in 1794. On 18 May General Jean-Charles Pichegru won at Tourcoing, in Holland, which, transformed by its occupiers into the Batavian Republic, made peace with France. Pichegru's army proceeded to defeat a somewhat larger British-Hanoverian-Austrian army, which was poorly led. On 26 June, at Fleurus, Jourdan defeated the Austrians, who had pressed him all along the line early in the battle, and moved into the Rhineland to Mannheim, so forcing the Austrians out of their Belgian possessions. Later, Pichegru invaded the United Provinces (modern-day Holland) and gained control in a brief winter campaign when ice trapped the Dutch fleet in the harbor at Texel. Prussia signed a separate peace, the Treaty of Basle, on 5 April, ceding the left bank of the Rhine to France, and Spain (and some minor German states) soon followed on 22 July.



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 31.

In 1795 French armies fought along the Rhine and in Italy, though the campaign would prove less vigorous than in the years to follow. Jourdan advanced toward Frankfurt in September but was outmaneuvered soon thereafter and forced to retreat. In Italy General Barthélemy Schérer led an army that was slowly advancing along the Mediterranean coast. Soon only Austria and Sardinia remained in the coalition against France. The new Directory, which had succeeded the Committee of Public Safety, wanted a broad advance from the Low Countries into southern Germany and across Italy, with all forces to confront Austria. The two main theaters of campaign would therefore be in Germany and Italy, in the latter of which the campaign would reach its climax on 23 November at the Battle of Loano.

In 1796 Archduke Charles was able to turn the tide against the French, who conceived a strategy whereby Jourdan would occupy the archduke's army along the northern Rhine while General Jean Moreau would lead

his army further south across the Rhine, invade Bavaria, and perhaps maneuver around the Austrians and trap them. However, the two French armies were too far apart to cooperate, and Charles defeated Jourdan at Wetzlar on 16 June, forcing him across the Rhine and further from Moreau. Charles then caught up with Moreau's army and fought an inconclusive battle at Ettlingen (Malsch) on 9 July. Moreau had pushed Charles across the Danube by mid-August, but after receiving reinforcements, Charles, possessing great energy, returned to confront Jourdan and on 24 August, with some 46,000 troops, overwhelmed that general's 34,000 troops at Amberg. On 3 September at Würzburg he again defeated Jourdan, outflanking the outnumbered French and driving them backward under pressure. Jourdan signed an armistice, and Moreau wisely retreated across the Rhine in late October. By the autumn of 1796 Charles had driven the two French armies across the Rhine and appeared capable of pursuing them into France itself.

Just as it appeared that Austria was on the verge of defeating France, Bonaparte, still a young officer, assumed command in Italy. Born in Corsica, he had attended French military schools and had begun his career as an artillery officer. Early success at Toulon, referred to earlier, had led to his becoming a general in his twenties. Now, more than two years later, he was given control of an ill-fed, ill-supplied, discouraged French army seemingly trapped along the coast; yet he soon transformed it into an effective fighting machine.

Bonaparte opened a startlingly successful campaign in 1796. He brought with him useful experience in the deployment and handling of artillery, an innate grasp of key principles of war, and an appreciation of how to move his troops quickly. He understood the value of speed; he continued the development of the divisional structure in the army that other French officers had begun and that gave greater flexibility during both the approach to battle as well as in combat itself; he recognized the advances recently achieved in the use of artillery, particularly in making guns more mobile; and he realized that cavalry had a greater role to play in battle than had previously been accorded it. As a result, he employed mass and speed to attack at critical points; he outmaneuvered his opponents and consequently achieved great victories on the battlefield.

Bonaparte soon drove Sardinia from the war. Leaving Nice, he began his offensive on 10 April and moved into Lombardy, Italy. Although nominally Bonaparte commanded 45,000 men, he actually had about 34,000 fit and ready for duty. He found himself between the Piedmont-Sardinian army of 25,000 men, under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli, somewhat forward of his left, and an Austrian army of 35,000 commanded by *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu to his right. These Allied armies had divided themselves to block all the valley routes leading north. Bonaparte nevertheless understood how to achieve mass to overwhelm these partly isolated units, and he was to provide a demonstration over the next two weeks.

Bonaparte first attacked the Austrians, at Montenotte, on 12 April, where he bent the Austrian right and moved it further away from the Piedmontese army. Two days later, the French, initially under Masséna and then Bonaparte, fought a two-day see-saw engagement at Dego, in which they finally ejected the Austrians from the village. Bonaparte then quickly shifted the focus of his offensive to the northwest and moved against the now-isolated Piedmontese army at Mondovi. Although the Piedmontese resisted the first attack on 21 April, Bonaparte continued the battle on the second day. It was clear that Colli feared being isolated, and Piedmont-Sardinia signed an armistice on the

twenty-eighth. The king of Piedmont-Sardinia formally concluded peace the following month. Bonaparte had just demonstrated the value of attacking the vulnerable hinge, or joint, of an enemy.

Thereafter Bonaparte planned to move around Austrian forces seeking to retain control over key cities on the northern Italian plain; he would threaten Mantua in northeastern Italy, which he judged to be the center of gravity of the Austrian effort there; and he would then defeat Austrian relief efforts. Finally, he would move out from Mantua, threaten Vienna, and force Charles to make peace on terms that would deny him the fruits of his victories over Jourdan and Moreau.

As the Austrian commander, Beaulieu, divided his 20,000 men to defend three approaches to Milan, Bonaparte went south, violating the neutrality of an Italian state, and maneuvered around the defenders. He attacked in column formation at Lodi on 10 May, and although the attack was not necessary, he hailed the action as a great victory. Beaulieu retreated eastward, abandoning Milan, which Bonaparte entered on 14 May. He again moved against Beaulieu, whom he defeated at Borghetto on 30 May, before proceeding to lay siege to Mantua, where Beaulieu had left 15,000.

Maintaining his central position, Bonaparte was able to defeat piecemeal Austrian efforts to relieve Mantua. He faced a difficult challenge, having to lay siege to that key fortress, keep control over the civilian population, and defend various valleys leading out of the Tyrolean Alps. The Austrians gathered forces under *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser, and they moved piecemeal through the valleys of the Alps to Mantua. Bonaparte in turn established his men in good defensive positions in such a way that his smaller force was able to successively defeat many of the Austrian efforts to break the siege and relieve the fortress garrison.

Several battles took place as the struggle for Mantua continued. In July Würmser sought to advance in several parallel columns, and Bonaparte, using interior lines of communication, defeated them twice at Lonato (31 July and 3 August) and at Castiglione (5 August) as they advanced down both sides of Lake Garda and the Brenta valley. In September Würmser tried again, proceeding down the Brenta valley and using action around Lake Garda as a diversion. Once again Bonaparte was able to attack the advancing columns, first at Rovereto on the fourth, and four days later at Bassano, before they could clear the mountain valleys and gain room to maneuver on the northern Italian plain.

The greatest of these victories occurred at Arcola (15–17 November) and at Rivoli on 14–15 January 1797. In November 1796, by which time French forces had been

reduced by illness, the Austrians advanced and were able to gain entry onto the plain, and Bonaparte recognized the threat they posed. Before the Austrians could move on his rear, he moved to attack their rear in a three-day battle at Arcola amid marshes, dikes, and small streams. He forced an Austrian retreat, but they continued to hold onto Mantua, and Bonaparte remained stymied. In January the Austrians tried again, advancing in three columns, the strongest being at Rivoli. Bonaparte ordered Joubert to hold at all costs and ordered a concentration at Rivoli. On 14 January Bonaparte had 23,000 men and forty guns to face 28,000 Austrians with ninety pieces of artillery. He attacked—indeed, so furiously that he routed them—while his subordinates were able to badly maul the other two prongs of the Austrian advance. In Mantua, the garrison and many of the townspeople were starving for lack of supplies, and the Austrian commander thereupon surrendered the fortress and city on 2 February.

Having taken Mantua, Bonaparte could now move confidently out of the river valleys and threaten to advance through the Tyrolean Alps and then northeast the 100 miles toward Vienna. By mid-March he had crossed the Alps, and Austrian resistance had collapsed. Charles returned home from Germany but was unable to rally the troops. Although he held a difficult position, Bonaparte had psychologically defeated his enemy, and after two delays, they agreed to an armistice at Leoben on 18 April and later agreed to conclude formal peace with the Treaty of Campo Formio on 17 October 1797.

Charles M. Dobbs

*See also* Altenkirchen, Battle of; Amberg, Battle of; Arcola, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Bassano, Battle of; Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Belle Isle, Battle of; Biberach, Battle of; Borghetto, Battle of; Boxel, Battle of; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Caldiero, First Battle of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Castiglione, Battle of; Ceva, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cherasco, Armistice at; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Convention, The; Courtrai, Battle of; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; Dumouriez, Charles François; Emmendingen, Battle of; Figueras, Battles of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Fluvia, Battles of the; Friedberg, Battle of; Geisberg, Battle of the; Glorious First of June, Battle of; Gulf of Genoa, Battle of the; Hondshoote, Battle of; Hyères, Action of; Ile de Groix, Action of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jemappes, Battle of; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Landrecies, Battle of; Le Boulou, Battle of; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Levée en Masse; Loano, Battle of; Lodi, Battle of; Lonato, Battles of; Louis XVI, King; Lunéville, Treaty of; Lyons, Siege of; Maastricht, Siege of; Maciejowice, Battle of; Mainz, Siege of; Mannheim Offensive; Mantua, Sieges of; Mondovi, Battle of;

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## Flanders, Campaigns in (1793–1795)

The campaigns in Flanders—technically speaking only a region of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium and Luxembourg) but more broadly applied here to include operations in the whole of the Austrian Netherlands and Holland—formed a crucial part of the War of the First Coalition. Following its success over the invading Prussian army at Valmy on 20 September 1792, which occurred on the same day as the foundation of the Republic, France assumed the offensive. Under the direction of Lazare Carnot, the minister of war, the resources were assembled for this alteration in strategy, as France sought to secure its borders along the “natural frontiers,” namely the Rhine in the north (together with the Alps and Pyrenees), by incorporating the Austrian Netherlands and southern Holland. Although the fortunes of the protagonists in the campaign in Flanders ebbed and flowed for the following two years amid regular changes of commanders on both sides, the eventual result favored the French Republic, and all of Belgium was in French hands by January 1795.

The initial incursion in the summer failed miserably after being beaten back from Mons. However, a renewed advance into Flanders (already referred to as Belgium by the French) in the closing months of 1792 by the *Armée du Nord* (Army of the North) under General Charles François Dumouriez led to a decisive victory over Austrian forces under *Feldmarschall* Herzog (Duke) Albert von Saxe-Teschen at Jemappes on 6 November, so enabling the French to occupy Brussels on the fifteenth and to complete their conquest of Belgium by 2 December.

In the spring of 1793 as Dumouriez marched on Holland, Allied forces, comprising Austrians under *Feldmarschall* Frederich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) and a composite force of British, Hessian, and Hanoverian troops under the command of the Duke of York, counterattacked from east and west, respectively. Saxe-Coburg was placed in overall command of the Allied force. Initially, these forces were successful. The Austrians defeated the French under Dumouriez at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden in March to retake Brussels. Following victory at the Battle of Valenciennes (21–23 May) over the French under General Adam Philippe de Custine, the eponymous fortress was besieged until early August, and York attempted to lay siege to Dunkirk. However, the delays resulting from this ponderous style of siege campaigning allowed the French to recover and counterattack. General Jean-Nicholas Houchard advanced with the *Armée du Nord* in the west, leading to French victories on 6–8 September at Hondshoote over York and on 13 September at Menin over Dutch forces under the Prince of Or-

ange. However, the losses of the fortresses at Cambrai and Le Quesnoi to Allied besiegers led to Houchard’s execution. Command of the army then passed to General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, who defeated Saxe-Coburg at Wattignies on 15–16 October, so ending the campaign season with the French holding the initiative.

The year 1794 continued to see Flanders as the main theater, as the Austrians fought to retain their possessions in the Low Countries. In a bid to improve flagging morale, Holy Roman Emperor Francis II (later known as Francis I of Austria) arrived in Brussels on 9 April to assume overall command of Allied forces in the Low Countries. The French strategy for 1794 was for the *Armée du Nord*, now under the command of General Jean-Charles Pichegru, to advance west and take Ypres, Tournai, and the line of the river Scheldt. Initially, the Austrians moved against a weakly held sector of the French lines and were victorious at Landrecies on 26 April. The French attacked *Feldzeugmeister* Franz de Croix Graf von Clerfayt on 11 May at Courtrai, obliging him to retreat to Thielt and to abandon Menin, while, in the decisive Battle of Tourcoing on 17–18 May, the French defeated a complex five-column attack devised by Allied chief of staff, *Generalmajor* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich. Despite Saxe-Coburg’s victory at Tournai over Pichegru on 22 May, Austrian foreign policy had always aimed to exchange Flanders for territory closer to the main Habsburg domains, and anxious about events unfolding in Poland, Emperor Francis with his senior commanders decided to abandon Flanders. Command reverted to Saxe-Coburg, who, along with York, was heavily defeated again by the French at the Battle of Fleurus on 26 June. After Fleurus, the Allied effort began to collapse. The Austrians retreated eastward, separating themselves from the British contingent under York, who pulled back to the northeast. Resuming the offensive, Pichegru and the *Armée du Nord* pursued York across the Dutch border in September and then to Bremen on the German North Sea coast, from where the remnants of his force were evacuated by the Royal Navy in March 1795. York’s withdrawal from Holland opened the way for one of the most peculiar feats of the French Revolutionary Wars, when on 23 January 1795 French cavalry crossed the frozen ice, which temporarily linked the mainland with the island of Texel, and captured the Dutch fleet.

Jourdan kept pressuring Saxe-Coburg, who, under strict orders to husband his troops as best he could, had no other option but to retreat. In August, Clerfayt replaced Saxe-Coburg in command of the Austrian troops. Clerfayt continued the Austrian retreat, first to the river Roer (Ruhr), and then across the Rhine. Thus, by the end of 1794, the French had effectively ejected the Austrians from Belgian soil.

In the greater context of the French Revolutionary Wars, the campaigns in Flanders are significant for two reasons. First and foremost, they witnessed the transformation of the volunteers of the French Army into a highly motivated and effective fighting force. Secondly, the fighting in Flanders resulted in the acquisition by France of both Belgium and Holland. These areas provided important sources of wealth and supplies for the French Republic and, later, the Empire, and they were to remain under French control until 1814.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Courtrai, Battle of; Dumouriez, Charles François; First Coalition, War of the; Fleurus, Battle of; Francis I, Emperor; Jemappes, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Landrecies, Battle of; Maastricht, Siege of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Netherlands, The; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Roer, Battle of the; Texel, Capture of the Dutch Fleet off; Tourcoing, Battle of; Tournai, Battle of; Valmy, Battle of; Wattignies, Battle of; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Fleurus, Battle of (26 June 1794)

The Battle of Fleurus was a major confrontation fought in the Austrian Netherlands (modern-day Belgium) on 26 June 1794, when an Austro-Dutch army attempted to halt a French offensive around Charleroi. In 1792 the French Revolutionary government, known as the Convention, had declared that the Republic lay at risk of invasion—*la patrie en danger!*—and throughout 1793 the Revolution had indeed seemed imperiled. In 1794, however, the Republic's armies began to strengthen France's border defenses and to overcome internal counterrevolutionary forces. During the summer of 1794 the French government focused on the threat from the Austrian Netherlands represented by the formidable Austro-British-Dutch army under the overall command of *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg). Fol-

lowing the French victories around Tourcoing on 17–18 May 1794, the French forces along the border with the Austrian Netherlands attempted several successive crossings of the river Sambre in May and June in order to threaten the town of Charleroi, a strategically important fortified town on the river. French troops managed to invest Charleroi between 29 May and 2 June, but Austrian troops arrived in numbers and forced them to withdraw.

Earlier, in March 1794, the Committee of Public Safety had given General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan command of the substantial French forces fighting along the French border with the Austrian Netherlands. Jourdan marched his *Armée de la Moselle* north to join the portions of the *Armée du Nord* and the *Armée des Ardennes* in early June. He gradually took control of an impressive composite army, soon to be known as the *Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse*, with a strength of approximately 80,000 men and already engaged in operations around Charleroi.

On 12 June French troops again crossed the Sambre and besieged the fortified town, establishing siege batteries and opening approach trenches to advance against its defenses. Saxe-Coburg responded by concentrating his Austrian forces north of Charleroi and attacking on 16 June. The French lost over 2,000 men, and Jourdan was forced to order his troops to abandon their siege and retreat southward across the Sambre. Each time Charleroi had been seriously endangered, Austrian troops had effectively reacted and forced the French back.

French troops crossed the Sambre and besieged Charleroi once again on 18 June. The town had a garrison of about 2,800 men. A detachment of 2,500 men from Jourdan's force was sent to observe the Austrians at Namur while French siege artillery, which had been gathered from fortresses, battered the bastions protecting Charleroi's northern defenses. As the siege works advanced, Jourdan had the rest of his army begin to construct defensive earthworks and redoubts north of Charleroi to protect against any relief attempt the Austrians might attempt. Meanwhile, Representative on Mission Antoine-Louis Saint-Just summoned Charleroi to surrender, pressuring the Austrian governor of the town to agree to a capitulation. Surprisingly, the governor agreed, and Charleroi's garrison laid down their arms on 25 July. About 2,000 men from General Jacques Maurice Hatry's division entered the town to hold its defenses.

Unaware that the town had already fallen, Saxe-Coburg led an Austro-Dutch army of about 103,000 men to relieve the siege of Charleroi. Saxe-Coburg organized his troops into five massive columns in an attempt to envelop the French army. William (Willem), Prince of Orange-Nassau led the first column, which was composed of 40,000 Dutch troops. *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vitius von

Quosdanovich led 12,500 Austrians of the second column. Prince Wenzel Anton Fürst von Kaunitz commanded the third column, with 14,000 men. Archduke Charles directed the fourth column's 14,000 men, and Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu led the 23,000 men of the fifth column. The Austrian and Dutch columns advanced before dawn on 26 June, aiming to force the French to withdraw once more across the Sambre.

Jourdan had decided to rely on his concentrated position and his troops' entrenchments to fight a defensive battle around the village of Fleurus. General François-Séverin Marceau's division of 8,000 men took up a position on the French extreme right near some woods. General François Joseph Lefebvre's division, with 8,800 men, held a series of redoubts and the village of Lambusart on the right. General Jean-Etienne Championnet's division, with 9,000 men, was posted in the center, defending the villages of Heppignies and Wagnée. The 8,500 troops of General Antoine Morlot's division held redoubts extending westward from Championnet's line to the village of Gosselies. General Montaigu's division of 8,000 men was detached and positioned near Courcelles to hold the French left. Jourdan posted General Jean-Baptiste Kléber's troops somewhat to the rear, supporting both Morlot's and Montaigu's divisions. Hatry's division of about 11,000 men and Dubois's cavalry were held slightly in reserve to support Championnet and Lefebvre. Above the French line floated an observation balloon, one of the latest French engineering developments. French commanders would later ridicule the balloon, condemning it as a useless invention.

Early in the morning of 26 June, the Austro-Dutch columns crashed into the French outer defenses. The general attack by these columns led to a series of separate engagements over an 18-mile front. The Austrians deployed light artillery and pounded French positions around Fleurus. Kaunitz's column attacked the redoubts in the French center, forcing Championnet's division back. But Championnet's men fought tenaciously and managed to hold the villages of Heppignies and Wagnée. Quosdanovich's column advanced more slowly against Morlot's infantry.

The French right came under attack as Beaulieu's troops maneuvered east of Fleurus and smashed Marceau's division. Archduke Charles led the Austrian attacks through Fleurus and against the redoubts protecting the village of Lambusart. Lefebvre organized a tenacious defense of the village, and his men repulsed the Austrians at least three times. Austrian artillery battered the village and some of its buildings began to burn. One of the French soldiers defending Lambusart later remembered that "it seemed that we were fighting in a plain of fire" (Bernède 1994, 150). Jourdan fed in Hatry's division, which he had held in reserve, to assist Lefebvre's beleaguered men.

Meanwhile, a separate battle developed on the French left. The Prince of Orange advanced against Montaigu's division, aiming to seize the Sambre River crossing near Marchienne-au-Pont. Throughout the morning Montaigu's men retired in the face of overwhelming numbers of Dutch troops. Then, in the early afternoon, Kléber's troops counterattacked, forcing the Dutch column back. Almost 40,000 Dutch troops thus never really participated in the decisive engagement that developed on the French right.

Late in the afternoon, Marceau and Lefebvre massed artillery on the French right to force back the Austrian attacks. French infantry holding the remaining redoubts continually fired into the Austrian ranks, and Lefebvre reported that their musketry fire "was a volcano" (Bernède 1994, 154). In the center, Dubois's cavalry and horse artillery came to the aid of Championnet's infantry, which was still defending Heppignies and Wagnée. Marceau's men eventually rallied and were able to retake the woods around Lépinoy and Copiaux. Saxe-Coburg, having viewed the desperate defense conducted by Championnet's and Lefebvre's divisions, now called off the Austrian attacks and ordered his army to withdraw.

Throughout a desperate battle of more than twelve hours, the French had held firm against the determined Austrian attacks. The Austrian army had lost about 2,200 men in the fighting, while the French lost some 2,000 men. French cavalry captured about 3,000 isolated Austrians following the battle, but Jourdan's exhausted army was unable to closely pursue the defeated Austrians.

The Convention acted quickly to commemorate Fleurus with medals and prints celebrating the battle as a glorious confirmation of republican policies. Just days after the battle, the government baptized Jourdan's victorious composite army the *Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse* in recognition of its victory at Fleurus. The battle confirmed the effectiveness of French citizen-soldiers, the systems in place to encourage revolutionary zeal, and the system of army organization. General Louis Henri Loison, one of the officers in Jourdan's army, understood the symbolic significance of the battle, recording that "numerous royal battalions attacked . . . our armies reunited on the Sambre; victory remained faithful to the Republicans and the slaves were repulsed with losses" (Bernède 1994, 195).

The French victory at Fleurus also represented a crushing blow to Habsburg control over the Austrian Netherlands. Following Fleurus, French forces swept through Belgian towns and seized Brussels on 10 July. By the end of 1794 victorious French troops had seized the entire Austrian Netherlands, beginning a long series of conquests that would continue well into Napoleon's reign. Fleurus signaled that *la patrie* was no longer in danger and

that foreign invaders could no longer seriously threaten the French Republic.

*Brian Sandberg*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Balloons, Observation; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier; Convention, The; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Public Safety, Committee of; Tourcoing, Battle of

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## Fluvia, Battles of the (April–May 1795)

The battles of the Fluvia made up the opening offensive in the 1795 French campaign in the eastern Pyrenees. They constituted the last major attempt by the French to invade Spain before peace was signed between the two countries during the summer.

Following the battles of Figueras in November 1794, General Dominique-Catherine Pérignon and his Army of the Eastern Pyrenees had the opportunity to push farther into northeastern Spain. The opposing Spanish forces were disorganized and short of equipment. Their commander had been killed at Figueras, and a new general had assumed command. However, instead of pushing on to Gerona and Barcelona, Pérignon allowed himself to become involved in a siege of the small fortress at Rosas. The siege dragged on until 3 February 1795. Most of the garrison managed to escape, thanks to Spanish command of the sea. The delay allowed the Spanish to rebuild their army, call up militia units, and transfer regular units from other fronts. The spring of 1795 also saw the formation of volunteer units whose members fought out of patriotic and religious motives.

Disease and desertion had reduced the French Army of the Eastern Pyrenees. Animosity between Pérignon and General Pierre-François-Charles Augereau, his most suc-

cessful commander, also hampered operations. The French government decided to replace Pérignon with a commander unacquainted with French forces in Spain. General Barthélemy Louis Joseph Schérer was thus transferred from command of the (French) Army of Italy to Spain during the spring of 1795. He was ordered not to take the offensive unless he believed he would achieve victory in any ensuing battles. Admonished by these orders, Schérer nevertheless decided to open an offensive at the end of April.

On 25 April Schérer launched his army against Spanish lines along the Fluvia River. One French column moved against the Spanish left to attract its attention and tie down the Spanish reserves. Schérer, personally leading the main body in two columns against the Spanish center, ran into two Spanish divisions conducting a reconnaissance in force north of the Fluvia. Fighting was heavy; the Spanish fought bravely and with some skill. Schérer managed to push them back but failed to force his way across the Fluvia that night. He resumed the attack the following morning, when his men managed to cross the Fluvia under fire before clearing both the northern and southern banks of the river during the morning. The Spanish responded with a heavy counterattack led by their cavalry against the French left. The French were particularly weak in that arm and were badly shaken. A follow-up attack by a Spanish division stopped any further advance by the French left. By the middle of the afternoon Augereau, on the right, had been halted by the Spanish reserves. During the evening, seeing no prospect of further progress, Schérer ordered his army to retire north of the Fluvia to his new base of operations at Rosas.

Final operations took place at the end of May, when Schérer decided to undertake a reconnaissance against the Spanish positions. The Spanish concentrated against the weak French center and nearly broke through, with only the arrival of reinforcements from the right under Augereau saving the day. Further operations by the French were hampered by the outbreak of malaria in the sickly atmosphere of the region. Both sides settled down to await the outcome of peace negotiations at Basle.

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*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Basle, Treaties of; Figueras, Battles of; First Coalition, War of the; Pérignon, Domingue-Catherine; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph

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### Fontainebleau, Treaty of (13 April 1814)

Treaty negotiated by the Allied coalition that allowed Napoleon to go into exile at Elba as emperor. By the end of March 1814 Napoleon's military options were quickly disappearing. He faced massive defections to the Allies, including Marshal Auguste de Marmont's entire command. Paris had capitulated, and Allied forces had entered the capital. Facing total collapse, Napoleon and his remaining supporters retired to his Fontainebleau palace, hoping to rally the Bonapartist faithful.

Napoleon finally accepted the reality that the Allies would never allow him to remain as French emperor. On 6 April 1814 he tendered a conditional abdication, in favor of his son, the King of Rome. The Allies, who had already committed themselves to the Bourbon restoration when Napoleon refused Allied terms that would have allowed him to remain on the French throne, rejected the offer and instead demanded a full abdication. General Armand de Caulaincourt, the French foreign minister, brought the treaty from Allied headquarters to Napoleon on 11 April. In return for a full abdication, Tsar Alexander I offered a rather generous and unexpected deal to Napoleon, considering the tsar's long-standing desire for revenge. This offer evolved into the Treaty of Fontainebleau. The treaty's provisions included a renunciation of the French and Italian thrones by Napoleon for himself and his family members. Napoleon would be allowed to keep his imperial title; he agreed to be sent in exile to Elba, a small island off the Italian coast; and, oddly, he would be allowed to reign there as emperor. Alexander agreed that Napoleon would receive an annual stipend of 2 million francs from the new French government. Napoleon was authorized to take with him 600 men from his Imperial Guard. He was also given a ship to travel to Elba, which would be transferred to his ownership. Napoleon's wife, Marie Louise, was named Duchess of Parma in Italy, as a regent for Napoleon's son. Other immediate members of the Bonaparte family could also retain their titles and also receive annuities.

Napoleon withdrew his conditional abdication offer and, instead, chose to take poison. The episode left him violently ill but, he survived and on 13 April signed the full, unconditional abdication and accepted the Treaty of Fontainebleau. The somewhat reluctant Allies ratified the treaty on 16 April. Napoleon bade his Imperial Guard a formal farewell at Fontainebleau on the twentieth. He sailed for Elba on 28 April, arriving there on 5 May to begin his tenure as emperor of the small island.

Not all of the Allies were satisfied with the treaty's provisions and consideration of other options had been urged, such as Napoleon's retirement to England or even exile to the United States. Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign sec-

retary, feared the proximity of Elba to the Continent and knew full well that Britain, with its control of the seas, would probably be held responsible if Napoleon should return to France, for the treaty did not stipulate his confinement on the island. Klemens Fürst Metternich believed that another European war was certain within two years. Both of their prophecies proved correct within the year, for in February 1815 Napoleon left Elba aboard his one-ship navy, returned to Paris, and began his ill-fated Hundred Days.

*Thomas D. Veve*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Elba; France, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Marie Louise, Empress; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Napoleon II; Paris, First Treaty of

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### Forcheim, Battle of

*See* Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

### Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante (1758–1820)

French statesman and minister of police. Born in Nantes on 21 May 1758, Joseph Fouché was educated by the Oratorians and later taught at their school, but he was never ordained as a priest as is popularly believed. He taught physics and mathematics at Oratorian schools and, while living in Arras, he met young Maximilien Robespierre. After 1789 he became active with the Society of Friends of the Constitution and became the president of their club. In late 1792 he was elected as a deputy from the Loire-Inférieure to the National Convention. Although he initially sided with the Girondins, Fouché's radical views soon placed him among the Montagnard deputies, and he voted for the execution of Louis XVI in 1793. Later that year Fouché was sent as a representative on mission from the Convention to ensure the loyalty of the provinces and won notoriety for ruthlessly suppressing the Vendée revolts and the rebellion in Lyons, where he executed rebels by mass shootings and earned the nickname "*le mitrailleur de Lyon*" (the Gunner of Lyons).

Fouché supported the redistribution of wealth and pursued policies of de-Christianization and the destruction and looting of church properties. He opposed the Cult of the Supreme Being advocated by Robespierre, and after the execution of radical Hébertists with whom he was associated at one time, he was recalled to the Convention in April 1794. He managed to become president of the Jacobin society in June but abandoned it after Robespierre's attacks. In July Fouché played an important role in the coup of 9 Thermidor and the execution of Robespierre. Under the new government, Fouché was haunted by his past connection with the Terror and was briefly imprisoned in 1795. Over the next two years, he was involved in various businesses before procuring the post of military supplier. In September 1797 he helped Paul Barras and the Directory suppress the coup of Fructidor and was rewarded with the post of envoy to Milan; later, in 1799, he briefly served at The Hague.

On 20 July 1799 Fouché became minister of police and proved himself an effective but unscrupulous minister. He closed the Jacobin Club in August 1799 and ruthlessly persecuted his former comrades, the Jacobins as well as the royalists. He was among the first to support Bonaparte on his return from Egypt in late 1799. During the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799), Fouché used his increasingly powerful network of agents to support Bonaparte and remained in Paris, keeping the capital under control. As First Consul, Bonaparte kept Fouché as the minister of police, and he spent the next two years organizing a secret police. When the Ministry of Police was merged with the Ministry of Justice, Fouché was relieved of duty and appointed a senator in August 1802. In 1804 Bonaparte reappointed him minister of police, a position Fouché retained for the next five years. During this period, Fouché created an effective secret police with a widespread spy network, an eerie precursor of the secret police of later authoritarian regimes. With his dead-white countenance and lackluster expression, he inspired fear in many and gained numerous enemies; François René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, an author and diplomat, acidly called him "the Crime." For his service, Fouché was made a Count of the Empire in 1808 and duc d'Otrante in 1809. In June of that year he became minister of the interior as well as of the police.

Continuous wars and growing troubles in Spain made Fouché doubt the solidity of the Empire, and he began intriguing against Napoleon. He maintained contact with the royalists and Britain and established close relations with another conniver, former foreign minister Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand. During the 1809 campaign Fouché, at his own discretion, ordered a levy of the National Guard and gave its command to Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, whom Napoleon distrusted following his conduct in the

campaign of 1806. In addition, Fouché made secret peace overtures to the British. Returning to France from the war against Austria, Napoleon dismissed Fouché in June 1810; he never fully trusted him and later regretted not having executed him. However, the Emperor valued Fouché's skills and continued to employ him as the governor of Rome in 1810 and of the Illyrian provinces two years later.

After Napoleon's first abdication, Fouché returned to Paris in April 1814, but he failed to procure any position under the Bourbon monarchy. During the Hundred Days, he again became minister of police, but, following Napoleon's final defeat, Fouché was instrumental in organizing the provisional government, briefly serving as its president in the summer of 1815. The restored King Louis XVIII made him minister of police, but the ultraroyalists soon forced his resignation and he became French ambassador to Saxony. He was proscribed as a regicide in 1816 and lived in exile in Prague and Trieste, where he died on 25 December 1820.

Fouché the man still remains an enigma. He was one of the most powerful and feared men in France for almost two decades. By all accounts he was unprincipled and ruthless, occasionally brilliant, and universally disliked. Yet the fact that he survived and prospered under a succession of governments attests to his incredible political acumen and abilities.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Brumaire, Coup of; Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de; Convention, The; Directory, The; Espionage; Girondins; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Lyons, Siege of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Terror, The; Thermidor, Coup of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Fourth Coalition, War of the (1806–1807)

Prussia could have had a decisive effect on the outcome of the War of the Third Coalition in 1805, but the king of Prussia, Frederick William III, had dithered about declaring war, so that by the time he decided to intervene in the fighting, the war was over, decisively in Napoleon's favor.

In 1806, however, French influence was growing within the German states, largely as a result of the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, and rumors were circulating that Napoleon was to offer Hanover—which had also been offered to Prussia in 1805 in return for its neutrality—to Britain in return for peace. This was too much for the Prussian war party, led by Queen Louise, whom Napoleon described as the “only man in Prussia” (quoted in Fremont-Barnes 2002, 16). Strongly influenced by the queen, Frederick William finally declared war on France on 7 August 1806, and the following month, without waiting for Russian support, Prussian troops occupied Saxony. The elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, was forced to join a new coalition of Britain, Prussia, Sweden, and Russia. Frederick William would have overall com-

mand of the Prussian Army, but he had inherited none of the military genius of his uncle, Frederick II “the Great.” Moreover, the commander of the main Prussian force, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, possessed few talents as a general.

On hearing of this new coalition forming against him, Napoleon knew he had to defeat the Prussians before the Russians could mobilize their forces again. On 6 October he invaded Saxony, and he defeated a Prussian army at Saalfeld on the tenth. Four days later Napoleon and Marshal Louis Nicolas Davout, fighting separate engagements at Jena and Auerstädt (14 October) destroyed a large contingent of the Prussian army, commanded by Frederick Louis, Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (at Jena), and the main body under Brunswick (at Auerstädt), respectively. Brunswick was killed at Auerstädt, and Hohenlohe led the remnants of the Prussian army into Pomerania.

On 25 October, because of its performance at Auerstädt, Davout's corps was given the honor of being the first to enter the Prussian capital, Berlin, followed two days later by Napoleon. A week later Frederick William sued for peace at Custrin. Napoleon's terms were severe:



Officers of the élite Prussian Garde du Corps, wishing to provoke war, sharpen their swords on the steps of the French embassy in Berlin in the autumn of 1806. (Print after F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 2)

All Prussian territory on the left bank of the Elbe was to be surrendered, except for Magdeburg and Altmark; Prussia could make no alliances with any other German states; and Prussia had to pay 100 million francs as a war indemnity. The king had a week to comply, but as more and more Prussian towns and cities surrendered, including Magdeburg and Lübeck, Napoleon revised his demands, adding the requirement that Prussia surrender all its territory up to the Vistula. Despite the harshness of the conditions, Frederick William and his senior generals were willing to make peace. Queen Louise, however, forced the king to reject these demands.

Meanwhile, detachments of Prussian forces held out for another month, surrendering one by one. Hohenlohe's 14,000 men surrendered to Marshal Joachim Murat at Prenzlau on 28 October. Murat then joined marshals Nicolas Soult and Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, who were pursuing 12,000 Prussians under General Gebhard von Blücher. Blücher was retreating to the Hanseatic port of Lübeck, hoping to unite with a Swedish army that was reported to be there, but on arriving on 5 November he found the Swedes had already withdrawn. On 6 November Bernadotte's forces stormed and sacked Lübeck. In just one month, Prussia had effectively been knocked out of the war, apart from a force under General Anton William Lestocq, which moved east to link up with the Russians, and another under General Friedrich Adolf Graf von Kalkreuth, which was besieged in Danzig.

Napoleon, who was now joined by Saxony (by the Treaty of Posen, 11 December 1806), was now free to take on the Russians, who under the command of Field Marshal Mikhail Fedorovich Kamenski were marching to support their Prussian allies. In worsening weather, which turned the roads into mud, the Grande Armée marched into Poland, the Russians retiring over the Vistula. Murat's cavalry occupied Warsaw on 28 November. However, Napoleon still had to watch his southern flank in case the Austrians launched an attack to avenge their defeats at Ulm (October 1805) and Austerlitz (December 1805). A second Russian army, under General Fedor Fedorovich Buxhöwden, was also marching to confront Napoleon, arriving in the theater of war on 26 December. This second army was the remnants of the army General Mikhail Kutuzov had commanded at Austerlitz, and there had been no time to bring the regiments up to strength.

On 26 December, at Golymin, the French caught up with the Russian rear guard, under General Prince Dmitry Vladimirovich Golitsyn, whose troops were too exhausted to march further. Golitsyn also had to hold the town and await General Fabian Osten-Sacken's troops, who were in danger of being cut off. With a total of about 16,000–18,000 men facing the corps of 38,000 men under marshals

Pierre-François-Charles Augereau and Murat, the Russians held out until nightfall and then withdrew.

On the same day, 12 miles away, against Kamenski's orders, General Count Levin Bennigsen decided to attack Marshal Jean Lannes's corps of 20,000 men with his 40,000–45,000 men at Pultusk. Bennigsen, however, deployed his men so that his numerical superiority was negated. A snowstorm forced both sides to fight with little or no visibility. Bennigsen, moreover, fought a defensive battle, thus allowing General d'Aultanne's division time to march to Lannes's aid. Both sides claimed a victory, but Bennigsen, who would later claim that he had been faced by Napoleon with 60,000 men, left the field to Lannes.

At the end of December both sides settled down into winter quarters. Napoleon needed the time to put his army, which had now been campaigning for over a year, into order. The Russians settled into winter quarters around Königsberg, and Kamenski took this opportunity to retire from the campaign because of ill health. Buxhöwden was also recalled, leaving Bennigsen in command.

Bennigsen, who had been encouraged by the successes at Pultusk and Golymin, was eager to renew the campaign. In mid-January 1807 he decided to strike at Marshal Michel Ney, who, against Napoleon's orders, had scattered his corps over a large area in search of better quarters closer to Königsberg. However, the Russians clashed with an outpost of Ney's corps, which was able to warn Ney and Napoleon in time. Ney's corps was forced to give ground, but Napoleon saw a chance to encircle the Russians. However, a dispatch sent to Bernadotte detailing the Emperor's plans was captured by a Cossack patrol, and Bennigsen, who realized he was marching into a trap, ordered his army to withdraw. On 3 February the French caught up with the Russians at Jankovo, but the engagement that followed was inconclusive, and Bennigsen withdrew during the night. Ney was given the task of pursuing Lestocq and preventing him from joining Bennigsen.

The French pursued Bennigsen's army through driving snow, and on 6 February they clashed with the Russian rear guard at Hof. Once more, after heavy fighting, the Russians retreated. The French again caught up with Bennigsen on the evening of 7 February near the town of Eylau. Bennigsen decided to make a stand the following day, which again resulted in a bloody, savage, seesaw battle. Meanwhile, Lestocq had outmaneuvered Ney and arrived just in time to prevent the Russians from being routed. On the evening of the eighth, Bennigsen, with his army low on ammunition and provisions, decided to withdraw, despite protests from the Russian generals. The Russo-Prussian army retired to Königsberg, leaving Napoleon to claim another victory, but a Pyrrhic one at best.

Despite his claims to victory, Napoleon remained in the vicinity of Eylau just long enough to make it appear that he had won the battle before retiring over the Passarge again to lick his wounds. He decided to increase the size of his army so that by the time spring came the outcome of the campaign would not be in doubt. Napoleon decided to offer Prussia better terms in the hope that it would make peace, but the conditions were rejected. He was also worried that, encouraged by the costly stalemate at Eylau, the Austrians would once again declare war.

Napoleon's army returned to winter quarters, except for Marshal François Lefebvre, commander of X Corps, which was ordered to capture the port city of Danzig, on the Prussian Baltic coast. On 18 March Lefebvre laid siege to the city, which was defended by Kalkreuth and 16,000 Prussians. The siege dragged on through April, and on 10 May Russian and British naval squadrons were able to land 8,000 reinforcements under General Nikolay Mikhailovich Kamenski, the son of the field marshal, but he was unable to break through to the town because Lefebvre had been reinforced by Lannes's corps. Further reinforcements under Marshal Adolphe Mortier arrived on 21 May, and, seeing the situation was hopeless, on the following day Kalkreuth began negotiations. On 25 May Kamenski evacuated his men, and two days later the Prussian garrison marched out with full military honors and rejoined what was left of their army at Pillau. Kalkreuth promised that his men would take no further part in the war.

On 5 June Bennigsen quickly mustered his army, hoping to surprise the French who were quartered around Spandau and Lomitten. Napoleon, however, counterattacked and forced the Russians to retreat to Heilsberg, where on 10 June another bloody yet indecisive battle was fought. Bennigsen continued his retreat. Napoleon believed that Bennigsen would retreat toward Königsberg, and it was on the evening of 13 June that the Emperor was informed that the Russians were concentrating at Friedland. The following day (the fourteenth) the two sides met in battle, but this time the outcome was decisive, Napoleon crushing the Russian army.

After the battle the Russians retired to Tilsit. On 19 June Murat arrived there, where he found a Russian delegation requesting an armistice. On the twenty-fifth, Tsar Alexander met Napoleon on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River to discuss peace. On 7 July, the two emperors concluded a peace treaty, which was ratified two days later. Russia agreed to join the Continental System and to give up the Ionian Islands and some other Mediterranean islands in its possession. In return, France agreed to support Russia in its war against Turkey if the sultan did not make peace within three months. In addition, with French support, Russia was free to invade Finland, which was then

a province of Sweden. (In the end, however, French aid for Russia's wars with Sweden and Turkey did not materialize.) Alexander also agreed to mediate between France and Britain, and Danzig became a free city.

Russia had gotten off lightly by the Treaty of Tilsit, but Prussia was not so lucky: Frederick William had been practically ignored by Napoleon, and when the French emperor did speak to him it was usually to ridicule him. Even the efforts of Queen Louise could not obtain better terms for her country, Napoleon informing Alexander that he was too old to be entranced by the queen's universally acknowledged beauty. On 9 July Prussia also made peace, agreeing to give up all its territories west of the Elbe, as well as its Polish territories. East Frisia was absorbed into Holland, and the Kingdom of Westphalia was formed from Prussian territory and was to be ruled by Jérôme Bonaparte. Prussia's armed forces were to be greatly reduced in size. Finally, a substantial war indemnity was imposed on Prussia, barring the payment of which French troops would remain on what little remained of Prussia's truncated soil.

The signing of the Treaty of Tilsit marked the height of Napoleon's power. In just eighteen months he had defeated Austria, Prussia, and Russia and had set in motion measures to prevent trade between Britain and much of the European continent. At the beginning of the war Prussia had been a great power; now it was little more than a vassal to Napoleon.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Auerstädt, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Finland; Frederick William III, King; Friedland, Battle of; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Golymin, Battle of; Halle, Battle of; Hanover; Heilsberg, Battle of; Ionian Islands; Jankovo, Battle of; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Kamenski (Kamensky), Mikhail Fedorovich; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Louise, Queen; Magdeburg, Siege of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Prussia; Pultusk, Battle of; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Saalfeld, Action at; Saxony; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Stralsund, Siege of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Ulm, Surrender at; Westphalia

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### Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)

Charles James Fox was a celebrated British statesman and renowned orator. He led the main Whig faction in Parliament, in opposition, from 1784 to 1797. Fox supported some aspects of the French Revolution and was a vocal critic of Britain's war with France.

Born in Westminster, in London, on 24 January 1749, Fox was raised with many advantages for his later career in politics. His first private tutor was Rev. Philip Francis, a translator of Demosthenes, the famous Greek orator with whom Fox's speaking abilities would later be compared. Fox's formal education was at the academy at Wandsworth, which was headed by a French refugee; Eton, a school famous for its parliamentary tradition; and Oxford, where he attended Hertford College. Less formal learning shaped his thoughts about the French, too, some acquired by his grand tour and during other trips abroad, several to France. In 1769, at the young age of twenty, Fox took a seat in Parliament as member for Midhurst.

At the beginning of his political career, Fox was a court supporter. But by 1772 he had come increasingly to oppose the policies of King George III. Fox came to support the grievances of the American colonies against the administration of Lord North. Fox's speeches to Parliament on that subject gained him a reputation for oratory and quickened his friendship with Edmund Burke. Unlike Burke, Fox was also sympathetic toward the Revolution in France. For Fox, the American Revolution and the French Revolution were both best understood as extensions of England's Glorious Revolution of 1688.

From 1789 to 1791 Fox aimed to keep the Whigs united. As political tensions in Britain became heightened

over events in France, the Whigs split into a liberal and a conservative branch. Fox's preference for reconciliation was increasingly untenable and also unpopular. While he condemned the execution of Louis XVI, Fox maintained that Britain was not justified in going to war against France, a stance that led to opposition with William Pitt. When "Pitt's war" was declared in 1793, Fox fought against the counterrevolutionary spirit that in Britain saw the Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Fox wanted to end the war. After pleading his case for many years to no avail, in 1797 Fox withdrew from Parliament. Research for a history of King James II took Fox to France in the summer of 1802, where he met and dined with Bonaparte, whom he did not much like. With Pitt's death in 1806, Fox was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs. He aimed to negotiate peace with France, but he found that to be impossible given Napoleon's designs. In the summer of 1806, his health failing, Fox was forced to give up attendance at Parliament. He died on 13 September of that year.

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*See also* George III, King; Great Britain; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Pitt, William

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### Foy, Maximilien Sebastien, comte (1775–1825)

Maximilien Foy was one of the ablest divisional commanders in the French Army. He fought in the republican period but was better known for his part in the battles in the Peninsula. He fought at Waterloo, where he was wounded.

Foy began his military career in the artillery in 1792. In this early period he fell afoul of the political changes in France and lost his rank. However, in the Thermidor coup of July 1794 he was reinstated in the army. He fought in the Army of the Rhine in 1796, receiving a wound at an action at Kehl. In 1799 at the battles of Zürich he commanded part of the artillery, and in 1800 he was present at Engen and Biberach. In 1803 he commanded the coastal defenses at Boulogne and the mobile artillery protecting the flotilla that was preparing for the invasion of England. In 1805 he

served in General (later Marshal) Auguste de Marmont's corps and for a short time was in Constantinople on diplomatic duties. In 1807 he was under the command of General Jean Andoche Junot and fought against the British at Vimeiro (21 August 1808). He was promoted to *général de brigade* and was involved in the pursuit of the British under Sir John Moore, culminating in the Battle of Corunna (16 January 1809). He was captured by the Portuguese after the Battle of Oporto (12 May 1809) but was released soon afterward. In 1810 he was made a baron and was badly wounded at Busaco (27 September). He returned to France to take news of the campaign in Spain to Napoleon and was promoted to *général de division*.

He returned to Spain and was given the command of a division in VI Corps. He fought with great distinction at Salamanca (22 July 1812). His division allowed the defeated French to retreat across the river Tormes by fighting a rearguard action in the gloom of the close of the day. Following this defeat Foy's troops were badly mauled when they were attacked at García Hernandez (23 July 1812) by the Earl of Wellington's heavy cavalry. One of the French squares was broken in this action. In 1813 he defended Tolosa and took part in the engagement at Maya (25 July 1813), where the French were successful, though they were later defeated at the Battle of the Nive (9–12 December 1813). As the war in Spain drew to a close, Foy was once more wounded, at Orthez (27 February 1814).

Upon Napoleon's abdication Foy was allowed to retain his commission by the restored Bourbon government. However, he rallied to Napoleon in 1815 and was given a divisional command in General Honoré, comte Reille's corps during the Waterloo campaign. His forces were engaged at Quatre Bras (16 June), where he occupied a position in the French center. Two days later, at Waterloo, he was wounded in the shoulder while his men were engaged in the assault against Hougoumont, which they had endeavored to take for most of the day. He retired from service in August 1815 and entered political life, writing at the same time a detailed history of his military exploits.

Ralph Baker

*See also* Biberach, Battle of; Busaco, Battle of; Corunna, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Junot, Jean Andoche; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Maya, Battle of; Moore, Sir John; Nive, Battle of the; Oporto, Battle of; Orthez, Battle of; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Salamanca, Battle of; Thermidor Coup; Vimeiro, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## France

France was the prime mover in the series of revolutionary wars that rocked Europe and other parts of the world from 1792 to 1815. At the same time, the country was undergoing profound internal changes, which affected and were affected by its military struggles.

### The Revolution Begins

The era of the French Revolution began with the summoning of the Estates-General in 1789, a desperate move by a French regime facing a fiscal crisis. The Estates-General had not met since 1614. It was composed of representatives of the “three estates”—the First Estate (clergy), the Second Estate (nobility), and the Third Estate (all others)—a manner of categorizing society that had originated in the Middle Ages and was increasingly incompatible with the changing society of eighteenth-century France. Dissatisfied leaders of the Third Estate adopted the title “National Assembly” and allied themselves with dissident members of the first two estates and the people of Paris, who stormed the royal prison of the Bastille on 14 July, thus inaugurating what for most historians signifies the beginning of the Revolution. In the following months the assembly gravitated toward an evermore-radical approach in its attack on existing society.

Pre-Revolutionary France—the *ancien régime*—was an aristocratic society in which the nobility enjoyed legal privileges, including exemption from some taxes, and a monopoly on certain offices of state and the Church, particularly in the military realm. Members of the Third Estate resented aristocratic privilege. Very early in the Revolution, the National Assembly abolished the feudal privileges of aristocrats in a wave of enthusiasm shared by many aristocrats themselves. The abolition of the legal privileges of classes (gender was a different matter) was made explicit in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, adopted by the Constituent Assembly in August 1789. The declaration announced that all citizens were equal in rights and that distinctions could only be made for pragmatic reasons—an assertion that destroyed the traditional position of the nobility. In July 1790 many of the remaining marks of nobility were banned, including titles, coats of arms, and liveried servants. Nobles were not recognized as differing from the rest of the population in any way. Although many French nobles supported the Revolution, particularly in its

early stages, the term *aristocrat* came to be used to denounce the enemies of the Revolution, even where technically the term was applied inaccurately.

The aspect of the Revolution that most shocked contemporary Europeans was the overthrow of the monarchy and the subsequent execution of the king, Louis XVI, and his queen, Marie Antoinette. Although at the beginning of the Revolution, the Revolutionaries had proudly proclaimed their loyalty to the king, the subsequent months and years saw a growing alienation between the government in Paris and the court and royal family. This alienation culminated in the flight to Varennes in June 1791, as the royal family unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the Revolutionary government. After their capture, the king and his family became prisoners, although the monarchy itself was not formally abolished until 22 September 1792. Louis was executed on 21 January 1793, and Marie Antoinette on 16 October.

The aristocracy and the monarchy were not merely political institutions but also cultural formations. The Revolutionary attempt to purify French culture of its aristocratic and monarchical elements extended deep into the fabric of society. The old forms of formal address, *monsieur* (my lord) and *madame* (my lady), were replaced with *citoyen* and *citoyenne*. Even new playing card decks omitting the kings and queens were introduced.

One of the most formidable challenges the Revolutionaries faced was the Catholic Church. The French church, whose leadership was drawn almost entirely from the nobility, had been a buttress of the pre-Revolutionary order. It was also one of the biggest landowners in France. The loyalty of French Catholics, and particularly French Catholic priests, to a non-French authority, the pope, also challenged the Revolutionaries. The secularization of church lands, in which Revolutionary France followed the precedent of Europe's Protestant regimes, was one of the earliest attempts of the Constituent Assembly to deal with France's fiscal crisis. The Revolutionary government also took over the papal enclaves within France, Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin.

Revolutionary opposition to the church was not merely based on the church's institutional status; the Revolutionaries also opposed the Church's ideology. Many of the French Revolutionaries were influenced by the Enlightenment, with its aggressive assertion of religious tolerance and its distrust of clerical power. French Revolutionaries dissolved the bonds between church and government that had made France a Catholic state. Freedom of religion was one of the principal guarantees in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and Revolutionary France was the first European country to grant full civic rights to Jews.

The earliest attempt to secure the loyalty of the church to the Revolutionary state was the Civil Constitution of the

Clergy, dating from 1790. This constitution required members of the clergy to take an oath of loyalty to the constitution, dissolved religious orders, and made the posts of bishops and parish priests elected positions. It created a division between those clergy who swore the oath—the “Constitutional Church”—and the “nonjurors,” those who refused or withdrew their oaths, following the instructions given, after some delay, by the pope.

One of the most important changes to occur in France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods was the rise of centralization. Although France had been evolving as a more centralized country under the *ancien régime*, the Revolution saw the pace of this process radically increase. In territorial administration, the old France of overlapping jurisdictions and large provinces with separate historical origins, administrations, privileges, and institutions was replaced by a new France composed of small departments (*départements*), as alike as the administration could make them, all with the same legal status and all increasingly run from Paris. Internal tariff barriers were also abolished, although those between France and foreign countries remained.

The drive toward standardization extended to culture. The National Assembly sought to create a uniform system of measurements to replace the chaotic system of different measurements prevailing in different parts of France. Their efforts culminated years later with the creation of a simple and easy method of weights and measures—the metric system—which, however, still faced fierce resistance.

European powers initially saw the French Revolution as increasing French vulnerability. The major continental powers, however, were too busy with affairs in Poland and elsewhere in the east to immediately concern themselves with developments in France, despite their rhetorical denunciations of the Revolutionaries. The threat to the royal family, which was related to other European royal houses, and the increasingly bellicose rhetoric of French politicians caused the German powers, under Austrian leadership, to adopt a harsher tone with France, though they still hoped to avoid war. However, the dominant faction in the assembly early in 1792, a loosely knit group under Jacques-Pierre Brissot known as the Girondins, hoped that war would unify the country behind their leadership. France therefore declared war on Austria on 20 April.

War presented the new French government with difficult challenges. Like other European powers, pre-Revolutionary France had an army dominated by the aristocracy that furnished the vast majority of the officer corps. (The least aristocratic segment of the officer corps, the artillery, was, unsurprisingly, also the most loyal to the Revolution.) As the Revolution grew more radical, more officers

emigrated, and the loyalty of those who remained grew less reliable. The spread of Revolutionary ideals among ordinary French soldiers and sailors undermined military discipline. The earliest battles between France and the First Coalition led by Austria and Prussia constituted serious setbacks for France. The tide of war, however, began to turn with the French victory at Valmy on 20 September.

War contributed to the universalization of the principles of the Revolution. Both sides cast the war not merely as a struggle between states but as a conflict between conservative and monarchical ideologies, on the one hand, and those of the radical, republican, and anti-Christian French Revolution, on the other. The presence of exiles, both French émigrés at foreign courts and foreign exiles in Paris, encouraged the tendency to see the wars as ideologically based. Revolutionary universalism had, after all, been implicit from the beginning, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man had spoken of Man in the abstract, not of Frenchmen. Most shocking of all for the monarchies of Europe, however, was the French government's willingness to help all peoples struggling for liberty, a position publicly enunciated on 19 November.

### The Jacobins and the Terror

The Revolutionary project of refashioning French culture and society was at its height in the period known as the Terror. The Terror saw the domination of French politics by Jacobins, members of the Jacobin Club, a political association that had originated in Paris and attracted emulators throughout France. The Jacobins began to take power from the Girondins in the summer and fall of 1792, forming a government known as the Convention. The next year the Jacobins eliminated their rivals and established the most effective governing body seen in France since the Revolution began, the Committee of Public Safety, a group of twelve men whose leading politician was Maximilien Robespierre.

Although the Jacobins continued to proclaim the principle of religious toleration, among them were Revolutionaries who hoped to carry forward the principles of radical Enlightenment anticlericalism to the destruction of Christianity itself. These “de-Christianizers” hoped to establish a new religious calendar and set of rituals to reinforce the principles of republicanism. (Most Revolutionaries opposed atheism, which they viewed as “aristocratic.”) The high point of the effort to create a republican religion was the Feast of the Supreme Being on 8 June 1794, a deistic rite. The Jacobin regime also continued the struggle for rationalization and standardization. The months of the year were renamed in a systematic way relating to the agricultural calendar. The boldest attempt to remake standards was the replacement of the week with a ten-day period

known as the *décade*. The *décade* also contributed to de-Christianization by abolishing Sunday, as well as giving French workers one day off in ten rather than one in seven—two reasons it failed.

The Jacobins also believed strongly in a centralized government situated in Paris, the focus of their political base. The term *fédéraliste* became an insult directed at their opponents. The Convention was marked by vigorous action against the enemies of the Republic (real and imagined), both foreign and domestic. The Terror, a judicial purge of those “aristocrats” and “traitors” whom the Revolutionary government saw as a threat, claimed thousands of victims, many of whom were politically harmless. The Jacobins saw all other organized political factions, whether of the “Left” or the “Right,” (these terms deriving from the respective seating arrangements of liberal and conservative political groups in the chamber holding the National Constituent Assembly between July 1789 and September 1791) to be not truly loyal to the Republic. The intensity of the Terror, vigorously promulgated both by local Jacobins and by emissaries sent out from Paris, varied greatly across France.

The military challenges facing France were made even greater with the addition of Great Britain, ultimately Revolutionary France's most persistent opponent, to its list of enemies early in 1793. Another front, against Spain, opened shortly thereafter. The response of the Revolutionaries to the military challenges facing France was the *levée en masse*, which called for a total mobilization of the resources of the country for war, with the eventual aim of building a massive army of over a million men through conscription. The Committee of Public Safety and its servants performed prodigies of energy and organization to raise, equip, and support its military forces. The creation of the new French military also constituted a social revolution. As the old military leadership was alienated by the Revolution, careers for officers were opened for very young men of nonaristocratic backgrounds. The foremost among these was Napoleon Bonaparte, but there were many others. Despite the success of the conscript army, however, conscription created another domestic problem: the revolts in the Vendée in western France, touched off by conscription but grounded in the loyalty of the inhabitants toward the monarchy and Church over the Revolution.

### The Thermidorian Reaction and the Directory

The Terror ended in 1794 with a coup that brought together extreme leftists and moderate republicans against the Jacobins, specifically Robespierre, who was executed along with several of his followers on 27 July. Known as the Thermidorian (or Thermidorean) reaction after the republican month of Thermidor in which it took place, it marked the

end of the Revolution as a project for transforming society and the beginning of a series of regimes focused on defending the Revolution's gains from domestic enemies of the Right and the Left as well as from foreign armies.

After the Thermidorian reaction, the Constitution of 1795 established a group of five directors: the Directory. The directors were to be chosen by a bicameral legislature elected by men who met certain property qualifications. The ministers, the executive administrators of the country, were responsible to the directors rather than to the legislature. This separation of powers was a response to the fear of a repetition of the unrestricted terror that had been inflicted on the country by the Committee of Public Safety, which had combined executive and legislative power. The Directory also moderated the anti-Christian policies of the religious extremists. France was now ruled by the middle classes and by the profiteers of war and revolution—financiers and military contractors. Unlike many of the early Revolutionary politicians, the directors were not remarkable personalities, although some, notably the former leader of the Committee of Public Safety, Lazare Carnot, were excellent administrators.

Although most of the powers at war with Revolutionary France, including Spain and Prussia, made peace in 1795, war continued with Austria and Britain. The war with Austria was mostly fought in Italy, under the leadership of the charismatic young general, Napoleon Bonaparte. The Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 confirmed French conquests in Italy and Belgium. Peace talks with Britain, however, were unsuccessful, and the Directory and its generals made several attempts to attack Britain where it was vulnerable, including an unsuccessful invasion of Ireland in 1798. Loot from the wars helped the Directory stabilize the French currency.

Internally, the Directory faced challenges from the Right and the Left. In 1796 a left-wing conspiracy led by Gracchus Babeuf was defeated with little difficulty. In 1797 a number of monarchists in the legislature attempted to return France to its political past. This movement was crushed by the directors and the army, whose leaders feared that a return to monarchy would lead to peace and an end to the perceived benefits of the Revolution. The regime's dependence on the army, however, ultimately proved fatal. Bonaparte overthrew the Directory in the famous coup of Brumaire in November 1799.

Bonaparte's coup d'état was the culmination of a process by which the military had acquired a stronger political role in society at the expense of civilian rule. This problem was particularly pressing in light of Bonaparte's military success and ambition. His popularity remained undimmed either by the recent failure in the Middle East and his return to France virtually alone on 9 October or by

his having deserted his army. In Paris he began sounding out politicians interested in carrying out yet another of the coups that had marked the Directory's career. On 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November) three directors complicit in the plot resigned, and the other two were arrested. When the legislative councils met, Bonaparte presented himself before them as the savior of the nation. A group of followers of the conspirators shortly after appointed Bonaparte along with two others as consuls, or heads of government, but there was no question that Bonaparte was more than the first among equals. Thus was born the Consulate, which lasted from 1799 until 1804.

### The First Empire

Napoleonic France was a curious mixture of the traditions of the Revolution and those of the *ancien régime*. The most striking example of the return of the old is that of hereditary monarchy. After a plebiscite, Bonaparte was crowned Emperor Napoleon I by the pope on 2 December 1804. Legislative institutions continued to exist, but exercised little power. Real power was held by the appointed Council of State. Napoleon also re-created a hereditary nobility and increasingly turned to administrators with a royalist background. Following an explicitly dynastic policy, he also lavishly distributed European thrones to members of his incompetent family.

Napoleon attempted to settle the Revolutionary quarrel with the Catholic Church with the Concordat of 1802, which ended the separate existence of the Constitutional Church and recognized Catholicism's privileged position in France, much to the disgust of some old Revolutionaries. However, it was the church that made the greatest concessions, recognizing the alienation of the bulk of church lands and the loss of papal territories as permanent and accepting French government control over papal activities in France. Like French Protestant ministers, Catholic priests became salaried government employees. Despite this agreement, Napoleon soon fell out again with the pope, and many French Catholic clergy quietly opposed his government.

However, Napoleon also built on the Revolutionary legacy. He continued the process of standardization with the creation of a single, uniform code of law for the entire country, thus ending the centuries-old practice by which the north and south of France had been subject to different legal regimes. The new, standard legal code, known as the Code Civile des Français (promulgated on 21 March 1804, proclaimed on 18 May of the same year, and known as the Code Napoléon from September 1807), would be imposed on or adopted by many countries apart from France as well. Napoleon also centralized and created nationwide standards for higher education with the founding of the Imperial University. Napoleon's military continued to em-

phasize the possibility of career advancement for talented soldiers regardless of social background. The Emperor also continued the Revolutionary policy of religious toleration.

Napoleon's military genius and the mass armies and efficient administration developed by the Revolution were a devastatingly effective combination, leading to victory after victory and eventually to French hegemony over continental Europe west of Russia. A problem Napoleon was unable to solve was France's naval inferiority to Britain. After defeat at the Battle of Trafalgar, France had lost the ability it had under the Directory and the Consulate to dispatch significant forces by sea. Indeed, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars completed the process by which France lost nearly all of its overseas colonies. French resources also eventually proved inadequate to the task of maintaining military control over continental Europe, the high point reached with the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. The French also failed to choke off trade between Britain and mainland Europe as intended through Napoleon's Continental System. Thus, in spite of massive loss of life between 1792 and 1815, Revolutionary and Napoleonic France did not make significant permanent territorial gains in Europe.

*William E. Burns*

*See also* Austria; Bonaparte, Napoleon; Brumaire, Coup of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Civil Code; Concordat; Conscription (French); Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Continental System; Convention, The; Council of Ancients; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Education (French); Emigrés; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; French Army; French Navy; French Revolution; Germany, Campaign in; Girondins; Great Britain; Jacobins; Levée en Masse; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Middle East Campaign; Peninsular War; Pius VI, Pope; Pius VII, Pope; Prussia; Public Safety, Committee of; Republican Calendar; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Russia; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Spain; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## France, Campaign in (1814)

After the disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812, Napoleon still retained some of his mystique, but gradually his long-time enemies realized he was vulnerable, and a new coalition came into being. In October 1813 the French emperor suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Leipzig, in Saxony, and thereafter the armies of the Sixth Coalition advanced from Germany for the climactic battles in France in 1814.

While Revolutionary fervor had helped French armies achieve victories years earlier, the weight of French imperialism had caused an upsurge of nationalism in Europe. As Russian armies advanced into Europe, Prussia joined with Russia, and later, in August 1813, Austria joined the coalition, fearing the spread of Russian power into central Europe. In addition, as the power facing Napoleon increased, the German states in the Confederation of the Rhine began to desert this French-controlled union, and when the Battle of Leipzig was over Napoleon had lost all his confederation allies.

Napoleon could not bring himself to accept the Allied peace terms, offered on 8 November 1813, which would

have reduced France to its so-called natural frontiers: the Rhine River, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. The Allies did not want to pay the high cost in men and materiel to invade France, and they still had great respect for Napoleon's military talents. Notwithstanding these reservations, the Allies nevertheless wanted France contained and its forces ousted from Italy, Switzerland, Germany proper, and the Low Countries. Napoleon feared that a much-reduced France would expose his regime to the threats of domestic opponents willing to rise against him, and so on 1 December he rejected the peace offer.

Napoleon felt he could defeat his opponents, in part because he would have a central position against the Allies moving from many fronts in Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. He retained great faith in his strategic and tactical abilities, and he also underestimated his adversaries. Moreover, he was unable to see the real weaknesses in his own forces. He had lost a great many veteran troops—including several very distinguished senior commanders—through his many campaigns, and the invasion of Russia had cost him a vast number of horses, vital for moving supplies and artillery as well as for mounts for the cavalry. As Russian armies advanced into central Germany, Napoleon lost access first to German horses and then horses from the Low Countries, which had proven to be great assets in earlier campaigns. Worse still, when he issued a call for nearly a million men in the hopes that such a large force, even if composed of indifferent troops, would cause his opponents to hesitate, a great many Frenchmen did not respond. Indeed, it appears that perhaps only one in seven heeded the call to serve their Emperor.

As Napoleon moved to confront the threat to his home soil, he needed fresh forces, since French armies were still committed elsewhere. He left most of the 100,000 men still in Spain to contain the British and their Portuguese and Spanish allies and thus to protect France's Pyrenean frontier. He also left 50,000 troops in northern Italy under Eugène de Beauharnais to face an equal number of Austrians, so defending, albeit weakly, France's southwestern and Alpine borders. Having overstretched his resources and manpower, Napoleon faced a severe challenge that certainly would have shaken the composure of a less self-confident leader.

However, despite the great odds, Napoleon seemed to shake off the lethargy that had characterized his leadership in recent years. The earlier Napoleon had been more active, and his great victories had relied as much on strategic maneuvers and an indirect approach to battle as on mass and the tactical power of concentrated artillery working in conjunction with cavalry and infantry attacking in columns. In later years Napoleon seemed lazier and more content simply to mass his forces and to bludgeon his ene-

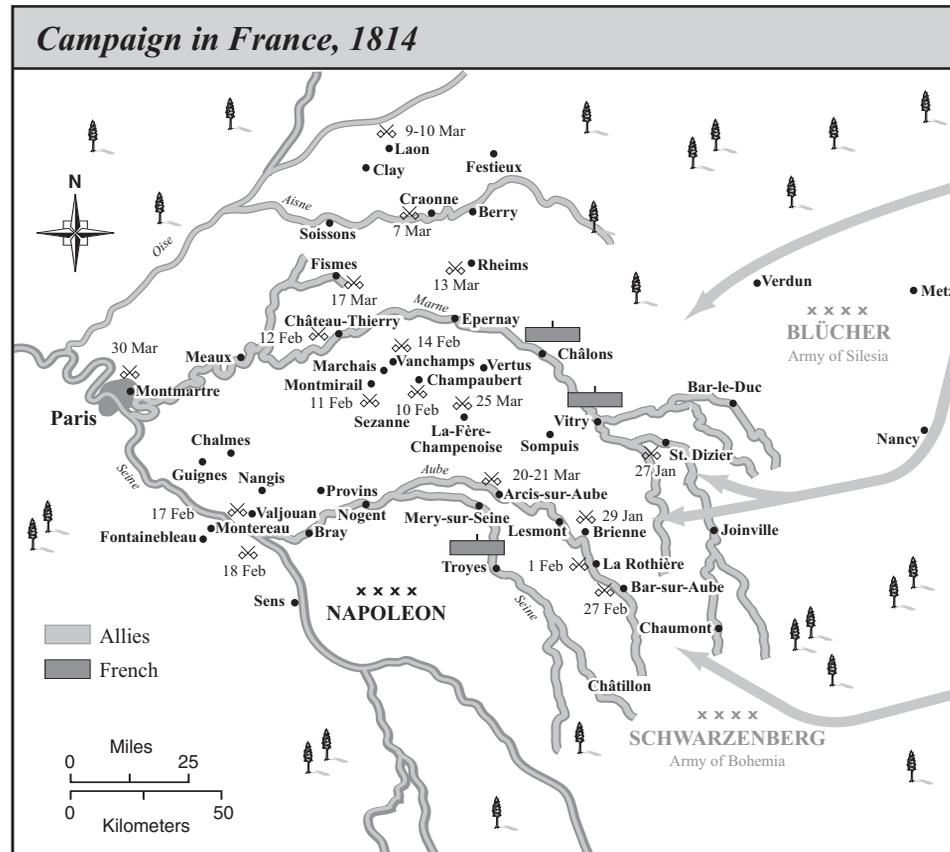
mies, at great cost to his own armies. These great battles, notably Eylau, Wagram, and Borodino, cost him precious men, horses, and materiel that he eventually found himself unable to replace.

In the opening phase of the campaign of 1814, Napoleon was able to defeat his enemies as well as to regain the respect that once made him the most feared commander in Europe. Even though he stationed most of the newly raised army in and around Paris and fought with perhaps 40,000 men at most, he won initial victories against his various opponents at Brienne, La Rothière, Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Vauchamps, Montereau, Craonne, and Rheims. He used the advantage of his interior position to attack the different Allied armies in turn and push them back. For the most part, he inflicted greater casualties than he suffered, although Allied manpower reserves greatly exceeded the human and material resources of a defending nation that had already sacrificed so much of its youth to the dreams of its Emperor.

After retreating from Germany, Napoleon had nearly 120,000 troops along France's northeastern border to face his major opponents. Three armies—*Feldmarschall* Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg's Army of Bohemia advancing from Switzerland, Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's Army of Silesia moving from Germany toward Metz, and former French marshal Bernadotte's Army of the North advancing into Belgium—intended to execute a classic strategy of maneuver in which, if Napoleon stopped to contest one advance, the others would seek to move around his position and threaten his line of communications and contact with Paris. The goal, ultimately, was to avoid bloody battles, limit Napoleon's freedom of action, and force him back upon his rear, resulting in surrender. Since the Austrian foreign minister, Klemens Fürst Metternich, still hoped negotiations would succeed, he exercised a kind of brake on the pace of advance, which aided Napoleon.

Showing great energy, Napoleon decided to attack the armies in succession before they could combine and perhaps overwhelm his green troops. He chose to attack Blücher's units, which were more scattered, after the Prussian commander crossed the Rhine, to ignore the army moving into Belgium, and to concentrate afterward against the army moving from Switzerland, which could outflank him as he faced Blücher and thereby threaten his communications.

At St. Dizier on 27 January, with 34,000 men Napoleon sought to isolate and engage a portion of Blücher's army but failed to reach it before most of the enemy had crossed the Marne in the direction of Brienne. Napoleon duly retook St. Dizier, drove off Blücher's rear guard, and pursued the Prussians to Brienne where, on the twenty-ninth, the Emperor fought on familiar ground, having at-



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 54.

tended the military academy there. He slightly outnumbered Blücher's Prussians, but most of his troops had just completed their basic training and had little if any battle-field experience. He sought to pin the Prussians and then move to turn their hanging flank, a typical Napoleonic tactic. The fighting was difficult, and at one point Cossacks nearly captured Napoleon, while Blücher also narrowly evaded capture by the French. Blücher chose to withdraw rather than risk having his flank turned, suffering 4,000 casualties to Napoleon's 3,000. As Blücher withdrew, Napoleon advanced to La Rothière.

Three days later, on 1 February, Blücher, bolstered by reinforcements and by other troops following him, moved to reengage Napoleon at La Rothière. The French had only 40,000 men, while Blücher had some 53,000, with at least that many more Allied troops moving into the general theater of operations. Napoleon did not want to risk fighting the combined armies, but his order to withdraw came late, and the fierce fighting raged throughout the day. Then the French skillfully disengaged and withdrew that evening after darkness fell. Both sides suffered about 6,000 casualties.

Napoleon had to continue the quick pace of battle before his opponents could gather to overwhelm him, and

between 10 and 14 February fought a brilliant series of engagements (Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, and Vauchamps) known collectively as the Six Days Campaign. On 10 February, at Champaubert, Blücher's army advanced in several columns too separated to provide support for one another. Napoleon moved quickly to concentrate against the more vulnerable of these dangerously dispersed units. He managed to engage 5,000 Russian troops, who were isolated from the larger Prussian army that Blücher commanded. Believing that reinforcements were en route, the Russian commander held his ground against assailants who outnumbered his forces by more than 6 to 1. Napoleon's troops, gaining experience with every battle, fought for five hours against the Russians, who, completely surrounded, finally surrendered. Their total losses reached 4,000—or 80 percent of their initial strength.

The next day Napoleon decided to renew the attack on the isolated detachments of the larger Prussian army. He developed a complicated plan for the coming battle at Montmirail. His 10,000 men faced 18,000 troops under the Russian general Fabien Osten-Sacken and the Prussian general Johann Graf Yorck von Wartenburg. But Napoleon believed his reinforcements would soon arrive, giving him a numerical advantage, and he was certain he could keep



Napoleon and his weary marshals during the campaign of 1814 in France. Despite a series of spectacular initial successes, the Emperor simply could not match the numerical superiority of the Allies. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after E. Boutigny from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

the two armies separated, holding off one while defeating the other and then turning to defeat the first. With this in mind, Napoleon detached some forces to engage General Johann von Yorck's Prussians while himself concentrating on Osten-Sacken's Russians, whom he quickly defeated. As French reinforcements arrived, Napoleon turned to confront the Prussians, who were forced to retreat. Overall, the Allies lost 4,000 men to Napoleon's 2,000.

Having defeated contingents of Blücher's army, Napoleon moved on 12 February to continue the body blows at Château-Thierry. He caught the Prussian rear guard under Yorck along the Marne River and badly mauled the tired troops, inflicting 3,000 casualties while losing only 600 killed and wounded from his own force.

Two days later, the series of running battles began again at Vauchamps. Once again, Napoleon moved to attack Blücher, who had some 20,000 troops with him. The French drove the Prussians from the field, but wet, boggy ground slowed the French cavalry pursuit, enabling most of the Prussians to escape, though they lost vast quantities of supplies and suffered some 7,000 casualties to about 600 for the French. It was a remarkable campaign for Napo-

leon, but even this series of successes could do little to affect the balance of forces moving against France.

On 18 February, four days later, Napoleon changed targets. He had pummeled and pushed Blücher and his Prussians in the series of battles in the Marne River valley; in the meantime, an Austrian army commanded by Schwarzenberg had crossed the Seine, and Napoleon needed to counterattack before the Austrians advanced too far into France. Napoleon drove his men, and they moved some 60 miles very quickly to close on the enemy. Buoyed by the idea of defending their homes and families, the French troops, no longer raw recruits, would attack with great passion. Meanwhile, when Schwarzenberg learned of Blücher's defeat, he left a rear guard at Montereau and retreated. Preceded by a massive artillery bombardment, the French attacked the Austrian rear guard in Montereau on the eighteenth, causing some 6,000 casualties to 2,500 of their own. On 22 February Schwarzenberg and Blücher linked up near Troyes, where an Allied council determined, against the wishes of Tsar Alexander of Russia and King Frederick William III of Prussia, that the Allies should withdraw, Blücher to the Marne, and the

other Allied armies to the river Aube. On the twenty-seventh, at Bar-sur-Aube, Schwarzenberg attacked French forces under Marshal Nicolas Oudinot. The French had deployed in a poor position, and the Austrians forced them back to Troyes, from which the Austrians themselves had recently advanced.

There followed a pause in the fighting for about ten days, before hostilities resumed at Craonne on 7 March. Blücher had time to regain his courage and to renew his advance on Paris through the valley of the Marne. Napoleon moved quickly to attack him, and the smaller French army pushed Blücher's larger force across the Aube. As Blücher prepared his counterattack, Napoleon intended to hold the center of his enemy, who outnumbered him more than 2 to 1, and then with a mixed force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery attack the always-vulnerable hanging flank to turn the Allied position and destroy the Army of Silesia. The attack did not go as planned, the troops assaulting the enemy flank suffered heavy casualties, and the Allied army was able to retreat in good order.

The ratio of forces, moreover, continued to turn against Napoleon, and he continued to seek the ever-more-elusive decisive victory through attack against the array of forces attempting to defeat him. At Laon on 9 and 10 March, Napoleon once again sought to turn the left flank of Blücher's army, which outnumbered his own force of 47,000 men by nearly 2 to 1. But the flank attack proceeded too slowly, and by the time Napoleon withdrew he had suffered 6,000 casualties to Blücher's 4,000. Three days later, at Rheims, Napoleon scored a minor though remarkable victory over a Russian corps when he surprised the town's garrison and drove it off in headlong retreat. The Emperor's continuing series of victories appeared to justify his contemptuous rejection of Allied terms made at Chaumont at this time, whereby Napoleon was offered peace on the basis of the 1791 French frontiers and the retention of his throne. There would be no further Allied peace proposals, and all were committed by Chaumont to wage war without concluding a unilateral peace with Napoleon.

The ordinarily cautious Schwarzenberg made a spirited attempt to ambush the French as they proceeded east to cross the River Aube at the town of Arcis on 20–21 March. Napoleon assumed other French forces could defend the Aisne River, freeing his main but shrinking army of 28,000 to confront 80,000 troops under Schwarzenberg. A daylong cavalry battle at Arcis-sur-Aube on 20 March should have led to an all-out Austrian attack on the twenty-first, but Schwarzenberg so feared walking into another trap set by Napoleon that he moved cautiously, and the Emperor was able to withdraw after losing 3,000 men.

More important, Napoleon was now cut off from Paris, with Allied armies between him and the French cap-

ital. The end was nearing. The Emperor sought to distract the Allies by striking at their lines of communication, an old and usually successful tactic of his, but this time Schwarzenberg showed uncharacteristic energy, and four Allied columns, perhaps 200,000 men, converged on Paris, where Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, led the defenders. In the last major action of the campaign, Schwarzenberg's massive army forced back a numerically inferior French force under marshals Adolphe Mortier and Auguste Marmont at La-Fère-Champenoise on 25 March, enabling the Army of Bohemia to proceed to Meaux, where it linked up with the Army of Silesia on the twenty-eighth. The Allies attacked Montmartre before dawn on 30 March, Joseph fled the capital, and other French forces, badly outnumbered, could not withstand the assault and abandoned Paris in the predawn hours of the thirty-first.

At first, Napoleon tried to rally troops to regain Paris. But while some of his troops may have been willing to continue the hopeless struggle, his generals and marshals had tired of the constant fighting, and his foreign minister, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, had opened negotiations with the Allies, including discussions on the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. When the generals confronted the Emperor with their refusal to fight, Napoleon sought, on 6 April, to abdicate and turn power over to his infant son. The Allies were determined to rid themselves of the Bonapartes, and they were firm. After Marshal Nicolas Soult lost the last battle of the war at Toulouse, in the south of France, on 10 April, Napoleon accepted the Allies' insistence on his exile on the thirteenth by the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. In the Treaty of Paris signed on 30 May, Louis XVIII, brother of the executed Louis XVI, was restored to the throne of France, whose borders were reduced to pre-November 1792 limits, so reversing nearly all of the territorial gains achieved during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, save for substantial German territory west of the Rhine. Napoleon himself went into exile on Elba, a small Mediterranean island off Sardinia.

Restless and still full of energy, Napoleon would return from Elba the following spring for one short and final campaign, which was to end in the climactic Battle of Waterloo and definitive exile to the remote South Atlantic island of St. Helena.

*Charles M. Dobbs*

*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Joseph; Brienne, Battle of; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Conscription (French); Craonne, Battle of; Desertion; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Germany, Campaign in; La Rothière, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King;

Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Montereau, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Montmirail, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Paris, First Treaty of; Rheims, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Six Days Campaign; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Dizier, Battle of; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Toulouse, Battle of; Troyes, Agreement at; Vauchamps, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Francis I, Emperor (1768–1835)

Initially, Francis reigned as Francis II, the last Holy Roman Emperor, but later as Francis I, the first emperor of Austria. Reigning throughout the entire French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, he remained a staunch opponent of republican and imperial France. Francis displayed a great capacity to work and was popular among his subjects, earning him the title “Francis the Good.” An unwavering conservative with a Beamter (minor administrative official) mentality, his priority was to maintain the power of his dynasty.

Francis was the eldest son of Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany (later Holy Roman Emperor Leopold II), and his

wife Maria Louisa (daughter of King Charles III of Spain). Although born in Florence on 12 February 1768, he was brought to Vienna by his childless uncle, Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, in 1784 at the age of sixteen to be trained as the presumed successor. Although Joseph initially found the young man timid, their relationship improved with Francis's marriage to Elizabeth of Württemberg in 1788. Francis's first real military experience came when he accompanied his uncle on campaign during the mishandled, dismal Turkish war in 1788, about which he kept a diary. Despite the overall failure of the effort, Francis never lost his willingness to use war as a political tool.

On 18 February 1790 Francis's wife died, followed two days later by his uncle, Emperor Joseph. Thus, his father, Leopold II assumed the imperial throne. In the following September Francis married his second wife (and first cousin), Maria Theresa, the daughter of the king of Naples, who would bear Maria Louisa (Marie Louise), future wife of Napoleon. After his second wife's death in 1807, Francis married Maria Ludovica, Beatrix d'Este, the following year; when she died, he married his fourth wife, Carolina Augusta of Bavaria, in 1816.

Emperor Leopold only ruled for two years, and Francis became emperor on 1 March 1792. The internal and external position inherited by the twenty-four-year-old Francis was fraught with difficulty. The various Habsburg dominions scattered from the Low Countries (Austrian Netherlands), through Germany and northern Italy, into eastern Europe (Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia), were exposed to the ambitions of the French in the west, the Russians and Prussians in Poland, and the Ottomans in the east. Francis now had to face the new dangers posed by the French Revolution, although Napoleon's assumption of an imperial title in 1804 was a concept he would accommodate. In all matters of foreign and military policy, therefore, Francis would maintain a cautious approach, accepting short-term losses in the hope of ultimate success but changing his advisers with each major defeat. His most senior and powerful advisers were the ministers responsible for foreign affairs. Initially, these were the hawks, Prince Wenzel Fürst Kaunitz and then Johann Freiherr von Thugut, who both opposed the disorder created by the French Revolution. Defeats up to 1800 and the Habsburg influence on Germany led to Thugut's dismissal, which was followed by an attempt to reorganize political government into a cabinet system, whereby Francis was only required to decide the issues affecting more than one department. This failed in 1804 with the collapse of the Interior Ministry, and Francis reverted to personal rule, albeit his attitudes being shaped by favored advisers, notably the foreign minister, Johann Philipp Graf von Colloredo. Realizing that the old Holy Roman Empire was



Francis I, emperor of Austria, whose persistent opposition to Napoleonic France cost him extensive territory and the loss of Habsburg influence in Germany. (Engraving by Meyer after A. Dumont from *History of the Wars of the French Revolution* by Edward Baines. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Harper, 1817)

obsolete, Francis adopted the hereditary title of emperor of Austria. In doing so he avoided a loss of rank and gave the Habsburg Empire's complex association of dominions a better central focus. Francis's fears of French influence and power were proved correct when Napoleon created the Confederation of the Rhine and pressured Francis into abdicating as Holy Roman Emperor, thus dissolving the empire completely.

After the defeat in 1809 he handed foreign policy to Klemens Graf Metternich, who famously claimed that while he sometimes had Europe in the palm of his hand, he never ran Austria. On Metternich's advice Francis gained time for the empire with the marriage of his daughter Maria Louisa to Napoleon in 1810. Again taking his cue from Metternich, he waited for the right opportunity to renew the war against the French at a time favorable to Austria. This came in late 1813, and by the spring of 1814 Napoleon had been removed from power. The settlement at the Congress of Vienna made Austria stronger and more compact than it had been in 1792 and renewed its power in

Germany by granting it the presidency of the German Confederation.

In the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and his death in 1835, Francis worked to oppose the influence of revolutionary thought in Europe. Paying lip service to the somewhat fanciful ideals contained in the Holy Alliance with Russia, which he signed only in deference to Tsar Alexander I, Francis adhered to the policy of repression that Metternich pursued. Consequently, Francis was denounced by European liberals and revolutionaries as a tyrant. He continued to try to avoid the mayhem caused by war and revolution by opposing reform and preferring traditional methods.

Francis did, however, remain popular with his subjects, as the *Landesvater* (father of the country) who cared for but when necessary punished his disobedient children. Seen as a well-meaning ruler and moral man, Francis remained loyal to his subjects in return, although he clearly believed that sovereign authority resided in him, placed there by God. By the time of his death on 2 March 1835, the Austrian government had been rendered almost arthritic by a system that was utterly reliant on the indefatigable industry of one man, a system ill-suited to the increasing complexity of modern methods of government.

*Lee W. Eysturlid*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austria; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Colloredo, Franz Graf von; Confederation of the Rhine; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Holy Alliance; Holy Roman Empire; John, Archduke; Marie Louise, Empress; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Vienna, Congress of

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### Frederick William II, King (1744–1797)

King of Prussia from the death of Frederick the Great to the French Revolution, Frederick William II introduced a number of important reforms but left his kingdom with a heavy burden of debt. The son of Prince August Wilhelm and nephew of the childless Frederick II “the Great,”

Frederick William became heir to the throne on his father's death in 1758.

Frederick William experienced the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) as a teenager and held his first senior command in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779). This was one of the few occasions on which his uncle gave him any praise. More often, Frederick had expressed concerns about the crown prince.

It is always difficult to fill the shoes of a great man. On ascending to the throne in 1786, Frederick William initiated the program of reforms, in both the government and the army, that characterized his reign. Most of these were welcomed, and a breath of fresh air passed through a Prussia that had stagnated somewhat in the last years of the great king. These reforms streamlined the administration and improved the soldiers' lot. Frederick William continued the work of codifying Prussia's legal system that his uncle had begun. Officers' pay was improved, and a proper pension system was introduced. Plans were made to improve the army's uniforms and equipment, and conscription regulations were improved. The light infantry introduced by Frederick was expanded. The education of soldiers' children was given more attention. Although much was started, more still needed to be done.

The reforms were interrupted by the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1792. Frederick William collaborated with the Austrians in intervening in France, sending an invading force under the Duke of Brunswick. Checked by the cannonade of Valmy on 20 September 1792, this force fell back into Germany. The war continued in the Palatinate and the Rhineland until Frederick William signed a separate treaty with France, the Peace of Basle, in 1795. Although this treaty secured the neutrality of northern Germany, Prussia's policy of participating in the defense of the Holy Roman Empire had now, in effect, ceased. Frederick William's attention was now on Poland.

Under Frederick, Prussia had been elevated from a medium-sized German state to a European great power. What his uncle had achieved mainly by military conquest, Frederick William augmented largely without conflict. The massive territorial gains made in the Second and Third Partitions of Poland (1793 and 1795), however, brought Prussia more problems than benefits, with the vast swaths of underdeveloped countryside swallowing up more resources than they produced.

Frederick William enjoyed life to the full. Very much a womanizer, he divorced his first wife, Princess Elisabeth Christiane Ulrike of Brunswick, in 1769 and married Princess Frederike Luise of Brunswick shortly afterward. Known as "Fat William," he had numerous mistresses and affairs, which did little to improve the image of the monarchy. His first marriage produced his successor, also named

Frederick William. Frederick William II died in 1797, leaving his son with severe financial problems to solve.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; First Coalition, War of the; Holy Roman Empire; Poland, Partitions of; Prussia; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Valmy, Battle of

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### Frederick William III, King (1770–1840)

King of Prussia in the most difficult part of its history, Frederick William III is often characterized as a weak ruler. Despite the collapse of the army and state in 1806, he led Prussia through this difficult period, ending his reign with a state and army stronger than when he began.

As the only son of Frederick William II's first marriage, Frederick William III was brought up knowing he was destined to be king. His first taste of what was to come was in 1792 when he commanded a brigade of the army under the Duke of Brunswick sent to put an end to the French Revolution. The invading force was checked at Valmy on 20 September 1792, and the Prussians withdrew into Germany. Although this was not evident at the time, this action was one of history's turning points. Not only had the French Revolution been saved, it was now going to engulf Germany as well, and Europe was to be at war for a generation.

The crown prince inherited his political legacy of neutrality with France when he ascended the throne in 1797, as well as the debts incurred by his spendthrift father. These problems were to characterize his reign. The reform program begun by Frederick the Great and continued by Frederick William II was not interrupted. Efforts were made to stabilize the country's finances, but it was often the case that the cash was simply not there to pay for necessary changes and for overdue investment. Reformers of the state such as Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein and Karl von Hardenberg pressed for more change, while reformers of the army such as Gerhard von Scharnhorst and August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau cried out for more resources. These needs could not be properly satisfied.

Frederick William III pursued his father's policy of neutrality in the wars with France. Not a match for Napoleon's cunning, he allowed Prussia to become isolated. In late 1805 he almost came to the support of Austria and Russia by offering, according to the terms of the Treaty of Potsdam (3 November), his armed mediation between the



King Frederick William III of Prussia. Docile and slow to recognize the growing French threat, his decision for war in 1806 ended in national humiliation. (Unsigned print from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

two sides, but rapid military events, particularly the French occupation of Vienna, made him balk at the prospect of war. With the defeat of the Third Coalition at Austerlitz in December 1805, Napoleon now provoked Prussia into war. Frederick William did not have a firm control over his generals. His army was crushed in two catastrophic defeats, at Jena and Auerstädt, in one day, the remnants were scattered on the retreat, and many fortresses capitulated without firing a shot. Napoleon dictated a peace that plundered and dismembered an already-impooverished Prussia. Left with only half his territory, Frederick William also had to support an army of occupation. Times were hard for all.

He did not support Austria in 1809 despite intensive pressure from his advisers. He walked a thin line between placating Napoleon and preparing for hostilities, and he provided a contingent for the Grande Armée during the invasion of Russia in 1812. Only when he was convinced of Russian support did he declare war against France in March 1813. The mobilization of forces and resources that then took place was unprecedented. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna divested Prussia of much of its Polish territories but compensated with gains in Saxony and western Ger-

many, thereby refocusing future Prussian policy on German affairs.

Frederick William never implemented his promise of transforming Prussia into a constitutional monarchy, but his economic reforms did much to secure a prosperous future.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William II, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Jena, Battle of; Prussia; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Valmy, Battle of

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## French Army

The army that Napoleon inherited from Louis XVI of France and from the early Revolutionary councils was ready-made and had battle experience. What he did with that army was truly remarkable, even more so when it is acknowledged that Napoleon himself was no great innovator. He applied already-established concepts and, by the strength of his own personality, his brilliant leadership, and his understanding of the men he commanded, transformed the defeated army of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) into an almost invincible force.

Napoleon took command of the (French) Army of Italy on 27 March 1796. He had some 58,000 men who were short of food and clothing and strung out along the coast from Marseilles to near Genoa. His success in this campaign was due to the characteristics mentioned above and to his strategy of hitting at enemy weak points and attacking where he was sure of victory. By 25 April he had defeated Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu's right wing at Dego and Michael Freiherr von Colli's at Mondovi. His campaign continued with the brilliant coup at the Lodi bridge, showing how much he believed in a commander's power to inspire men. His subsequent campaigns all demonstrated the validity of this concept.

One Napoleonic Order of the Day (bulletin to the troops) stated clearly how he thought the French soldier ought to respond to his particular call to arms; he posed it as an individual challenge to each of them: "All men who value life more than the glory of the nation and the esteem of their comrades should not be members of the French Army" (Chandler 1998, 149). His personal appearance at the crucial moment of a battle was profound: the famous

British military historian and strategist General J. F. C. Fuller wrote that Napoleon said, “When in the fire of battle I rode down the ranks and shouted, ‘Unfurl the standards! The moment has at length come!’ it made the French soldier leap into action” (quoted in Fuller 1970, 194). The art of leadership has rarely had a more able exponent.

### Officers and Headquarters

The Revolution brought with it almost universal liability to serve in the French Army, and the decree of the new military constitution of February 1790 declared that every citizen of the new French Republic was admissible to every rank and appointment. Many officers (some two-thirds of the original 10,000 of 1789) left to join the émigrés at Trier or Coblenz (Koblenz), unwilling to serve the new government and wary of their prospects in view of the anti-aristocratic stance of the Revolutionaries. However, some officers stayed, loyal now to the new system, and they saw how an army could be increased by forced growth.

Perhaps the best example of the continuity of command was that of Louis-Alexandre Berthier, Napoleon’s chief of staff. In 1780 he was aide-de-camp to the comte de Rochambeau (who commanded the French army in North America during the American Revolutionary War), in 1789 he was a lieutenant colonel and chief of staff to the baron de Besenval (commander of the French army around Paris), and by the end of that year he was assistant quartermaster general on the staff of the new National Guard. He held a number of staff appointments thereafter, and was appointed chief of staff to Napoleon in 1796, a post he held until the end of the campaign of 1814.

Nor was Berthier the only professional in Napoleon’s officer corps. General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan was another whose staff work was exemplary. Jourdan was known for the efficient manner in which he drew up and issued orders for the following day in a timely manner, each division receiving information on its objectives and movements, yet with the divisional commander left to sort out the finer details of the task given him: A perfect example of *Auftragstaktik* (leaving execution of a task to the recipient of an order) long before the word was coined.

Napoleon’s headquarters were divided into the Maison and Army Headquarters. Within the Maison were his immediate court (some 800 during the Jena-Auerstädt campaign in 1806) and his personal military staff. The Emperor’s court also included the imperial cabinet, whose few members were of great importance in assisting Napoleon to formulate his plans. The cabinet included the chiefs of the Topographical Office and the Statistical Office, which supplied Napoleon with the analysis and maps of the ground over which he would operate and the details of the strengths of allies and enemies, respectively.

Army Headquarters, which was sited alongside the Maison, consisted of Berthier as chief of staff, his aides, and the General Staff of the Army. The General Staff was itself subdivided into the offices of the chief of the General Staff (who directed the work of the whole), the assistant chief (the quartermaster of the army, responsible for accommodation and marches), and the assistant chief (who had the Survey Department under him). The task of this last officer was to provide daily situation maps. Also included in the headquarters were the intendant general, the commander of artillery, the commander of engineers, and the colonels general of the Imperial Guard.

When Napoleon was at the planning stage of any operation he had behind him a professional staff able to move his army, concentrate it where needed, and also able to provide logistical support and operational engineering units to ensure that bridging and other transport matters were taken care of. Many countries and armies later adopted the structure of Napoleon’s headquarters, with varying degrees of success, and today, as then, the smooth operation of headquarters can determine the success or failure of a campaign or mission. Napoleon chose men who could make things happen for him, not men who were timeservers or egocentrics.

### Napoleon’s Doctrine

Napoleon inherited a functional army from his predecessors, and upon it he imposed a very functional staff system. But what of his doctrine of war? Once more the fact that he was rarely an innovator is apparent, but what he did do would make the French Army into a fighting force that won battles.

Tactical doctrine after the Seven Years’ War and the defeat of France focused on discussions of new ways of deploying and maneuvering infantry. Fighting could be conducted in line (where the majority of the infantry was spread out to face the enemy) or in column (where the shock and weight of the column was used to break an enemy line). Many officers were skeptical about the effect of musket firepower, regarding the massed bayonets of the column as more effective. The duc de Broglie tried out the new tactic of deploying men in line in 1778, but at that time the results were not conclusive. Nevertheless the drill books of 1788 (provisional) and 1791 showed the advantages to be gained from using *l’ordre mixte*, a combination of line and column. This method was successfully used by Napoleon’s troops right through to the end of the First Empire.

Napoleon himself had learned much from books, and very little initially from experience. In 1788–1789, however, he was given charge of the demonstration unit of the Artillery Training School at Auxonne, where he had the job

of trying out new ideas in artillery. Napoleon's extensive reading led him to base his plans on maneuvering and flexibility. Whenever possible he attacked before his enemies were ready, defeating the component parts of his enemy's armies before they could combine to create a dangerous mass. He pushed his men to move as fast as possible, working on the principle that if the French arrived unexpectedly they would always have the advantage of surprise—perhaps the fundamental element of good campaigning.

### Infantry

By the time of the French Revolution, a properly handled infantry was undoubtedly the master of the battlefield. Training and drills had improved the infantry's rate of firing their flintlock muskets, although the weapon had limited accuracy at ranges greater than 100 yards. Fitted with the bayonet however, the weapon became formidable at close quarters, and when allied with the thrusting column it was a danger to any force arranged against it in line. A rapid penetration of the ranks of the line could lead to lateral envelopment and the destruction of the defender.

Ranged in front of the main force in any battle were the light infantry, whose task was to skirmish—that is, to establish where the enemy was and to pin him down until the main body should arrive. The light infantry also had the task of screening the main body from enemy fire until the main body could form into its line of battle. Light infantry were considered somewhat superior, in that they were entrusted with more detached operations, for they could also be used as reconnaissance troops, as raiders, or as security troops. This gave Napoleon more flexibility in preparing for battle, because his light infantry, or skirmishers, could be used to deceive the enemy as to the whereabouts of his main body and to hide movement. Between 1793 and 1795 these tactics had been more of the nature of “horde” tactics—by which undirected masses of men hurled themselves at the enemy, often with the bayonet—but after 1795 the light infantry troops were put on a more regulated footing, with men training and operating as a unit of formation. Unlike British light infantry regiments, French skirmishers were formed from the regiments of the main body, and the ethos of the army changed from brutal discipline and rigid control to a more flexible approach, in which pride in one's regiment, Revolutionary élan, and nationalistic fervor had a significant place.

In battle the French skirmishers could be reinforced from their parent regiment at any time and could effectively engage the enemy while their regiment maneuvered to outflank the enemy. They could even drive through to the enemy's rear, where the appearance of French troops would immediately cause consternation and possibly even a retreat. Furthermore, should the skirmishers meet heavy

resistance, they could re-form as a tactical unit with the parent regiment to present a firing line that would continue the advance as soon as the enemy wavered in the face of French firepower and élan.

French commanders rarely used the column as an attacking formation. Instead, it was used to move men around the battlefield with surprising speed, and it could transform itself into a firing line on demand. The majority of the damage done to the enemy on the battlefield was by skirmisher fire and artillery; the battle column actually served as a reserve for the skirmishing line and as a means of getting men to the right place at the right time in good order.

Up to 1791 the French Army had seventy-nine French and twenty-three foreign regiments, each of two battalions. Each battalion had five companies. Four of the companies were fusiliers; in the first battalion, the fifth company was the grenadier company, and in the second battalion it was a chasseur (or light) company. Company strengths were approximately 120 men. In 1791 the old regimental titles were discarded, and each battalion was increased to eight fusilier companies and one grenadier company.

By 1793 the *levée en masse* had produced an army that ranged from reasonably proficient troops (the National Guard battalions) to a rabble of men inducted under the *levée*. This mass of untrained personnel made it mandatory to create an amalgamation of the two, the *amalgame*, so that one regular battalion was organized to serve with two new battalions, passing on a legacy of steadiness and disciplined musketry to the new, untrained conscripts.

These formations were known as demi-brigades, for the old title of *regiment* was considered elitist, as was the rank of colonel. However, in 1803 the then-existing 110 demi-brigades were once more reorganized into 90 regiments. By 1808 a further reorganization resulted in regiments having one depot battalion of four companies (training replacements and reinforcements) and four *bataillons de guerre*, each consisting of four fusilier companies, one grenadier company, and one *voltigeur* (light) company. Regimental strength was 108 officers and 3,862 men. As manpower demands increased, regiments had as many as seven battalions, and new regiments were formed, with the last creations being the 135th to 156th Regiments, formed from the National Guard.

The Imperial Guard achieved a status second to no other formation in the French Army at the time, and it was more and more seen as Napoleon's “firemen,” able to turn an unfavorable situation into a victory. This they often did, until Waterloo. The Imperial Guard began as the Consular Guard, made up of the most experienced troops in the army of 1799. By 1804 they were renamed the *Garde Impériale*, and from then on they served as the reserve. In fact,

they were not often committed in battle, to the disgust of the rest of the army, but a large number of them died together at Waterloo in 1815 trying to stop the Allied advance that threatened the retreating main body of Napoleon's army. They were paid and quartered better than the rest of the army, which heightened resentment among the rank and file.

Higher formations for infantry were the division and the corps. The division, a mix of infantry and artillery, was created in 1759 by the duc de Broglie. In 1794 Lazare Carnot, Revolutionary minister of war, developed the idea further to include cavalry, and this created an all-arms formation capable of carrying out independent operations. By 1796 this system was universal throughout the French Army.

Napoleon now developed this potential of the basic system and used it in his concept of mobile warfare, made possible by fast maneuver between and in battles. The infantry was trained in marching, and now could move rapidly with its artillery. While both were engaged in maneuver, the cavalry ranged out in front and on the flanks of the rest of the division, establishing enemy positions and movements and harassing the enemy whenever and wherever required.

Armies were now growing in size, and it was seen that groups of divisions needed a superior command; to this end the corps command was created, and in 1800 General Jean Victor Moreau commanded an army of four corps of eleven divisions. By 1804 Napoleon had made the corps official, although the division remained the major tactical unit that would be entrusted with a specific mission. The corps included cavalry as well, and Napoleon also formed cavalry divisions and corps.

The division normally consisted of two or three infantry brigades (each with two to five battalions in one or more regiments) plus an artillery brigade (of one or more batteries of four to six field guns and two howitzers) and cavalry as required.

### Cavalry

Cavalry, the *arme blanche*, was under the *ancien régime* regarded as the realm of rich, aristocratic officers, but this soon changed. French cavalry was categorized as either heavy or light. The light cavalry was used for reconnaissance and skirmishing, and the heavy cavalry was employed in the charge, backed by the dragoons (once mounted infantry, but increasingly reinforcements of the heavy cavalry). This arm naturally suffered most from the emigration of its officers, as a large proportion of them came from the aristocratic families of France. By 1796, however, they were once more on the way to becoming a well-organized force.

The heavy cavalry, armed with a straight saber, constituted the shock arm. Napoleon equipped his cavalry with

horse artillery as well, which increased its effect on the battlefield. He used it in large numbers, particularly against enemy cavalry and infantry, especially when the latter was shaken or had not formed square. The heavy cavalry was also effective against retreating infantry. French cavalry leaders were acknowledged to be the best, and Napoleon exploited their ability and speed of maneuver. However, later in the Napoleonic period—and particularly after the catastrophic losses in horses during the Russian campaign—the French cavalry began to lose its edge, unable any longer to maintain the previous high standards.

The cavalry included a number of different types: cuirassiers, heavy cavalry equipped with cuirasses (breastplates) and heavy straight sabers meant for thrusting; carabiniers, heavy cavalry with similar blades, but also armed with carbines; dragoons, the backbone of the French cavalry, medium-sized men carrying sabers and also possibly armed with muskets and bayonets, valuable as antiguerrilla troops as well; hussars, elaborately dressed light cavalry, armed with a light, curved sword, and a pistol, generally used for scouting and pursuit but also used in battle; *chasseurs à cheval*, light cavalry, armed like the hussars; and *cheval-légers-lanciers*, lancers mounted on small, nimble horses.

### Artillery

Napoleon benefited from the improvements in French artillery brought about by the Gribeauval system. Jean-Baptiste de Gribeauval revolutionized artillery in Europe in 1765 when he simplified and standardized French guns into 4-, 8- and 12-pounder guns (all so-called because of the weight of shot they fired) and 6-inch howitzers. Guns were lightened (by having their barrels shortened), carriages were strengthened, horses were no longer harnessed singly in tandem (one behind the other), but in pairs in tandem, and soldiers rather than civilians were assigned to drive them, the important distinction being that the former were more receptive to taking orders and less likely to flee under fire. Accuracy was improved by means of screw-thread elevating mechanisms, tangent-scale sights, better barrel-making technology, and more precisely manufactured round shot (cannonballs). The 4-pounder gun was withdrawn from the artillery and allocated to infantry battalions to provide permanently attached fire support, but the experiment was not a success and the guns were eventually withdrawn.

French troops used Gribeauval's guns as noted above, plus 16-, 24-, and 36-pounder guns. Maximum ranges were 480 yards for the 4-, 8-, and 12-pounders. The guns weighed between 1,792 pounds for the 8-pounder to 8,260 pounds for the 36-pounder. The calibers varied from 3.315 inches for the 4-pounder to 6.90 inches for the 36-pounder.

Later in his career Napoleon created the *grande batterie*, massed artillery support for his main effort, blasting



French cuirassiers charge into the Great Redoubt during the Battle of Borodino, 7 September 1812. (Print after Albrecht Adam from *Die Grosse Zeit: Ein Jahrhundertbuch* by Theodor Rehtwisch. Leipzig:Verlag Georg Wigand, 1913)

the enemy line to allow his infantry to advance. This was a necessary result of the decline in the quality of the army over the years it had spent fighting, and the ratio of guns to men rose from 2 guns per thousand to about 5 by 1812.

Initially Napoleon had seven regiments of foot artillery, rising to nine by 1810. Each regiment had twenty companies (of eight guns each) at the start, rising to twenty-eight later on. In addition to the eight guns in each company there were some thirty horse-drawn vehicles, and personnel of four officers, ten noncommissioned officers, and seventy-nine men. In addition, after 1791 the French Army had nine regiments (of six to eight companies each) of horse artillery. In 1801 the number of horse artillery regiments was reduced to six, each of three squadrons (with two batteries each). Each battery had either six or eight guns including one or two howitzers. Their role was to give fire support to the cavalry.

### Engineers

Originally part of the artillery, the Engineer Corps of the French Army was formed in 1793, and in 1799 there were two sapper (*sapeur*) battalions and six mining companies.

The engineers of the period were in part a continuation of the engineers of the days of siege warfare, but with artillery more mobile the need for bridging in particular rendered these men more functional all over the battlefield, rather than occupying them solely with walls and fortified positions. By 1812 there were eight sapper battalions—units composed of experts in field fortification, entrenching, mining, and demolition—plus two of miners, but losses in Russia reduced the number of sapper battalions to five, with two understrength battalions of miners remaining. The engineers also provided the expert topographers mentioned above.

Napoleon's grasp of the needs of the French Army extended even to education. He realized that there was a need for centralized training of military engineering, and to provide this he set up the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. "The advancement and perfection of mathematics are intimately concerned with the prosperity of the state," he is reported to have said (quoted in Chandler 1998, 235). Thus, French mathematicians were to dedicate themselves to the solution of ballistic and hydraulic problems.

### Supply

Immediately after the Revolution, with French armies ranging across Europe, there was no method of supplying the men in the field. For this reason the troops took to foraging, a method of supply accepted by the army, and even during the Empire there was no creation of a supply system until the troops in the 1807 campaign came close to starvation. The Breidt Company had been used to transport supplies to the army, but it was so inefficient that after the Battle of Eylau Napoleon created the Train d'équipages, a military supply command that had eight battalions of four companies, each with about 140 wagons. By 1812 this had risen to twenty-two battalions of six companies, but these were still insufficient. Losses in Russia cut the total to nine battalions. The system was never fully effective, and foraging never completely stopped.

### Medical Services

Attached to the Train d'équipage was a medical company for each corps to evacuate casualties, but these were never more than a token service. Surgeons and doctors worked where they could near the battlefield, but the survival rate of casualties remained low throughout the Napoleonic Wars because there were no antiseptic treatments available; amputation was the standard treatment in many cases involving wounds, which nevertheless often turned septic or gangrenous, leading to many deaths.

### The Foreign Element in the French Army

The French Army included some foreign regiments, the best of which were the Swiss. Napoleon formed four such regiments in 1805, which served with great distinction. Portuguese troops served in the Portuguese Legion, Poles in the Polish Legion (formed in 1799), later joined by Italians in 1807, and renamed the Vistula Legion of infantry and cavalry. Germans also served alongside French troops, as did Irish and small numbers of Albanians, Greeks, and Egyptians, although the last of these were of questionable quality, as they were pressed prisoners of war.

### Enlistment

The regular infantry regiments were originally manned by volunteers, who signed on for eight years and could reenlist thereafter for two-year extensions up to a total of twenty-four years. In 1791 the National Assembly decreed that 169 battalions of volunteers should be raised, and this resulted in an army of well-trained troops, for many of the volunteers had originally served in provincial units that had been disbanded. However, more demands for men were made in 1792, which produced an intake of unwilling and untrained men, chosen by ballot, who were essentially

of no military value whatsoever. Desertion was later a factor for the French, as it was for the other nations of Europe. The *amalgame* was intended to put a stop to the rot. Three-battalion regiments comprised a core of one regular battalion and two volunteer battalions, as already mentioned, and it had an improving effect.

However, to ensure that adequate numbers of men were available for military service, conscription was introduced by the 1798 Conscription Laws. These laws required that all men between the ages of eighteen and forty register, and those between eighteen and twenty-five (later thirty) years of age were called for service. Depending upon need, an annual class (the year in which men reached the age of eighteen) could be called early or on time. In 1809 demand was so great that the classes of 1806–1807 and 1810 were called, the class of 1806–1807 having been unneeded originally. By 1813 even younger men (affectionately known as “Marie Louises”) were being called, and many failed to appear. In all, over 4 million men were called to serve their nation, and over 2.8 million actually went to war.

### Conclusion

The French Army was, for many years, able to defeat its enemies by virtue of its ability to move quickly about the theaters of war. However, the demand for manpower eventually began to outstrip the supply, and Napoleon was forced more and more to rely upon his cavalry to bring a decision in battle. The army, however, always remained loyal to the Emperor, and there can be no doubt that it was, under Napoleon, the single decisive factor in his campaigns, except at the every end.

*David Westwood*

*See also* Artillery (Land); Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Cavalry; Conscription (French); Corps System; Desertion; Division; Emigrés; Fédérés; France; French Navy; Grand Tactics; Gribeauval System; Imperial Guard (French); Infantry; Levée en Masse; Losses (French); Maison, The; Marshalate; Medical Services; Musket; National Guard (French); Rifles

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## French Navy

In 1789 the French Navy was at the peak of its strength for the eighteenth century, but with only 60 ships it was not even close to the 120 it had had during the reign of Louis XIV. During the American War of Independence (1775–1783) it enjoyed a number of successes, particularly in the Indian Ocean and above all in Chesapeake Bay, thus making possible the decisive victory at Yorktown. Nevertheless, that conflict was very expensive for France—costing a billion livres—and the inability to repay this debt was one of the main causes of the French Revolution. Nonetheless, Louis XVI's navy pursued a course of modernization by adopting the construction of classes of 74-, 80-, and 116-gun ships, following the plans of the engineer Jacques Noel Sané.

The navy was seriously affected by the outbreak of revolution in 1789, first at the dockyards and then among the crews and their officers. Dockyard workers, who were badly paid, revolted in Toulon in December 1789 and then at Brest in June 1790. The seamen, in turn, rose up at Brest the following month. In the face of this instance of disorder and of similar instances elsewhere, most officers returned to their homes until, after the arrest of Louis XVI, they emigrated. Thus, in January 1792 only 210 officers out of 610 were still at their posts. To solve the manpower shortage and open the naval service to a wider spectrum of society, the National Assembly offered posts to officers of the merchant marine, who had not attended any professional schools, and gave command of the dockyards to ordnance officers in lieu of career officers.

Unrest occurred at Toulon, the principal Mediterranean port, when on 10 September 1792 the commander of the fleet was hanged by Revolutionaries. The Republic was nonetheless able to outfit a small squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Laurent Jean François Truguet, who was able to support General Jacques Bernard d'Anselme's troops during their attack on Nice, the site of more pro-royalist unrest. Nice capitulated on 29 September, but in the meantime royalists took control of Toulon, including the naval shipyards. The British hoped to profit from these circumstances, and on 27 August 1793 Vice Admiral Lord Hood entered the port in support of the revolt. The problems faced by the Republic were compounded when, in the Atlantic, Admiral Justin Bonaventure Morard de Galle's squadron revolted on 12 September. As of that date, France had only the squadron at the port of Rochefort, a dozen ships, against the 135 ships of the line of the Royal Navy.

The crisis spread to Paris, as well, where navy ministers succeeded each other without being able to reinstate their authority. Gaspard Monge, a famous mathematician

but an incompetent minister, was succeeded by Jean Dalbarade, a brilliant privateer who was overcome by the size of the task before him. On 18 December 1793 the British evacuated Toulon, menaced by artillery that the young Napoleon Bonaparte had situated above the port. They took three ships with them but burned ten others and destroyed the stocks of the naval arsenal. The French Mediterranean fleet had effectively ceased to exist. The Republic was under attack on all fronts—in Holland, along the Rhine, in Italy, and along the Pyrenees, while royalist revolts within France multiplied, especially in the Vendée.

The Convention tried to reestablish order by sending representatives on mission (political commissars) to the ports. Representative Jean Bon Saint-André turned out to be outstanding in this role and appealed for aid from the few pre-Revolution professional officers who had continued to serve the Revolution. The changes wrought in the officer corps were obvious, with experience and training woefully lacking: At Brest in 1794, of twenty-six captains, only three had served as lieutenants (the preceding rank) and eleven as second lieutenants; the others had come from the merchant marine. Half the crews had never even been to sea in a warship. Not surprisingly, the first encounter between British and French fleets during the war, the Battle of the Glorious First of June (known as such by the British, in any event), was a tactical victory for the British, who captured seven ships. However, the accompanying convoy of 150 ships bearing desperately needed grain, commanded by Admiral Pierre Jean Vanstabel, entered Brest safe and sound. It may be said with some justice that on this occasion the French Navy saved the Revolution, and Maximilien Robespierre remained in power.

The slow reconstruction of the French Navy then began, but it lacked an officer cadre, crews, and supplies; worst of all, its orders originated in Paris, issued by a government with no experience of naval administration. France had neither an admiralty nor a naval staff capable of formulating policy. Indeed, the Convention in Paris was so utterly ignorant of naval affairs that it considered the navy a kind of "naval army" that could be easily moved from one sea to another depending on immediate strategic needs. Some of the handicaps experienced by the navy are instructive: Admiral Pierre Martin's squadron, for instance, tried to convey troops to Corsica, but money and resources were lacking, and some of his ships carried supplies sufficient for only fifteen days.

The paradox for the navy was that it was not totally eliminated from the sea by Britain's all-powerful Royal Navy. Indeed, the French Navy had its share of successes. In 1794 the French recaptured Guadeloupe thanks to a successful landing by Victor Hugues. The Directory restarted the privateer war on 15 August 1795, sending out large

numbers of these vessels, together with warships themselves, to prey on British commerce. Admiral Zacharie Jacques Allemand's squadron patrolled off the African coast, Corentin-Urbain de Leissegue's operated in the Antilles, Honoré Ganteaume's in the Levant, Joseph de Richery's off Newfoundland, and Pierre-César Sercey's in the Indian Ocean. The success of the French Navy forced the British to evacuate Corsica and to abandon the Mediterranean altogether in 1796.

In that year, too, the Directory prepared for a landing in Ireland. The military forces to be disembarked were commanded by General Louis Hoche, who had no knowledge of naval affairs. Thanks to the efforts of his deputy chief of staff, Admiral Eustache Bruix, the squadron of seventeen warships and twenty-two transports left Brest on 15 December 1796 under the command of Morard de Galles. The ships were poorly provisioned, and the crews were poorly trained. The landing in Ireland failed, but it caused considerable consternation in Britain. The French tried again in May 1798, during the Irish Rebellion. They succeeded in landing 1,000 men in Donegal, but Hoche was captured together with Wolfe Tone, one of the principal rebel leaders, who was aboard his ship.

Even as these threats were averted, the Royal Navy had implemented its traditional strategy against France: the close blockade of the naval ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon, the last of which contained only about twenty ships, all in poor condition. This strategy was hard on the men and ships, as well as costly, but it succeeded in ensuring that the French could not combine their various squadrons into a substantial fleet. This was essential, for only a fleet was capable of protecting Britain against a French landing. This threat was real: In March 1798 the Directory assembled a flotilla for precisely this purpose, composed primarily of small transports and merchantmen. Bonaparte was appointed commander of this optimistically named Army of England, but he abandoned the project in favor of an expedition to Egypt. Mistakes made by Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson allowed the sortie of the fleet and 36,000 troops on 19 May. Malta was taken on 9 June, and Bonaparte landed virtually unopposed at Alexandria. The destruction of the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay on 1 August, did not prevent Bonaparte's victories on land, but, crucially, it left his army stranded in Egypt.

In 1799 the Directory dispatched the Atlantic fleet from Brest, consisting of only twenty-five ships of the line, commanded by Bruix. He was able to resupply General Jean Moreau's army in Liguria and managed to return before the British reinstated the blockade of his home port. In 1800 the Directory failed to resupply the army in Egypt and resumed preparations for the planned invasion of England, conceived by the naval engineer and minister of the navy,

Pierre Alexandre Laurent Forfait, and to be carried out by Louis-René Levassor de Latouche-Tréville. Eight hundred flat-bottomed boats, gunboats, and barges needed for the landing were constructed. On two occasions Nelson suffered setbacks at Boulogne at the hands of Latouche-Tréville, most notably in August 1801. With the Peace of Amiens in on 15 March 1802, the French Navy resumed its program of reorganizing its shipyards and dispatched an army of 35,000 to recapture St. Domingue (shortly thereafter to become independent Haiti). The navy's budget was 130 million francs, but by the end of 1803, France had only 37 ships of the line, of which only 16 were actually serviceable and 6 were under construction. Britain, on the other hand, had 189 ships of the line, of which 95 were ready for service and 17 were under construction.

There was a significant gap in frigates, the type of intermediate-size warship that helped train future captains for the larger ships of the line. France had 20 frigates, while Britain had 197, of which 128 were at sea. In view of this discrepancy in naval forces, it was impossible for France to hope to defeat Britain at sea. Ganteaume observed that it was foolish to think that the British would abandon their watch on the Pas de Calais (from whence an invasion would have to originate)—a true enough statement, but one that lost him the command of the Toulon fleet. In a similar vein, in 1805 Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve declared that he would never be able to reach the English Channel with the combined Franco-Spanish forces that Napoleon ordered him to concentrate there. Napoleon would therefore have to take the risk of a landing in Britain without the protection of all his warships. The efforts made to effect a landing were real and extensive: A flotilla of hundreds of small vessels was built along the Channel coast. The cost exceeded 250 million francs, but those funds contributed also toward building up the port of Boulogne and a network of coastal fortifications. Napoleon conceived several invasion plans, but he continued to hesitate, waiting for the right moment, which he believed might be in any season except winter. The alliance with Spain provided additional ships for France, yet at the same time, in the summer of 1805, Napoleon rightly suspected that Austria was preparing to form a new coalition against him.

Thus, the Boulogne flotilla became first a stratagem to entice Britain to sue for peace, then a ruse to hide the preparations of the Grande Armée for a winter campaign that would end with the victories at Ulm and Austerlitz. In August 1805, with the army at Boulogne ready to march against Austria and the priority of operations shifted to land, Napoleon abandoned his interest in the fate of Villeneuve's fleet. The ensuing defeat at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 thus seemed to France to be totally pointless, both tactically and strategically.

Napoleon nevertheless sought to maintain ties with his few remaining colonies. The naval squadrons under admirals Leissegues and Jean Willaumez were provisioned and sent to Santo Domingo (the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola, ceded by Spain in 1795) and to the Antilles in 1806, while Allemand was sent to the Indian Ocean in 1808. On 23 February 1809 the navy landed troops on Corfu in the Ionian Islands and Admiral Pierre Dumanoir Le Pelley's squadron successfully escorted a troop convoy from Toulon to Barcelona. On balance, however, the navy's capabilities had been seriously impeded by Trafalgar, and from 1805 to 1810 the French lost twenty ships of the line and fifty frigates. Vice Admiral Denis Decrès, with Napoleon's support, undertook the administrative reorganization of the navy and actively saw to the improvement of the naval arsenals at Cherbourg, Antwerp, and Flushing. He also launched a program of naval construction at all the major dockyards, as well as at Antwerp, Venice, Genoa, and La Spezzia. By 1815 French naval strength had increased to 70 ships of the line, though even this figure could not compare with the impressive British total of more than 200.

As a result of shortages, notably of seasoned wood and tar, the ships suffered from numerous defects, including wood rot caused by the use of insufficiently dried timber. Moreover, as a result of the blockade of its ports, the navy continued to suffer from a chronic lack of well-trained crews and officers. Napoleon was quite aware of this, so he employed the strategy of a "fleet in being"—maintaining a naval force sufficiently large to keep the Royal Navy ever vigilant and requiring constant manpower and financial resources, yet never actually sending a substantial French fleet into battle when the prospect of victory remained unrealistic.

The reconstruction of the French Navy was also disrupted by a serious shortage of trained sailors. International trade and fishing off Newfoundland, both of which served as means of training merchant sailors who could then serve in the navy, came to a standstill as a result of British naval supremacy. In 1811 Marseilles had only nine seagoing ships. With thousands of men idle in French ports, on 2 August 1808 Napoleon created fifty battalions of marines and twenty-five naval battalions. Each battalion was equivalent to the crew of a 74-gun ship of the line. Not including the officers, the crew consisted of 450 men, both able seamen and new recruits drawn from line infantry regiments, plus marines.

As under the *ancien régime*, the marines helped maneuver the ships, fired their muskets from the topmasts, hurled grenades, and had charge of maintaining discipline aboard ship. This training remained sound in principle, but the British blockade prevented proper training at sea.

In September 1810 these battalions took on the name of "crew." In March 1813 the naval battalions were disbanded, and the majority of the men were integrated into the army. In the face of the Royal Navy, Napoleon never took the initiative and failed to show much persistence, instead always sacrificing his navy to his fundamentally land-based continental strategy.

The strategy of blockade was very costly to Britain, but it succeeded in preventing the rebuilding and recovery of the French Navy after Trafalgar. By bottling up their opponent's ships, moreover, the British were able to support their Allies who confronted France on land: Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Portugal, and others. As is well known, it was in Spain and subsequently in Russia that Napoleon lost his best commanders and his best troops.

Patrick Villiers

*See also* Algeciras, First Battle of; Algeciras, Second Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Basque Roads, Attack on; Blockade; Bruix, Eustache; Directory, The; Donegal, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; French Army; Frigates; Ganteaume, Honoré Joseph Antoine, Comte de; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Gulf of Genoa, Battle of the; Haiti; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Hyères, Action of; Ile de Groix, Action of; Ionian Islands; Irish Rebellion; Louis XVI, King; Middle East Campaign; Naval Warfare; Nile, Battle of the; Privateers (French); Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Royal Navy; Santo Domingo; Santo Domingo, Battle of; Ships of the Line; Sloops; Third Coalition, War of the; Tone, Wolfe; Toulon, Siege of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at; Vendée, Revolts in the; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de; West Indies, Operations in the

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## French Revolution (1789–1799)

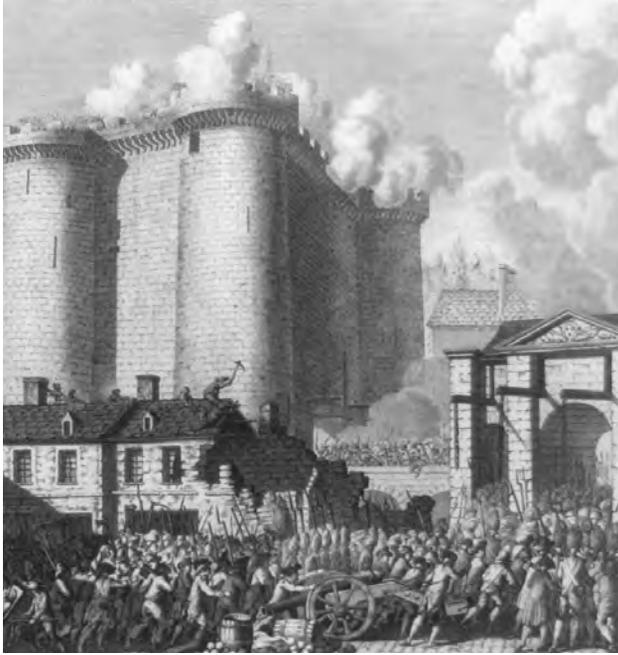
One of the great events in world history, the French Revolution has attracted and repelled in equal measure. With results ranging from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen to the Terror, it was the best of times and the worst of times, as Charles Dickens memorably put it. For better or for worse, the Revolution laid the foundations of modern politics, creating concepts and terms still employed today. Historians continue to debate and examine it from every point of view, but the perspective adopted in this short survey will explore the theme of war and revolution. These twin phenomena were inextricably intertwined during the 1790s, and an understanding of one is impossible without a comprehension of the other. This did not appear to be the case in 1789, though the bankruptcy of the French monarchy, which precipitated its downfall, was largely a product of military expenditure. However, the leaders of the National Assembly, who assumed responsibility for reshaping the French state and society between 1789 and 1791, were convinced that the advent of democracy would bring universal peace: Nations would not wage war in the manner of dynasties. This pious hope was shattered when France declared war on Austria and Prussia in 1792, and the conflict that was unleashed became a global war of unprecedented proportions that lasted for the next quarter of a century, only ending at Waterloo in 1815. It has been rightly said that this war revolutionized the Revolution, but the reverse was equally true.

Few observers in the 1780s predicted the demise of so-called absolute monarchy in France, yet for historians it is the weaknesses rather than strengths of the French Crown that stand out. Finance and administration were chaotic; there was no proper budgeting, and the famous *compte rendu* (statement of accounts), published by Jacques Necker in 1781, was the first time that any figures had been produced, even if they were misleading and deliberately designed to attract fresh loans. For the monarchy had become dependent on borrowing to survive. It proved impossible to reduce expenditure, not because of a bloated court and a spendthrift Austrian-born queen but on account of military commitments that engaged France in a battle for both continental and maritime hegemony. When it managed to separate these two commitments and fight an essentially naval war, in the American War of Independence (1775–1783), France succeeded in defeating its long-standing enemy, Britain, for the first time in a century. Yet the financial strain was immense, and the aftermath of the war demanded urgent reforms, which ministers were unable to deliver. Belying the absolutist principle, the tax system only functioned with a measure of consent from various privileged and provincial bodies, according to the traditional,

unwritten constitution. Controller general Charles-Alexandre de Calonne convened an Assembly of Notables in 1787, hoping it would underwrite his proposals for fiscal and administrative reform, but even this handpicked body proved obstructive. A more authoritarian approach was adopted, but it produced stiff resistance. The monarchy was obliged to back down and recall the long-dormant Estates-General, which had last met in 1614.

The old monarchy was not overthrown; rather, it collapsed as a result of its own shortcomings. The question was, what would replace it? For most Frenchmen the Estates-General was too antiquated to serve a modern parliamentary function. Its division into three chambers, for clergy, nobility, and the Third Estate (everyone else), provoked particular controversy during the winter of 1788–1789, for it appeared to give the first two orders a built-in majority over the third estate—hence the demands for voting by head rather than by order. The issue was still unresolved when the Estates-General met at Versailles in May 1789, and it was ultimately a group of radicals, mostly but not exclusively from the Third Estate, who decided to break the deadlock and declare themselves the National Assembly. The king and many nobles naturally demurred, but growing unrest in town and country, which owed a good deal to harvest failure and high bread prices as well as the unprecedented political situation, brought riots that worked to the advantage of the National Assembly by persuading their opponents to call off countermeasures. The taking of the Bastille in Paris on 14 July was symbolically significant, but in order to pacify rebellious peasants, it was necessary to abolish the seigneurial system on the momentous night of 4 August, at which point the term *ancien régime* was coined to describe the former state of affairs, now swept away.

It seemed a new era was dawning, not just for France but for the world as a whole; the Declaration of the Rights of Man issued later in August 1789 was cast in universal terms. The Revolution assumed a European dimension from the outset, inspiring admiration in many quarters and posing an implicit challenge to the old order everywhere. Yet the great continental powers remained much more preoccupied with the fate of Poland than with their western rival, which was deeply absorbed in domestic affairs. Virtually every institution in France awaited reform, and turning principles into practice was a huge undertaking. Ordinary people were anxious for real reform, yet government resources remained in short supply. Above all, the consensus in favor of change did not prevent the emergence of deep disagreements over its precise configuration. The bitter debate over the king's role as a constitutional monarch is a good illustration of this. It led to Louis XVI's attempt to flee the country in 1791, confirming suspicions



A Parisian mob storms the Bastille on 14 July 1789, the date traditionally marking the beginning of the French Revolution. (Library of Congress)

that he rejected the Revolution. A split within the Catholic Church, the subject of substantial reform, forced thousands of dissident clergy into opposition, while even priests who accepted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy became increasingly suspect.

In this turbulent atmosphere, external affairs began to have a decisive impact on the development of the Revolution. The emperor of Austria was naturally concerned that his brother-in-law (Louis) and sister (Louis's queen, Marie Antoinette) were at risk, while other countries bordering France offered haven to aristocratic émigrés, many of them military officers. The Revolutionaries took the plots and proclamations of these aristocrats and their foreign supporters at face value, worried that they would attract support among disaffected elements inside France. As a result, the prospect of war increasingly appealed to Revolutionary politicians as a means of flushing out traitors and uniting patriots behind the Revolution. There were few objections when, in April 1792, the French parliament declared war on Austria and Prussia. Yet the successful campaign everyone anticipated failed to materialize, and defeat brought deeper division rather than unity. The search for a scapegoat inevitably indicted the king, whose removal seemed essential to improve military fortunes. On 10 August 1792, as Prussian invasion menaced the capital, the people of Paris stormed the Tuileries palace; Louis was dethroned and incarcerated for his own

safety. With him fell the constitutional monarchy and all hope of a moderate settlement.

The course of the Revolution lurched in a radical and violent direction. It was overshadowed by the war, which initially took a turn for the better (a victory at Valmy on the day the Republic was officially declared), then worsened as Britain and the maritime powers joined the anti-French coalition early in 1793. By then Louis had been executed, but his death did nothing to unite opposing factions in a new parliament, the National Convention, that was elected on the basis of virtually universal male suffrage in September 1792. On the contrary, the fate of the king drove individuals further apart, and the war raised the stakes by making dissenters into traitors. Any hope of establishing a democratic regime was dashed by renewed crisis in the summer of 1793, when the regime was faced by a deadly combination of civil war and invasion. The Republic was thoroughly beleaguered, with foreign troops massed on every frontier, while Britain ruled the waves. The major cities outside Paris rose up in revolt against the dictatorship of the capital after Jacobin radicals in the Convention purged rival deputies with the assistance of militant, lower-class *sans-culottes*. Several parts of the countryside were also in flames, notably the west, where an area known as the Vendée, which was seething with religious tension and conflict between urban and rural dwellers, experienced a bloody uprising that was triggered by hostility to the military draft.

The odds seemed overwhelming, but the Republic benefited from its enemies' divisions: Only once, at Toulon, did foreign and domestic opponents make common cause, yet they failed to exploit the opportunity. Republicans resorted to a policy of coercion known as the Terror. One might describe the emergency powers that galvanized the government as a "war dictatorship," mobilizing the country's resources in unprecedented fashion. It was no longer possible to rely upon the persuasion that had characterized relations between center and locality. Instead of the weak executive that had replaced the monarchy, a Committee of Public Safety was created, made up of twelve deputies from the Convention. They ruled by decree and oversaw the representatives on mission, who were dispatched to the provinces to control the local authorities. There was a growing inclination, *in extremis*, to employ the weapons of repression: imprisonment by watch committees, and execution by Revolutionary tribunals or military commissions.

Given the substantial contingents employed in suppressing internal revolt, not to mention duty on the frontiers, much effort during the period 1793–1794 was devoted to recruiting and supplying a vast army that probably totaled 750,000 men. This mass levy, which

placed the resources of the nation at the disposal of the government, drew on the vast demographic reserves that France possessed but had never harnessed so effectively. A series of talented generals rose from the ranks to replace the old noble officer corps. The tide of war duly turned and, by the spring of 1794, there were calls for a slackening of the repression. By now, however, the Terror had acquired its own momentum, and there were some, like Maximilien Robespierre, who saw it not simply as a means of defending the Revolution but, instead, as a means of raising it to new heights: The supreme sacrifices of the past year would usher in utopia.

The Terror represented the most radical phase of the Revolution, not least in a social sense. If ordinary people were to support the war effort, they had to be rewarded with the vote, and also with the abolition of compensation payments for seigneurial dues or with price controls on foodstuffs. In 1793 the Declaration of the Rights of Man were extended to include entitlement to education and poor relief. In view of the unwillingness of wealthier citizens to continue assuming responsibility at the local level, modest peasants and humble artisans were given office. Representatives on mission dispensed these appointments, and they sponsored schemes for employment and land redistribution in addition to doses of repression.

The Year II, according to the Republican calendar, was also a great period of cultural experimentation, much of it consciously anti-Christian. Besides renumbering the years from the foundation of the Republic in 1792, this campaign to establish a secular republican culture divided months of thirty days into three “weeks” (*décades*) of ten days apiece. Sunday disappeared, as did a host of holidays and saints’ days. Churches were closed, and priests were encouraged, or obliged, to renounce their vows. This was partly a reaction to ecclesiastical opposition, but popular anticlericalism, as well as Enlightenment skepticism, were given free rein. Simultaneously, monarchical insignia were effaced, titles were abolished, and citizens were encouraged to greet each other informally. Rooting these changes in the popular mentality was a long-term project, and though the momentum was maintained in the wake of the Terror, the Napoleonic regime reverted to tradition. Nonetheless, cultural upheaval left a lasting imprint on religious practice.

Robespierre himself attempted to introduce a civic religion of the Supreme Being, but the lavish celebration of the cult in Paris in June 1794 only hastened his downfall. The whole edifice of Terror was subsequently dismantled. For just as military defeat had justified emergency measures, so a slackening of the crisis, following victory on the northeastern frontier at Fleurus in June 1794, led to more demands for a relaxation of authoritarian government.

Robespierre and his colleagues insisted on still more sacrifices, but the onset of the reign of virtue only seemed to uncover more vice. With no end in sight it was essential to oust Robespierre, once called “the Incorruptible,” and he was overthrown in the Convention on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794). Once again the Revolutionaries were compelled to return to first principles. There was no question of resurrecting the monarchy, since those who remained in power were all regicides. But if the Republic was to prosper, it would need to be moderate and to embrace the wealthier elements in society—in short, to rest on consent rather than coercion. The Directory, as the new regime was called after its five-man executive, aimed to chart a middle way between royalist reaction and the despotism of liberty. It sought to draw on the lessons of the past six years and preserve freedom by establishing a system of checks and balances that had not seemed necessary in the heady days of 1789 or 1792. Two houses of parliament were accordingly created, elected on an annual basis and via a restricted franchise, while the latitude granted to local authorities was limited by the attachment of centrally appointed *commissaires*.

One can fault the basic design of the Constitution of 1795, the third to be drafted during the Revolutionary decade, but its application would pose a difficult task in a country that had been torn apart by civil war. Election results from 1795 onward suggested there was insufficient consensus around this moderate republican regime; it was only consolidated with fresh recourse to force. Indeed, the voters’ choice in the inaugural elections of 1795 was largely confined to former members of the Convention, among whom two-thirds of the new deputies had to be selected, in order to guarantee a parliamentary majority for the Directory. This restriction, the law of two-thirds, provoked an insurrection in Paris, not from the sans-culottes, who were now a spent force, but from well-heeled elements who sought a more conservative solution to the Revolution. Not that radicalism was completely dead, for monarchist victory in the elections of 1797 was followed by neo-Jacobin success in those of 1798 and 1799. In order to survive, the Directory was obliged to violate its own rules, annul elections, and circumscribe freedom afresh. In the absence of support from the electorate it turned to the army, not only to supervise the expulsion of deputies but also to police the country and to try criminals in military courts. The army was regarded as a solid bastion of republican commitment, and inevitably its generals began to entertain political ambitions: Several serving soldiers were elected to the Legislative Councils and even the Directory itself.

This militarization of the Republic was also fuelled by the continuation of the war. To be sure, the Directory was generally successful in the field, to the extent that Prussia

and Spain made peace in April and September 1795, respectively, followed by Austria in October 1797. Only Britain remained stubbornly at odds thereafter, but in many ways war had become an integral part of the regime, which depended on the conflict to stimulate patriotic support and obtain essential resources from conquered peoples. Territorial gains in the Low Countries and the Rhineland expanded the original eighty-three departments to ninety-nine, while sister republics were created in Holland and Italy.

Yet the continuation of the war, like the persistence of internal division, made it difficult for the Directory to “normalize” its rule. Above all, a bellicose foreign policy put the nation at risk of defeat. This specter was raised in 1799, when Bonaparte’s Egyptian campaign revived an anti-French coalition that now encompassed Russia and Turkey (strange bedfellows) as well as Austria and Prussia. The Polish question, which had divided eastern from western diplomatic systems, was now settled (at the expense of the Poles, whose state disappeared from the map). This left the eastern states free to sink their differences and combat the resurgent French menace. In the face of huge odds, the French were forced onto the defensive and were threatened with invasion for the first time since 1793. In 1799 the increased war effort, which demanded full-blown conscription in 1798, once again sparked peasant uprisings. There were understandable fears that the Terror would be repeated as a result. In the event, emergency measures were less than draconian, and the pressure was reduced when summer victories halted the Allied advance. But confidence in the Directory, which had lasted longer than any previous revolutionary regime, was fatally undermined. Even before Bonaparte returned, unauthorized, from Egypt, plots were afoot to revise the constitution in a more authoritarian direction. The experienced Emmanuel Sieyès, who entered the Directory in 1799, was determined to make changes, though they turned out to be more dramatic than he had envisaged.

However, after a decade of upheaval enthusiasm for liberty was waning, and many people were prepared to accept stability at any price. The task of replacing the old monarchy with a viable alternative had proved far more difficult than anyone had imagined. The war had complicated that task immeasurably, and it was no accident that Bonaparte should be seen as an answer to the conundrum since, as a successful general, he could offer security both within and without. His rise to power, like the achievements of his regime, can only be assessed and appreciated against the background of the French Revolution that inspired and appalled in equal measure, a mixture of triumph and tragedy that constituted one of the seminal events in modern history.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Chouans; Conscription (French); Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Convention, The; Directory, The; Emigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Fleurus, Battle of; France; French Revolutionary Political Thought and Ideology (contextual essay); Girondins; Jacobins; Levée en Masse; Louis XVI, King; Middle East Campaign; Poland, Partitions of; Public Safety, Committee of; Republican Calendar; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Second Coalition, War of the; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### **Friant, Louis, comte (1758–1829)**

Louis Friant, the son of a wax-maker, was born in France on 18 September 1758 in the village of Morlancourt near the river Somme. Friant’s career is archetypal of the transformation of the French military. During a period of almost-constant warfare from 1792 to 1815, the armies of the French Republic and then of the Empire became the most effective fighting forces on the Continent. Friant was a lifetime soldier whose first stint in the French Army, during the *ancien régime* under Louis XVI, ended in 1787 when he left with the rank of corporal. By the end of his career, after Waterloo, he had risen to the rank of general and acquired the title of count. Friant was involved in some of the most significant battles of the French Revolu-

tionary and Napoleonic Wars. Well respected by his men, he was wounded many times and proved himself an excellent tactician.

In September 1789 Friant joined the National Guard, fighting on the Rhine front, in northern Italy, and in Egypt, where he was taken prisoner in 1801 along with other French soldiers and repatriated a short time later. After completing a term as inspector general of the infantry from 1801–1803, he joined III Corps under Marshal Louis Davout, his brother-in-law, at Bruges. During the campaign of 1805 it was Friant's troops, the second division of III Corps, who swept in at the crucial moment to provide the support for Napoleon's army to be victorious at the Battle of Austerlitz. With the average for a daily march for the Grande Armée being between 10 and 22 miles, Friant's division's 70-mile march from Vienna to Austerlitz in thirty-six hours is all the more impressive.

Continuing his outstanding service, Friant led troops during the War of the Fourth Coalition, in which he distinguished himself at Auerstädt (14 October 1806). The following year he was wounded at Eylau, and was made a Count of the Empire in 1808. In the war against Austria in 1809 he served at Eggmühl and the storming of Ratisbon, and was badly wounded at Wagram. He led a division in I Corps during the Russian campaign in 1812, during which he was wounded, yet again, at Smolensk and twice at Borodino. His service continued during the campaigns in Germany (1813) and France (1814), where he led contingents of the Imperial Guard. Considered by Napoleon as one of his most reliable generals, Friant was well liked by his men, and always returned to battle, even when he was wounded. After Napoleon's first exile in 1814, Friant was retained for military service by the new government. Friant's last command took place during Napoleon's Hundred Days, as colonel in chief of the Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, the most senior infantry regiment in the army. After Napoleon's defeat, Friant retired from military service on the return of Louis XVIII.

Friant was a recipient of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honor in 1805, the highest military award given in the First Empire. This award required long years of military service in times of both war and peace and required the demonstration of bravery and extraordinary service. Friant was later made a count of the Empire. In addition to his military service, Friant served as military governor of Luxembourg in 1795 and of Alexandria in 1800. He died on 24 June 1829 at the age of seventy, and his name is inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe. There is also a street named after him in Paris, the Rue Friant, in the Fourteenth District, running northeast from Boulevard Brune to Avenue Jean Moulin.

*J. Ward Regan*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eggmühl, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Louis XVIII, King; Middle East Campaign; Ratisbon, Storming of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign

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### Friedberg, Battle of (24 August 1796)

The Battle of Friedberg marked the high point of the French invasion of southern Germany by the Army of the Rhine and Moselle during the War of the First Coalition. The French, under General Jean Victor Moreau, defeated a delaying force of Austrians and prepared to march toward Vienna. Their further advance was prevented by a defeat suffered by the neighboring Army of the Sambre and Meuse.

French armies successfully invaded southern Germany during the summer of 1796, crossing the Rhine under the command of Moreau and of General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan to the north. Their victories over the opposing Austrians caused many of the smaller German states to drop out of the war against France. The French advance was rapid, but the Austrians had put some distance between themselves and the French. Directly opposing Moreau was an Austrian army under Archduke Charles. Charles was a resourceful commander, determined to turn back the French. He decided to concentrate most of his army and that under *Feldzeugmeister* Wilhelm Graf Wartensleben against Jourdan. They expected their overwhelming numerical superiority to ensure a victory. Charles planned to leave a delaying force to hold up Moreau until after the victory.

On 13 August Charles moved his army to the southern bank of the river Danube at Donauworth. Moreau shadowed Charles, crossing to the right bank as well. Moreau failed to close the distance between his army and Charles's, however, giving the Austrian commander time to break away. On the seventeenth, Charles crossed back to the northern bank of the Danube and marched to join Wartensleben. The two Austrian forces successfully joined and defeated Jourdan at the Battle of Amberg on the twenty-fourth. Jourdan was forced to retreat, ending the threat to central Germany.

Moreau continued to follow the southern bank of the Danube, reaching the Schmitter River, about halfway between Ulm and Munich, on 21 August. The next day he

received confirmation that Charles had taken most of his army back across the Danube. Moreau was reluctant to follow with his whole army. A plan to send only part of the army in pursuit was also vetoed because of the danger that Charles would turn on it with his whole force. Moreau decided instead to attack the covering force left around Friedberg to try to draw Charles back across the Danube.

Moreau was opposed by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour with 30,000 men. Latour had scattered his units in a cordon, trying to keep between the French and Charles. Moreau had 59,000 men, while Latour had only 6,000 men under his immediate command. The French left and right flanks quickly enveloped the Austrians and cut the roads leading east and north from Latour's position. A direct assault on Friedberg drove the Austrians from the town. Latour managed to open the road to Ingolstadt after desperate fighting, and he drew the shattered remains of his command off to the north. The Austrians lost 1,800 men and seventeen guns, while French losses were considerably smaller. Latour withdrew to the Danube, where he joined with the remainder of his army.

Moreau made little effort to follow up his victory. He remained on the Isar while trying to determine whether or not Jourdan had lost the battle. It was not until 10 September that German newspapers confirmed that Jourdan had been defeated and was in retreat. Moreau then abandoned his advanced position and started withdrawing to the Rhine.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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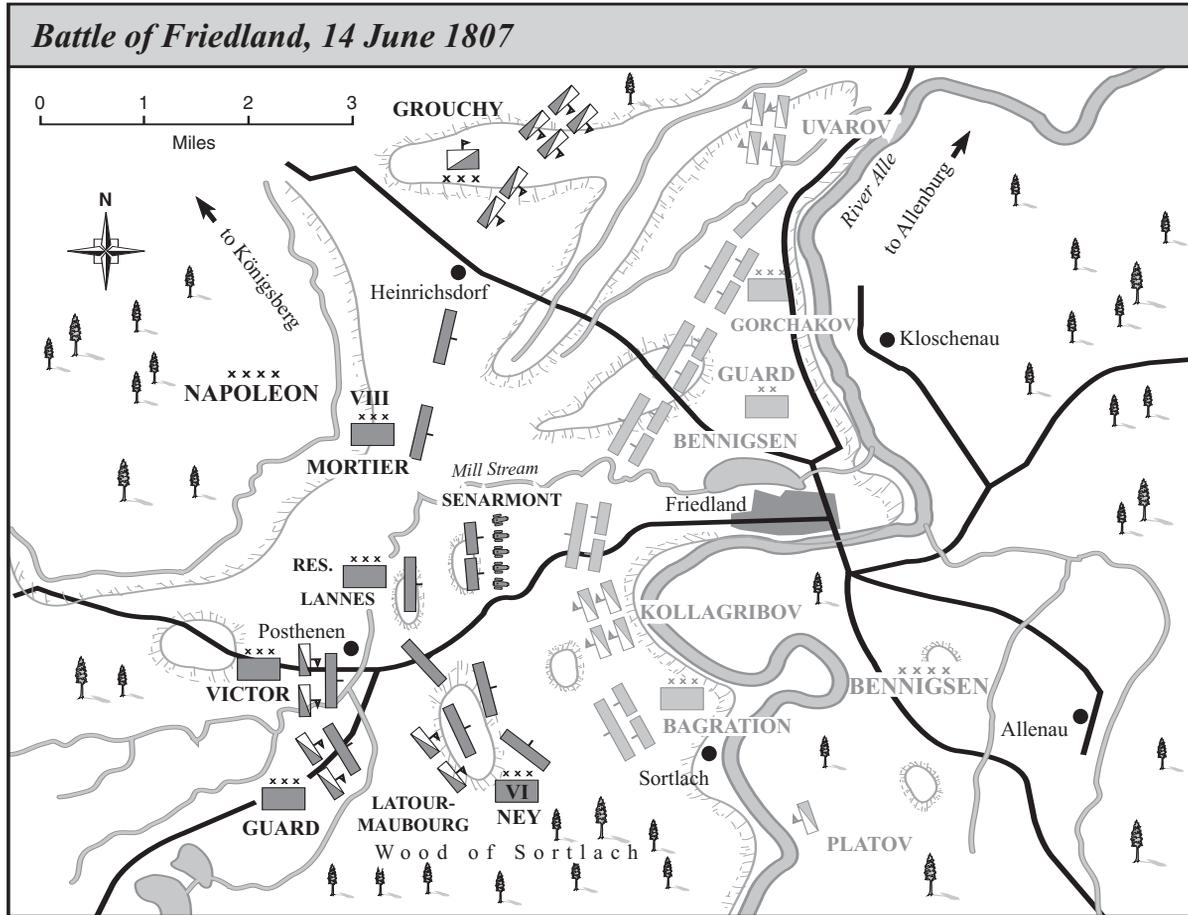
### **Friedland, Battle of (14 June 1807)**

A major engagement between French forces under Napoleon and the Russian army under General Levin Bennigsen Friedland was the decisive battle of the campaign of 1807. Following the bloody stalemate at Eylau in February, the Russian and French armies spent the spring recuperating and preparing for a new round of fighting. The Russians launched their offensive on 5 June, threatening Marshal

Michel Ney's corps around Guttstädt. However, the Russian attack was poorly executed, allowing Ney to make a fighting retreat to the Passarge River. Napoleon quickly concentrated his forces at Deppen on the Passarge and counterattacked on 7 June, driving the Russians out of Guttstädt. Three days later, the French attacked the Russian fortified camp at Heilsberg and suffered heavy casualties. However, Bennigsen feared a flanking maneuver by Napoleon and ordered further retreat toward the Russian frontier.

Late on the afternoon of 13 June, the Russian advance guard approached Friedland and found it already occupied by the advance guard of Marshal Jean Lannes's corps. After a cavalry skirmish, the Russians carried the town and established a cavalry screen on the left bank of the river Alle. The French prisoners indicated that only Lannes's advance guard was some 2 miles from Friedland waiting for the rest of V Corps to arrive. The leading units of the main Russian army arrived after 8:00 P.M., and Bennigsen moved General Dmitry Dokhturov's 7th and 8th Divisions to the left bank to support the Russian Imperial Guard and cavalry already deployed there. During the night, the rest of the army concentrated on the right bank. Bennigsen initially did not intend to give battle around Friedland but wanted to secure his march northward to Wehlau, whence he planned to attack Napoleon's flank and rear if the French advanced to Königsberg.

Bennigsen was exhausted and in poor health, so on the evening of 13 June he left the army to spend the night in a town house in Friedland. He had barely received any rest when, at 11:00 P.M., he was informed that General Nicolas Oudinot's troops were deployed near Postehnen. Concerned about his positions, Bennigsen moved additional troops across the river and took up positions near the forest of Sortlach. By late evening there were some 25,000 Russians on the left bank of the Alle. Furthermore, that same evening two pontoon bridges were constructed, and additional forces moved to the left bank to secure the flanks. Ataman Matvei Platov's Cossacks, supported by the Preobrazhensky Guard, the cavalry of the Guard, Finnish Dragoons, and Olivopol Hussars, were dispatched northward to seize crossing sites at Allenburg and on the Pregel River. Bennigsen moved most of his cavalry to the left flank and posted Prince Peter Bagration with his advance guard on the left. Thus, the Russian troops were deployed in a half-circle around Friedland. This position was extremely unfavorable for several reasons. First, a deep ravine, Muhlen Teich, in the center divided the Russian forces into two parts and complicated communications between them. Second, the troops were deployed on marshy terrain with their backs to the Alle. In case of defeat, the Russians could escape only through the narrow streets and across one small wooden bridge and three



Adapted from Chandler 1987, 154.

pontoon bridges at Friedland. No attempt was made to reconnoiter the river for fords or to examine the terrain on the flanks.

Late on the night of 13 June, Lannes learned about the Russian occupation of Friedland. He instructed Oudinot to reconnoiter the Russian positions and to recapture the town if he found himself faced only by small Russian detachments. Oudinot reached Posthnen, where he encountered a Russian cavalry screen and observed the enemy main columns in the distance. As he was reading Oudinot's report, Lannes also received instructions from Napoleon to prevent Bannigsen from crossing the Alle and was told that General Emmanuel marquis de Grouchy was en route with his dragoon division to reinforce V Corps for this mission. Around midnight, Lannes received reinforcements, increasing his forces to some 13,000 men. He deployed these troops between Posthnen and Heinrichsdorf, with the light cavalry deployed on the right flank and Grouchy's dragoons kept in reserve near Posthnen.

Some time after 2:00 A.M., Oudinot, supported by General François Ruffin's troops, reached Posthnen and engaged the Russian outposts in the woods of Sortlach.

The fighting rapidly grew intense, and an hour later Grouchy arrived with his cavalry; he was initially driven back by the numerically superior Russian cavalry, but new French reinforcements (Dutch cavalry of General Adolphe Mortier's corps) arrived and forced the Russians back. Simultaneously, General Andrey Gorchakov's troops advanced toward Heinrichsdorf, forcing Lannes to shift part of his cavalry to the right flank. The fighting continued for the next three hours, in the course of which Heinrichsdorf changed hands several times.

On the Russian left flank, Bagration arrived at Sortlach shortly after 3:00 A.M. and deployed his infantry in two lines. In addition, he deployed most of his *Jäger* regiments (some 3,000 men) as skirmishers in the woods of Sortlach; two battalions, five squadrons, and four guns were placed behind them as reserves and another two battalions, five squadrons, and four guns were placed at Sortlach. As the French attacked, the fighting on the left flank was particularly violent as the French *tirailleurs* (skirmishers) and Bagration's *Jäger* regiments stubbornly contested the ground in the woods. Bagration launched a series of attacks against Oudinot, but French grenadiers repulsed him

each time. The 9th Hussars and the Saxon cavalry also counterattacked but suffered heavy losses.

Lannes skillfully used the terrain and protected his troops with a dense screen of skirmishers in the woods. He had mobile columns moving between the lines to create the illusion of arriving reinforcements. He was already told that Napoleon was hurrying with the rest of the army, so he had to pin down Bennigsen for as long as possible. Bennigsen ordered more troops to cross the Alle to support forces already there. The Russian troops crossed the river and, by 9:00 A.M., Bennigsen had most of his cavalry deployed on the right flank, supported by the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Divisions; Gorchakov commanded these forces. On the left flank, the 1st and 2nd Divisions reinforced Bagration. The 14th Division and the Imperial Guard were kept in reserve.

Around 7:00 A.M. Bagration launched another assault. He spread General Nikolay Rayevsky's 20th Jägers in a skirmish line and arranged the Life Guard Jäger Regiment, with the Rostov Musketeers in reserve, in two columns behind them. A battalion of the 20th Jägers, spearheaded the attack. In hand-to-hand combat, the Life Guard Jägers captured three officers and forty-eight men, but lost two officers and six men themselves. As the French counterattacked, Bagration committed the Moscow Grenadiers, the Pskov Musketeers, and the Alexandria Hussars and deployed Colonel Aleksey Ermolov's horse artillery battery. The 3rd and 7th Jäger Regiments were ordered to hold their ground in the center while the 5th Jägers remained at Sortlach. Bagration also instructed Rayevsky to disengage the 20th and Life Guard Jägers and rally them in the valley behind the forest. The Jägers slowly retreated, pursued by the French, who stopped on the edge of the woods and continued harassing the Russian lines.

At the same time, Oudinot moved part of his division to seize Sortlach on Bagration's left, but he was beaten back by the 5th Jäger Regiment. Simultaneously, Rayevsky rallied his troops (20th Jägers and Life Guard Jägers) on the plain behind the Sortlach woods. The French cavalry soon charged him there, but a squadron of the Life Guard Horse Regiment drove them back. Early in the morning, Bagration called up General Karl Baggovut's detachment. He wanted to make a decisive attack to clear and secure the woods, where Oudinot's grenadiers had found good positions from which to harass Bagration's troops. Bagration deployed the 26th Jägers in line, followed by the 4th and 25th Jägers in column. The Russians overwhelmed Oudinot's troops and drove them out of the Sortlach. To secure his position in the forest, Bagration reinforced Baggovut with a battalion of Olonetsk militia.

Hearing of this success, Bennigsen ordered the rest of his army to adjust the line with the front held by Bagra-

tion's troops. As a result, the Russians advanced 1,000 paces. At the same time, several major cavalry actions took place around Heinrichsdorf, where regular cavalry under General Fedor Uvarov and the Cossacks threatened to envelop the French flank. However, the cavalry of I and VI Corps arrived in time to repulse the Russians and secure the flank. Shortly after 9:00 A.M., Mortier's corps also arrived on the battlefield near Heinrichsdorf in time to counter a new Russian attack.

It was an important moment in the battle. Unable to defeat Lannes's corps, Bennigsen could have recalled his army and safely retreated across the Alle before Napoleon's entire army arrived. However, he decided to remain at Friedland, though he took no precautions to protect his exposed army.

The Russian troops, already exhausted by the previous days' marches and the early fighting, lapsed into a brief lull between 2:00 and 5:00 P.M. Both sides exchanged artillery fire, but no major actions took place. Bagration, meantime, met Bennigsen in Friedland and turned his attention to the arrival of the French corps. He urged Bennigsen to take measures to strengthen the positions around Friedland. Furthermore, Bagration anticipated that Napoleon would direct a main attack against his flank, so he requested more reinforcements; his appeals were all turned down. Finally, shortly after 4:00 P.M., Bennigsen observed the French corps taking up new positions from which to attack and realized the danger to his exposed army. He ordered a retreat, but Gorchakov argued it was better to defend the current positions until night. Bagration disagreed with this suggestion and began preparing his troops to withdraw to Friedland.

Napoleon, meanwhile, was rapidly concentrating his corps at Friedland. He personally arrived near the town shortly before noon, declaring to his troops "Today is a happy day—it is the anniversary of Marengo" (Chandler 1966, 577). Examining the Russian positions, he realized that he had a chance of destroying the Russian army in a single battle. He urged Ney, General Claude Victor, and the Imperial Guard to accelerate their march to the battlefield as he prepared new dispositions for the battle. He rested his troops in the woods of Sortlach and made sure they had enough ammunition. He then placed Victor's troops and part of the cavalry in reserve near Postehnen. On the left flank, Mortier's corps, supported by most of the French cavalry, defended Heinrichsdorf and the road to Königsberg. However, Mortier was instructed not to advance, as the movement would be by the French right flank, pivoting on the left. Napoleon had two corps designed for this flanking attack. Ney was ordered to move to the right flank, passing Postehnen toward the woods of Sortlach. Lannes would form the center in front of Postehnen, while Oudinot's troops were to turn to the left in order to draw



The Battle of Friedland, the decisive blow inflicted on Alexander's forces that led to the Franco-Russian rapprochement at Tilsit the following month. (Painting by Edouard Detaille from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

upon themselves the attention of the enemy. Napoleon's planned maneuver was aimed at destroying the bridges at Friedland and cutting the Russian line of retreat.

At 5:30 P.M. a salvo of twenty French guns signaled the renewal of battle. Ney's corps advanced from Postehnen to the woods of Sortlach, where Bagration had posted his Jägers. After an hour of vicious fighting, Bagration had to withdraw his exhausted Jägers, allowing the French to occupy the woods and open fire on his main forces. Ney organized his troops in columns in three broad clearings in the forest; General Jean Gabriel Marchand's division was on the right, General Baptiste Bisson on the left with the cavalry of General Marie-Charles Latour-Maubourg following them behind. The superior French forces drove Bagration's Jägers out of the woods and carried Sortlach, which was partly abandoned on Bagration's orders. As the French advanced, several Russian batteries on the right bank opened fire at them, while Bagration deployed his troops in new positions. He then moved the Life Guard Ismailovsk and Semeyonovsk Regiments forward.

The advancing French came under fire from Bagration's troops and from the batteries on the opposite bank. General Alexandre Antoine Senarmont, chief of artillery of Victor's corps, later recalled that the Russian batteries, deployed on the opposite side of the Alle, fired on the French

flanks and decimated them. Bagration initially counterattacked with the Life Guard Horse Regiment and then moved the Pavlovsk and St. Petersburg Grenadier Regiments forward. The Russians drove the French columns back and captured the eagle of the 69th Line in the process. Ney's troops fell back in confusion but were quickly rallied when General Pierre Dupont moved his division with the cavalry under generals Armand Lahoussaye and Antoine Auguste Durosnel closely behind. The Russian cavalry continued its attack but came under fire from Dupont's batteries and was counterattacked by Latour-Maubourg's cavalry. As the Russians fell back, Dupont changed the direction of his troops to the right and covered the gap on Ney's left.

Simultaneously, Senarmont moved his twelve guns forward and organized two companies of fifteen guns, with six pieces in reserve, and placed them on both flanks of Dupont's division. As the French advanced, Senarmont outpaced the infantry and opened fire on Bagration's troops from close range. The fire was very effective because the Russians were massed in a narrow defile between the Muhlen Teich and the Alle. Realizing the danger of these batteries, Bagration directed his artillery against them. Senarmont disregarded the Russian artillery and concentrated his fire on the enemy infantry. His guns initially fired at 600 paces, then moved to 300

paces; Senarmont's guns operated with remarkable intensity, firing over 3,000 rounds into the Russian troops. Bagration sent his cavalry to destroy the French guns, but Senarmont calmly awaited their advance before ordering canister fire, which in the event literally mowed down the enemy ranks. The Russians then attacked with the Life Guard Izmailovsk and Pavlovsk Grenadier Regiments, but the French fire virtually wiped out these regiments as well; the third battalion of the Izmailovsk Regiment lost some 400 men out of 520. Realizing the utter futility of his orders, Bagration finally fell back to Friedland, where he unsuccessfully attempted to delay the French advance. By 8:00 P.M. Bagration had withdrawn into Friedland and had the houses in the southern suburbs set on fire to slow down the French. At the same time, as he approached the river, Bagration found the bridges had already been set ablaze by the Russians.

On the Russian right flank, Gorchakov made a desperate assault with his four divisions on Lannes and Mortier. The French contained General Dmitry Golitsyn's efforts with the support of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard. However, senior French commanders did not exploit their numerical superiority in cavalry (forty squadrons against twenty-five) and allowed the Russians to retreat. The French artillery on the left bank of the Muhlen Teich soon engaged Gorchakov's forces in flank. The arrival of Gorchakov's troops in the crowded streets of Friedland created havoc at the bridges, which were already on fire. Bagration and Gorchakov dispatched numerous officers to look for fords along the river, which were quickly found.

The Battle of Friedland was the final engagement of a long campaign. The Russian army had suffered a crushing defeat and could not field another army. The casualties were staggering, as the Russians lost some 20,000 killed and wounded; the French lost 7,000–8,000. Bennigsen had undertaken some effective operations in the early months of 1807, but he committed a fatal blunder at Friedland. Furthermore, the Russian high command played virtually no role in the battle, since Bennigsen was in poor health, his quartermaster general, Fadey Steingeldt, and his duty general, Ivan Essen, were wounded and unavailable for duty, and the Russian headquarters were full of incompetent officers and observers.

Friedland was a decisive military and diplomatic victory for Napoleon. It proved the superiority of French military organization: A single corps had repulsed attacks of the Russian army and allowed the rest of the French to concentrate for a counterattack. It put an end to the Fourth Coalition and led to rapprochement between Russia and France. The meeting between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander at Tilsit and the subsequent treaty of alliance was a direct result of

this victory. In addition, Napoleon spread his sphere of influence to the territory between the Oder and the Niemen rivers and found eager supporters in Poland.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Cossacks; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Heilsberg, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Lannes, Jean; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Tilsit, Treaties of; Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count; Victor, Claude Perrin

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## Friedland Campaign

*See* Fourth Coalition, War of the

## Frigates

Frigates were the eyes and ears of the fleet, and admirals frequently complained that they had too few of these useful general-purpose vessels. Many of their functions were performed independently of major battle fleets, and so they were popular commands for more enterprising naval officers.

The frigate was large enough to mount significant firepower and at the same time fast enough to evade larger

Table F.1 Frigates in use in the Royal Navy, 1793–1815

Rate	Frigate Type	Armament	Crew	Period of Use
5th rate	44-gun	20 × 18-pounders 22 × 12-pounders 2 × 6-pounders	250–280	An eighteenth-century vessel, the last one was built in 1787. In the French Revolutionary period they were used mainly as transports. This class had disappeared by 1815.
5th rate	40-gun	28 × 24-pounders 12 × 9-pounders (six of these often replaced with 6 × 32-pounder carronades)	320	Originally copied in 1797 from a captured French vessel. Many were prizes, while a few were <i>razées</i> (cut-down two-deckers). Further vessels were built in 1813–1814 in response to the large American frigates.
5th rate	38-gun	28 × 18-pounders 10 × 9- and 12-pounders	250	Few of this type were in service in 1793, but eighty were in service by 1813. Most common type of frigate in the Royal Navy. Many had been captured or copied from the French.
5th rate	36-gun	26 × 12-pounders (or later 18-pounders) 10 × 9- and 12-pounders	240	First designed in the 1750s, this type became common in the 1770s. Seventy vessels were in service by 1813.
5th rate	12-pounder, 32-gun	26 × 12-pounders 6 × 6-pounders	220	This vessel, which originated in 1757, was the standard British frigate for thirty years until it was outgunned by larger French 38-gun frigates. Thirty-eight were in service in 1810, many dating from the American Revolutionary War.
5th rate	18-pounder 32-gun	26 × 18-pounders 6 × 6-pounders	220	These vessels, a response to the larger French frigates of the 1780s, were not a common type, there being only twelve in service in 1810.
6th rate	28-gun	28 × 9-pounders	200	This class was introduced in 1748, and no further vessels were added to this class after 1793. Its armament rendered it weak against the larger frigates of thirty-two guns or more. Seven remained in service by 1808.
6th Rate	22-gun	22 × 9-pounders 8 × 24-pounder carronades 2 × 6-pounders	160	This class developed in 1805. A number of prizes were added to this class, resulting in fifty-two in service by 1813.

Sources: *Data from Robert Gardiner, Frigates of the Napoleonic Wars (London: Chatham, 2000): 9–39; Peter Goodwin, Men O'War: The Illustrated Story of Life in Nelson's Navy (London: Carlton, 2003): 22–24; Richard O'Neill, ed., Patrick O'Brian's Navy: The Illustrated Companion to Jack Aubrey's World (London: Salamander, 2004): 102–108.*

enemy vessels. They were designed with an unarmed lower deck, meaning that the guns were higher above the waterline than on other vessels. Frigates could therefore be allowed to heel quite considerably, and in heavy seas and strong winds they could carry more sail. Larger ships could not open their lower gun ports in such weather, but a frigate could use its guns safely under such conditions. They were not part of the line of battle but were used for convoy escort, commerce raiding, and patrols, and they provided the main reconnaissance force for battle fleets.

Many of the frigates used by the Royal Navy were captured from the French, Spanish, and Dutch, with some of the French designs being copied. The U.S. Navy had large

frigates such as the *Constitution*, which had forty-four guns, mainly 24-pounders (see Table F.1).

Paul Chamberlain

*See also* Artillery (Naval); French Navy; Naval Warfare; Royal Navy; Ships of the Line; Sloops; United States Navy

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### Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of (3–5 May 1811)

A bitterly fought action of the Peninsular War. After a series of clashes with Viscount Wellington's advance troops, notably at Pombal, Redinha, Casal Nova, and Foz de Arouce, Marshal André Masséna's starving army limped back across the Portuguese border and into Spain in March 1811. Nevertheless, the French still held the vital frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Almeida, and as long as they remained in French hands, Wellington could never rest easy in the Peninsula. It was vital that he take these fortresses, and in April he set in motion his plan to do so.

The strongest of the fortresses was Badajoz, which lay to the south in Extremadura (Extremadura). This town was to be the object of a siege conducted by 20,000 troops under Marshal (his Portuguese Army rank) Sir William Beresford. Wellington, meanwhile, turned his attention to the two fortresses in the north, Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, which lay opposite each other on either side of the border.

Wellington had some 38,000 troops close to Almeida, and by the end of April he was able to begin its blockade. On 2 May, however, he received news that Masséna, having revictualled his army, was on his way forward from Ciudad Rodrigo with 48,000 troops with the intention of relieving Almeida. The French line of approach lay through the village of Fuentes de Oñoro, and it was to this sprawling, jumbled maze of a village that Wellington and his army marched to take up positions on 2–3 May.

Wellington's position at Fuentes de Oñoro certainly lacked the impregnability of that of Busaco, for instance, but it did afford him the defensive features he usually sought and that became so characteristic of his battles in the Peninsula. His position stretched for well over 5 miles on the left bank of the Dos Casas River, which flows through the village itself. On the extreme right of the Allied position was the small village of Nave de Haver, and Wellington's left flank rested upon the strong Fort Conception. The position centered on Fuentes de Oñoro, with the right bank of the river leading down to the village being heavily wooded. The village itself was situated on the left bank of the Dos Casas, and a maze of old, single-story houses nestled about the river.

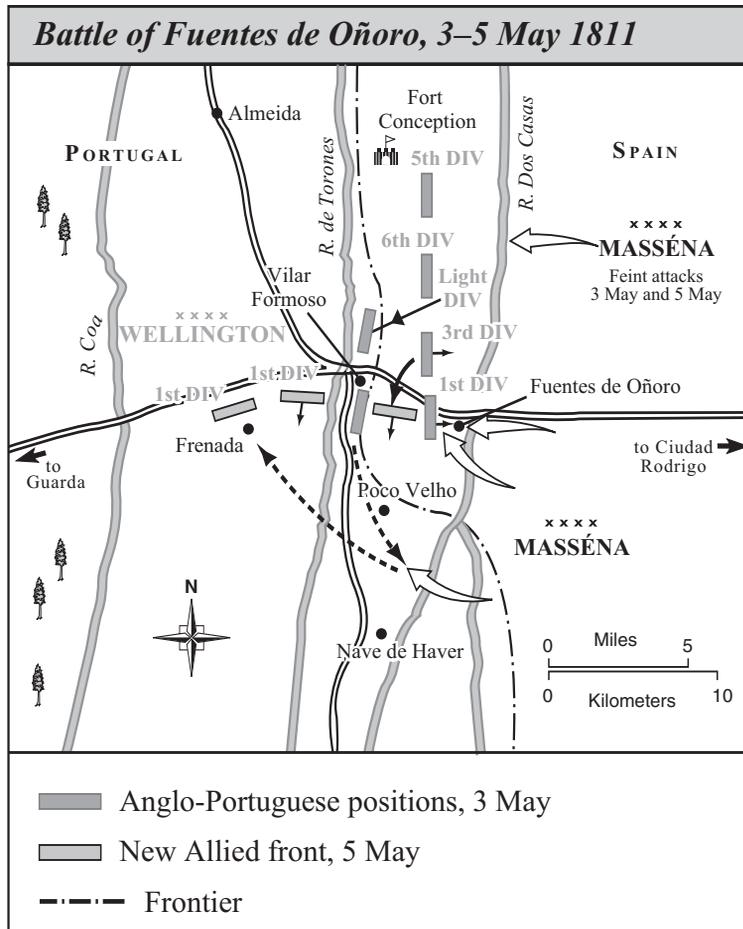
Wellington detached his 5th and 6th Divisions to a position in front of Fort Conception and centered the main part of his force in and around the village of Fuentes de Oñoro, the majority of the troops being hidden out of sight behind a ridge that lay to the west of the village. The Light Division was posted in reserve on the right flank.

The battle began on the afternoon of 3 May when General Louis Henri Loison—in Masséna's absence—launched five infantry divisions against the Allied position. The French columns loomed out of the woods on the right bank and plunged across the Dos Casas to attack the village, which changed hands several times during some heavy and at times savage fighting. Indeed, at one point Wellington himself rode forward and personally ordered the 71st and 79th Regiments into the attack. But by nightfall all French attacks had been repulsed, and Fuentes remained in Allied hands.

There was little or no fighting on 4 May, and both sides took the opportunity to gather and tend their wounded. The only real movement in the French lines came when they held a grand parade during the early evening.

On the morning of the fifth Masséna resumed his attack, throwing several heavy infantry columns against the Allied right flank. Masséna hoped that Wellington would be drawn into weakening his left flank in order to meet the threat and by so doing would allow the French to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Almeida. Wellington held his nerve, however, and refused to fall for the ruse. Instead, he ordered Brigadier General Robert Craufurd's Light Division to replace the hard-pressed 7th Division, which it did in a magnificently controlled withdrawal, all the time surrounded by enemy cavalry. Craufurd's division retired across a plain for more than 3 miles before reaching the safety of the main Allied position. With this move the threat to Wellington's right flank was removed, although he was forced to pull back and realign this part of the line, the 1st Division taking up a position at right angles to the main Allied line.

The fight for the village itself now flared up once more with renewed and increased violence in fighting—and this perhaps typifies the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro, the cruel tide of battle flowing one way and then the other as the opposing armies were in turn thrust from the village. Ten French infantry battalions thrust Wellington's men from the village and pushed them back as far as the old church on the front slope of the ridge behind, but again the first battalion of the 71st Foot (1/71st) and the 1/79th, supported by the 2/24th, ejected them. Masséna's patience thinned faster than the ranks of his own infantry until, at around midday, he threw in a full eighteen fresh battalions, who succeeded—as much by sheer numbers as by



Adapted from Paget 1997, 126.

courage—in clearing the village of the British and Portuguese defenders. Their triumph was short-lived though, for Wellington ordered the 74th and the 1/88th to counter-attack.

The 88th were the fighting furries of Thomas Picton's 3rd Division, and with a bloodcurdling cheer they sent the French reeling from the streets into the alleyways and passages in the village. Here there was no escape for hundreds of Masséna's men, who died at the hands of the 88th who launched into them with a frenzied and frantic bayonet charge. The 88th and 74th threw the French back and, supported by the 1/71st and 1/79th, finally ended any French thoughts of victory. A final French attack was launched at about 2 P.M., but this was not pressed home with any real conviction and with it ended the last serious fighting on 5 May. The battle petered out in an artillery duel and with another reckless British cavalry charge, this time by the 14th Light Dragoons.

There was no fighting on 6 May, although Masséna's cavalry prodded and poked away at the Allied line to the north and west in a vain attempt to find a way through

Wellington's line. To the north fresh troops, who had not been involved in any of the fighting of 3–5 May, sat quietly confident of being able to fend off any French attack, while to the west the rocky chasm of the Coa proved impassable and Masséna was forced to call back his men.

Masséna had failed in his attempt to relieve Almeida, and while the battle had not been an entirely satisfactory one for Wellington, it had, nevertheless, resulted in another victory at a cost of 1,545 men killed and wounded; Masséna's army suffered 2,192 casualties.

Ian Fletcher

*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Busaco, Battle of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Craufurd, Robert; Masséna, André; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Fulton, Robert (1765–1815)

An American inventor, born in Little Britain Township, Pennsylvania, on 14 November 1765, Robert Fulton moved with his family to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1766. His father died two years later, leaving a widow and five children. Never an exceptional student, Fulton early demonstrated a genius for invention. Apprenticed to a silversmith, by 1778 he was an expert gunsmith and artist. In 1782 he moved to Philadelphia, where he enjoyed success as a painter.

In 1786 Fulton traveled to Britain, where he stayed with a close friend, celebrated American artist Benjamin West. Fulton's greatest success came as an inventor, however. Over the next several years he secured numerous patents for inventions in canal construction, including machinery, a double inclined plane for raising canal boats, and a power shovel for digging channels.

In 1797 Fulton moved to Paris, where he worked on military inventions, including steam vessels, submarines, and mines. He tried to interest Bonaparte in deploying mines to disrupt traffic on the Thames. Fulton secured financial support from the French government and in 1801 successfully tested a 21-foot-long submarine, the *Nautilus*, in the Seine and then off Brest in the English Channel. Dissatisfied with his invention, he dismantled it, an action that ended French government financial support. In 1802 Fulton, with the help and later the partnership of Robert Livingston, then U.S. minister to France, tested a steam-driven paddle-wheel boat on the Seine, although he was unable to convince Bonaparte that such vessels might transport a French army to England.

In 1804, his financial support gone, Fulton traveled to Britain to try to interest the Admiralty in the same schemes. He met with the prime minister, William Pitt, who agreed to provide money for "submarine bombs" with which to attack French shipping gathering across the Channel for a possible invasion of England. Attempts to employ the mines against the French port of Boulogne in October 1804 and October 1805 were largely unsuccessful. On 15 October 1805, however, Fulton blew up a captured Danish brig, the *Dorothea*, before skeptical Royal Navy officials, the first time in history that such a large vessel had been destroyed by a mine. With the death of

Pitt three months later, however, Fulton lost both his patron and his funding.

Based on the earlier experiment with a steamboat, Fulton and Livingston began plans for a full-size steamship to ply the Hudson River from Albany to New York, and Fulton constructed several successful prototypes. He returned to New York and began work on the *Clermont*. Completed in 1807, she was the world's first commercially successful steamboat.

Fulton successfully tested another mine for the U.S. Navy, and during the War of 1812 he designed a steam-powered warship, the *Demologus* (later renamed *Fulton the First*). Launched in October 1814, she was a large catamaran with a central paddle wheel protected by the twin hulls. Essentially a large floating battery, the *Demologus* was intended to carry the heaviest guns in the defense of New York harbor. His invention came too late to be of service in the war, but it is notable as the world's first steam-powered warship. Fulton died in New York City of pneumonia on 24 February 1815.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Naval Warfare; Pitt, William; War of 1812

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VOLUME TWO

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Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Editor

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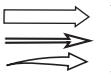
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# Key to Military Map Symbols

## *Formations*

	<b>NAPOLEON</b>	Army (commander)
		Corps
		Division
		Brigade
		Regiment
		Battalion
		Infantry
		Cavalry
		Body of troops
		Infantry square

## *Movements*

	Advances
	Attacks
	Retreats

## *Abbreviations*

Gde	Guard	Cav	Cavalry
Res	Reserve	Div	Division

## *Military Symbols*

	Artillery
	Camp
	Cavalry picket
	Field fortification
	Permanent linear fortification
	Fort
	General headquarters
	General unit area
	Naval vessel
	Small boat flotilla
	Site of engagement

## *Geographical Symbols*

	Bridge
	Hills/Heights
	Mountains
	River
	Road
	Swamp
	Town
	Woods



# Chronology

## 1792

### March

- 2 Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, dies.

### April

- 19 Duke of Brunswick's army crosses the French border
- 20 France declares war on Austria
- 29 French offensive into Flanders halted by the Austrians at Valenciennes

### May

- 15 France declares war on Sardinia
- 18 Russian troops invade Poland

### June

- 18 Renewed French offensive into the Austrian Netherlands result in capture of Courtrai
- 26 First Coalition formed between Austria and Prussia
- 29 French troops retreat from Courtrai

### July

- 24 Prussia declares war on France

### August

- 1 Austro-Prussian forces cross the Rhine

### September

- 20 Battle of Valmy; First French offensive in Italy begins
- 22 France proclaimed a republic
- 25 Allies invest Lille
- 28 French troops occupy Nice, in Piedmont

### October

- 6 Allied forces withdraw from Lille
- 20 French forces occupy Mainz and Frankfurt
- 22 Prussians evacuate France

### November

- 6 Battle of Jemappes, in the Austrian Netherlands
- 15 French occupy Brussels
- 20 French declare the Scheldt open

### December

- 1–16 French driven from the east bank of the Rhine
- 2 French complete occupation of the Austrian Netherlands

## 1793

### January

- 20 Louis XVI, King of France, is executed
- 23 Second partition of Poland by Russia and Prussia

### February

- 1 France declares war on Britain and the United Provinces (Holland)

### March

- 6 Battle of Maastricht
- 7 France declares war on Spain
- 10 Outbreak of revolt in the Vendée
- 18 Battle of Neerwinden

### April

- 5 Dumouriez defects to the Allies
- 6 Committee of Public Safety established in Paris
- 14 Allies lay siege to Mainz, on the Rhine
- 15 Operations in the West Indies open with British attack on Tobago

### May

- 8 Battle of St. Amand

### June

- 5 British capture Port-au-Prince, St. Domingue, West Indies
- 28 Allies take Valenciennes

*July*

- 17 Battle of Perpignan on the Pyrenean front
- 21 Allies capture Mainz

*August*

- 28 Toulon surrenders to an Anglo-Spanish expeditionary force; start of siege of Quesnoy in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29 Siege of Dunkirk, Austrian Netherlands, begins

*September*

- 8 Battle of Hondshoote, Austrian Netherlands; siege of Dunkirk lifted
- 11 Allied forces accept surrender of Quesnoy
- 22 Battle of Truillas, on the Pyrenean front

*October*

- 8 Royalist rebellion in Lyon ends
- 15–16 Battle of Wattignies, in the Austrian Netherlands

*December*

- 19 Allies evacuate Toulon, taking Royalist civilians with them
- 23 Vendéan revolt ends
- 26 Battle of the Geisberg, on the Rhine front

**1794***April*

- 1 British capture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 20 British capture Guadeloupe, in the West Indies
- 26 Battle of Landrecies, in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29–30 Battle of Le Boulou, on the Pyrenean front

*May*

- 11 Battle of Courtrai, in the Austrians Netherlands
- 18 Battle of Tourcoing, Austrians Netherlands
- 23 Battle of Tournai, Austrian Netherlands

*June*

- 1 Battle of the Glorious First of June, off Ushant
- 6 French assume new offensive in Italy
- 26 Battle of Fleurus, Austrian Netherlands

*July*

- 27 Coup of Thermidor in Paris; Robespierre executed the following day

*August*

- 1 Battle of San Marcial, on the Pyrenean front
- 10 British forces capture Corsica
- 25 French invade Holland
- 29 French retake Valenciennes

*October*

- 5 Battle of Maciejowice, during the Polish revolt
- 6 French reconquest of Guadeloupe complete
- 9 French troops occupy Cologne, on the Rhine

*November*

- 4–5 Battle of Praga, during the Polish revolt
- 18 French capture Nijmegen, in Holland
- 26 French capture Figueras on the Pyrenean front

*December*

- 10 French retake Guadeloupe

**1795***January*

- 3 Third and final partition of Poland
- 20 French troops occupy Amsterdam
- 30 French cavalry captures the Dutch fleet at Texel

*February*

- 3 French troops capture Rosas on the Pyrenean front

*March*

- 13–14 Battle of the Gulf of Genoa
- 25 British expeditionary force to Flanders is evacuated by sea at Bremen

*April*

- 5 Treaty of Basle concluded between France and Prussia
- 25 French begin offensive along the river Fluvia on the Pyrenean front

*June*

- 17 Battle of Belle Isle
- 19 French recapture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 23 Battle of the Ile de Groix
- 27 British land French royalist troops at Quiberon Bay on the coast of France

*July*

- 17 Battle of Hyères
- 21 French republican forces defeat the royalists at Quiberon
- 22 French and Spanish conclude peace at Basle

*August*

- 1 British invade Ceylon

*September*

- 6 French open offensive along the Rhine

- 14 British expeditionary forces conquers the Dutch Cape Colony in southern Africa
- October*
- 1 France annexes Belgium
- 5 Bonaparte uses artillery in the streets of Paris to quell the coup of Vendémiaire
- 27 New French government, the Directory, takes power in Paris
- November*
- 23 Battle of Loano
- 1796**
- February*
- 14 British expeditionary force captures Dutch colony of Ceylon
- March*
- 2 Bonaparte assumes command of French troops in Italy
- 9 Bonaparte and Josephine marry
- April*
- 11 Napoleon opens offensive on the Italian front
- 12 Battle of Montenotte
- 14–15 Second Battle of Dego
- 16–17 Battle of Ceva
- 21 Battle of Mondovi
- 28 Piedmont and France conclude peace at Cherasco
- May*
- 8 Action at Codogno
- 10 Battle of Lodi
- 13 French forces occupy Milan
- 26 British troops retake St. Lucia in the West Indies
- 30 Battle of Borghetto; first siege of Mantua begins
- June*
- 3 British capture St. Vincent in the West Indies
- 4 First Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front
- 28 Fortress at Milan capitulates to the French
- July*
- 5 Battle of Rastatt, Rhine front
- 9 Battle of Ettlingen, Rhine front
- 14 Battle of Haslach, Rhine front
- 31 French abandon siege of Mantua
- August*
- 3 Battle of Lonato, Italian front
- 5 Battle of Castiglione, Italian front
- 7 Battle of Forcheim, Rhine front
- 11 Battle of Neresheim, Rhine front
- 17 Dutch surrender their fleet to British forces at Cape Colony
- 19 French and Spanish conclude Treaty of San Ildefonso
- 24 Battle of Friedberg, Rhine front; Battle of Amberg, Rhine front; French resume siege of Mantua
- September*
- 3 Battle of Würzburg, Rhine front
- 4 Battle of Rovereto, Italian front
- 8 Battle of Bassano, Italian front
- October*
- 2 Battle of Biberach, Rhine front
- 8 Spain declares war on Britain
- 10 Peace concluded between France and Naples
- 19 Battle of Emmendingen, Rhine front
- 23 Battle of Schliengen, Rhine front
- November*
- 2 French reoccupy Corsica after British evacuation
- 12 Battle of Caldiero, Italian front
- 15–17 Battle of Arcola, Italian front
- 17 Tsarina Catherine II of Russia dies
- December*
- 22 French naval force appears off Bantry Bay on the Irish coast
- 1797**
- January*
- 14–15 Battle of Rivoli, Italian front
- February*
- 2 Mantua surrenders to the French, Italian front
- 14 Battle of St. Vincent off the coast of Spain
- 17 British take Trinidad in the West Indies
- 19 Peace concluded between France and the Papal States
- 22 French expeditionary force lands on the Welsh coast
- 24 French troops in Wales capitulate
- April*
- 16 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at Spithead
- 17 Preliminary peace concluded between France and Austria at Leoben
- 18 Second Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front

- 20 Battle of Diersheim, Rhine front
- May*
- 12 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at the Nore
- 15 End of naval mutiny at Spithead
- June*
- 15 End of naval mutiny at the Nore
- July*
- 9 French establish the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy
- October*
- 11 Battle of Camperdown between the British and Dutch naval squadrons
- 17 France and Austria conclude Treaty of Campo Formio
- 1798**
- May*
- 19 French expeditionary force departs from Toulon bound for Egypt
- 24 Outbreak of rebellion in Ireland
- June*
- 12 French occupy Malta en route to Egypt
- July*
- 1 French expedition arrives in Egypt
- 13 Battle of Shubra Khit
- 21 Battle of the Pyramids
- 22 French enter Cairo
- August*
- 1–2 Battle of the Nile
- 22 French expeditionary force disembarks at Kilala Bay on the Irish coast
- September*
- 8 French troops in Ireland surrender to British
- 9 Turkey declares war on France
- October*
- 12 Battle of Donegal, off the Irish coast
- November*
- 19 British troops capture Minorca
- 23 Neapolitan forces invade central Italy
- 29 Neapolitan troops occupy Rome
- December*
- 13 Neapolitan troops evacuate Rome
- 1799**
- January*
- 23 French establish the Parthenopean Republic in the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples)
- February*
- 10 French troops begin campaign in Syria
- March*
- 12 France declares war on Austria
- 17 French besiege Acre on the Syrian coast
- 21 Battle of Ostrach, Rhine front
- 25 Battle of Stockach, Rhine front
- 30 Battle of Verona, Italian front
- April*
- 5 Battle of Magnano, Italian front
- 15 Russian army under Suvorov arrives at the Italian front
- 26 Battle of Cassano, Italian front
- 29 Allied occupation of Milan
- May*
- 20 French lift siege of Acre in Syria
- June*
- 4–7 First Battle of Zürich, on the Swiss front
- 18–19 Battle of the Trebbia, Italian front
- 21 Battle of San Giuliano, Italian front
- July*
- 15 Ottoman troops land in Aboukir Bay, Egypt
- 25 French attack Turkish positions at Aboukir
- August*
- 2 French capture Aboukir from the Turks
- 15 Battle of Novi, Italian front
- 24 Bonaparte leaves Egypt for France
- 26 French offensive near Mannheim, Rhine front
- 27 British expeditionary force disembarks from North Holland; Suvorov's army begins march from Italy to Switzerland; Tsar Paul I forms League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 30 British squadron seizes Dutch fleet at the Helder
- September*
- 18 French surrender Mannheim, Rhine front
- 19 Battle of Bergen, in Holland

25–26 Second Battle of Zürich, Swiss front

*October*

- 9 Bonaparte lands in France
- 10 By a convention with the French, Anglo-Russian forces to be withdrawn from North Holland

*November*

- 9–10 Coup of Brumaire in Paris; Consulate comes to power

*December*

- 25 Bonaparte appointed First Consul

**1800**

*January*

- 24 Convention of El Arish concluded between British and French in Egypt

*March*

- 20 Battle of Heliopolis, in Egypt

*April*

- 20 Allies lay siege to Genoa in northern Italy

*May*

- 15 French forces enter the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Alps

*June*

- 2 French forces occupy Milan
- 4 French surrender Genoa
- 9 Battle of Montebello
- 14 Battle of Marengo; Kléber assassinated in Cairo
- 15 Austrians conclude armistice by which they agree to evacuate northern Italy
- 19 Battle of Höchstädt on the Rhine front

*July*

- 28 Truce agreed between French and Austrians on the Rhine front

*September*

- 5 French garrison on Malta capitulates

*December*

- 3 Battle of Hohenlinden, Rhine front
- 16 Denmark and Sweden join Russia in League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 18 Prussia joins League of Armed Neutrality
- 25 French and Austrians sign armistice

**1801**

*January*

- 1 Act of Union joins Ireland to Britain

*February*

- 4 William Pitt, British prime minister, resigns, to be replaced by Henry Addington
- 8 Peace concluded between France and Austria by Treaty of Lunéville

*March*

- 8 British expeditionary force lands in Egypt
- 20–21 Battle of Alexandria
- 23 Tsar Paul I of Russia assassinated
- 28 Peace concluded between France and Naples by Treaty of Florence

*April*

- 2 Battle of Copenhagen

*July*

- 6, 12 First and Second Battles of Algeciras, off Spanish coast
- 15 Bonaparte concludes Concordat with Pope Pius VII

*August*

- 31 French army in Egypt capitulates

*October*

- 1 Preliminary treaty of peace concluded by Britain and France at Amiens

**1802**

*February*

- 5 French expeditionary force lands in St. Domingue, in the West Indies

*March*

- 25 Definitive version of Treaty of Amiens concluded

*August*

- 2 Bonaparte proclaimed Consul for life

*October*

- 15 French troops invade Switzerland

**1803**

*May*

- 2 United States agrees to purchase Louisiana Territory from France

- 18 Britain declares war on Napoleon signaling start of the Napoleonic Wars
- 1804**
- January*
- 1 St. Domingue declares independence from France, renaming itself Haiti
- March*
- 21 Civil (Napoleonic) Code published; execution of duc d'Enghien by French authorities
- May*
- 18 Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of France  
19 Napoleon establishes the Marshalate
- December*
- 2 Coronation of Napoleon I, Emperor of France  
12 Spain declares war on Britain
- 1805**
- April*
- 11 Treaty of alliance concluded between Britain and Russia
- May*
- 26 Napoleon crowned King of Italy
- July*
- 22 Battle of Finisterre, off French coast
- August*
- 9 Austria accedes to Anglo-Russian treaty of alliance, forming the Third Coalition  
26 Grande Armée leaves camps along the Channel coast and marches for the Danube  
31 August Britain and Sweden conclude subsidy agreement for the supply of Swedish troops to the Third Coalition
- September*
- 8 Austrian troops enter Bavaria
- October*
- 3 Sweden concludes treaty of alliance with Britain, formally joining the Third Coalition  
20 Austrian army under Mack surrenders at Ulm, in Bavaria  
21 Battle of Trafalgar  
29–31 Second Battle of Caldiero, in northern Italy
- November*
- 4 Battle of Cape Ortegal, off Spanish coast  
5 Battle of Amstetten, in Bavaria  
11 Battle of Dürnstein, in Bavaria  
12 French occupy Vienna  
15 Battle of Hollabrunn, in Bavaria
- December*
- 2 Battle of Austerlitz  
3 Emperor Francis of Austria sues for peace  
26 Treaty of Pressburg concluded between France and Austria
- 1806**
- January*
- 23 Death of William Pitt
- February*
- 6 Battle of Santo Domingo, in West Indian waters
- March*
- 30 Joseph Bonaparte crowned King of Naples
- June*
- 5 Louis Bonaparte proclaimed King of Holland
- July*
- 6 Battle of Maida, southern Italy  
9 British expeditionary force occupies Buenos Aires  
25 Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine
- August*
- 6 Termination of the Holy Roman Empire
- October*
- 8 French forces enter Saxony en route for Prussia  
10 Action at Saalfeld  
14 Twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt  
17 Battle of Halle  
20 French lay siege to Magdeburg  
27 Napoleon enters Berlin  
28 Prussian garrison of Prenzlau capitulates
- November*
- 1 Napoleon issues Berlin Decrees  
6 Blücher surrenders his forces near Lübeck  
11 Fortress of Magdeburg surrenders  
28 French troops enter Warsaw
- December*
- 26 Battles of Pultusk and Golymin, East Prussia

**1807***February*

- 3 Battle of Jankovo, East Prussia
- 7–8 Battle of Eylau, East Prussia
- 19 British fleet enters the Dardanelles

*March*

- 18 French lay siege to Danzig, in East Prussia

*May*

- 27 Danzig surrenders

*June*

- 10–11 Battle of Heilsberg, East Prussia
- 14 Battle of Friedland, East Prussia
- 25 Napoleon and Tsar Alexander meet on the River Niemen

*July*

- 7 France and Russian conclude peace at Tilsit
- 9 France and Prussia conclude peace at Tilsit
- 19 French issue ultimatum to Portugal demanding conformance with Continental System

*September*

- 2–5 British naval force bombards Copenhagen

*October*

- 27 France and Spain conclude Treaty of Fontainebleau

*November*

- 23 Napoleon issues first Milan Decree
- 30 French troops enter Lisbon

*December*

- 17 Napoleon issues second Milan Decree

**1808***February*

- 16 Beginning of French invasion of Spain

*March*

- 17 King Charles IV of Spain abdicates
- 24 French troops enter Madrid

*April*

- 17 Conference at Bayonne opens

*May*

- 2 Popular uprising in Madrid

*June*

- 6 Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain
- 15 First siege of Saragossa begins

*July*

- 14 Battle of Medina del Rio Seco
- 20 French surrender at Bailén

*August*

- 1 Murat becomes King of Naples; British troops land in Portugal
- 16 Action at Roliça
- 17 French abandon siege of Saragossa
- 21 Battle of Vimiero
- 22 Convention of Cintra concluded

*September*

- 27 Congress of Erfurt between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander

*November*

- 5 Battle of Valmaseda
- 10 Battles of Espinosa de los Monteros and Gamonal
- 23 Battle of Tudela
- 29–30 Action at Somosierra

*December*

- 20 Second siege of Saragossa begins
- 21 Battle of Sahagún
- 29 Action at Benevente

**1809***January*

- 16 Battle of Corunna

*February*

- 20 Saragossa surrenders to the French

*March*

- 28 Battle of Medellín

*April*

- 11–16 British naval attack on the Basque and Aix Roads
- 16 Battle of Sacile, Italian front
- 20 Battle of Abensberg
- 21 French troops capture Landshut
- 22 Battle of Eggmühl; Wellesley assumes command of British forces in Portugal
- 23 Storming of Ratisbon

*May*

- 3 Battle of Ebersberg
- 12 Battle of Oporto
- 13 French occupy Vienna
- 21–22 Battle of Aspern-Essling

*June*

- 14 Battle of Raab

*July*

- 5–6 Battle of Wagram
- 10–11 Battle of Znaim
- 12 Austrians conclude armistice with the French
- 27–29 Battle of Talavera

*October*

- 14 Treaty of Schönbrunn concluded between France and Austria

*November*

- 19 Battle of Ocaña

*December*

- 15 Napoleon and Josephine divorce

**1810***February*

- 5 French begin investment of Cádiz
- 20 Execution of Tyrolean rebel leader Andreas Hofer

*April*

- 2 Napoleon and Marie Louise of Austria marry in Paris

*July*

- 1 Louis Bonaparte abdicates as King of Holland
- 9 France annexes Holland

*September*

- 27 Battle of Busaco

*October*

- 10 French troops arrive before the Lines of Torres Vedras

*November*

- 16 French retreat from the Lines of Torres Vedras

**1811***January*

- 26 French besiege Badajoz

*March*

- 5 Battle of Barrosa
- 9 Badajoz surrenders to the French
- 11 Birth of a son to Napoleon and Marie Louise

*May*

- 7 British lay siege to Badajoz
- 16 Battle of Albuera

*June*

- 20 French relieve Badajoz

*September*

- 25 Battle of El Bodón

**1812***January*

- 20 Wellington captures Ciudad Rodrigo

*March*

- 16 Wellington begins third siege of Badajoz

*May*

- 28 Treaty of Bucharest ends Russo-Turkish War

*June*

- 19 United States declares war on Britain
- 22 Grande Armée invades Russia
- 28 French occupy Vilna

*July*

- 8 French occupy Minsk
- 22 Battle of Salamanca
- 25–26 Battle of Ostronovo
- 28 French occupy Vitebsk

*August*

- 8 Battle of Inkovo
- 12 Wellington enters Madrid
- 14 First Battle of Krasnyi
- 16–18 Battle of Polotsk
- 24 French abandon siege of Cádiz
- 26 Kutuzov appointed Russian commander-in-chief

*September*

- 7 Battle of Borodino
- 14 French army occupies Moscow
- 19 Wellington lays siege to Burgos

*October*

- 18 Battle of Vinkovo

- 19 French army abandons Moscow and begins to retreat west
- 21 Wellington retreats from Burgos
- 24 Battle of Maloyaroslavets
- 30 Wellington abandons Madrid
- November*
- 17 Second Battle of Krasnyi
- 25–29 French forces cross the Berezina River
- December*
- 5 Napoleon leaves the Grande Armée for Paris
- 8 French troops reach Vilna
- 14 Last French troops reach the Niemen River
- 28 Convention of Tauroggen between Prussian and Russian forces
- 1813**
- February*
- 7 Russian troops enter Warsaw
- March*
- 12 French troops abandon Hamburg
- 13 Prussia declares war on France
- 27 Allied troops occupy Dresden
- April*
- 3 Battle of Möckern
- May*
- 2 Battle of Lützen
- 8 French troops occupy Dresden
- 20–21 Battle of Bautzen
- 27 French abandon Madrid
- June*
- 2 British lay siege to Tarragona
- 4 Armistice agreed between French and Allies in Germany
- 12 British abandon siege of Tarragona; French evacuate Burgos
- 21 Battle of Vitoria
- 28 Siege of San Sebastian begins
- 30 Siege of Pamplona begins
- July*
- 7 Sweden joins the Sixth Coalition
- 19 Austria agrees to join the Allies
- 28–30 Battle of Sorau
- August*
- 12 Austria declares war on France
- 23 Battle of Grossbeeren
- 26 Battle of Pirna
- 26–27 Battle of Dresden
- 30 Battle of Kulm
- 31 British capture San Sebastian; Battle of Vera; Battle of San Marcial
- September*
- 6 Battle of Dennewitz
- October*
- 7 Wellington crosses the Bidassoa River
- 9 Battle of Düben
- 14 Action at Liebertwolkwitz
- 16–19 Battle of Leipzig
- 18 Saxony defects to the Allies
- 30 Battle of Hanau
- 31 French surrender Pamplona
- November*
- 10 Battle of the Nivelle
- 11 French surrender Dresden
- December*
- 9–12 Battle of the Nive
- 13 Battle of St. Pierre
- 1814**
- January*
- 11 Naples joins the Allies
- 14 Denmark concludes peace with the Allies at Kiel
- 27 Battle of St. Dizier
- 29 Battle of Brienne
- February*
- 1 Battle of La Rothière
- 3 Negotiations for peace begin at Châtillon-sur-Seine
- 10 Battle of Champaubert
- 11 Battle of Montmirail
- 12 Battle of Château-Thierry
- 14 Battle of Vauchamps
- 17 Battle of Valjouan
- 18 Battle of Montereau
- 26 British lay siege to Bayonne
- 27 Battle of Orthez
- 27–28 Battle of Meaux
- March*
- 7 Battle of Craonne
- 9 Allies conclude Treaty of Chaumont
- 9–10 Battle of Laon

- 13 Battle of Rheims
- 20 Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube
- 25 Battle of La-Fère-Champenoise
- 31 Action at Montmartre; Paris surrenders

*April*

- 6 Napoleon abdicates unconditionally
- 10 Battle of Toulouse
- 14 Action at Bayonne
- 17 Marshal Soult surrenders to Wellington, ending the Peninsular War
- 28 Napoleon leaves for Elba
- 30 (First) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies

*May*

- 27 French forces surrender Hamburg

*July*

- 5 Battle of Chippewa
- 25 Battle of Lundy's Lane

*November*

- 1 Congress of Vienna convenes

*December*

- 24 Treaty of Ghent concludes war between Britain and the United States

**1815**

*January*

- 8 Battle of New Orleans

*February*

- 26 Napoleon leaves Elba for France

*March*

- 1 Napoleon lands in France
- 15 Naples, still under Murat's rule, declares war on Austria
- 19 Bourbons leave Paris
- 20 Napoleon reaches Paris and returns to power
- 25 Allies form Seventh Coalition

*May*

- 2–3 Battle of Tolentino

*June*

- 9 Congress of Vienna closes
- 16 Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras
- 18 Battle of Waterloo; Battle of Wavre
- 22 Napoleon abdicates

*September*

- 26 Holy Alliance concluded between Russia, Prussia, Austria and other powers

*November*

- 20 (Second) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies; Quadruple Alliance agreed between Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia

# Glossary of Military Terms

The terminology associated with warfare on land and at sea during the period 1792–1815 is very large and can fill several books. Siege warfare alone produced a unique language of its own, mainly connected with the parts of fortifications and the craft associated with their defense or reduction. Below are some of the technical terms referred to in this work, as well as others commonly associated with the period.

*à cheval*: mounted

*à pied*: on foot

*abatis*: barricade of felled trees or interwoven branches

adjutant-general: staff colonel sometimes assigned to serve as a chief of staff at division or corps level

*Afrancesados*: Spanish Francophiles, associated with those who supported the French occupation of Spain from 1808

aide-de-camp: junior staff officer attached to a general or marshal

*Amalgame*: amalgamation of regular French infantry regiments and volunteer units to form a composite units

approaches: trenches or siege lines dug toward the enemy positions

*arme blanche*: generic term for cavalry

ataman: senior Cossack officer

Bashkirs: primitively armed and equipped light cavalry from Asiatic Russia

bastion: four-sided fortification

battery: gun emplacement or company of artillery; batteries could number six, eight or twelve guns

breaking ground: beginning a siege

breastplate: steel plate worn by cuirassiers to protect their fronts; badge worn on the shoulder-belt

breastwork: parapet, usually on a field fortification, to protect the defenders

brigade: tactical formation consisting of two or more battalions of infantry or regiments of cavalry

*cadre*: important officers, enlisted men and other staff needed to organize and train a unit

caisson: ammunition wagon

caliber: the internal diameter of the barrel of the weapon, and approximately the diameter of the projectile fired

canister: artillery ammunition consisting of small lead balls encased in a tin

cannon: informal term for artillery piece

carbine: short cavalry musket

carabinier: type of heavily-armed cavalryman, similar to a cuirassier

carbine: type of musket carried by cavalry, shorter and lighter than the standard infantry musket

carriage: wooden frame which supports the barrel of a cannon

cartouche: cartridge box

case shot: type of artillery ammunition, effectively the same as canister

*chasseurs à cheval*: light cavalry

*chasseurs à pied*: light infantry

*chef*: colonel-proprietor of a regiment in the Russian Army

*chef de bataillon*: major; commander of a French battalion

*chef d'escadron*: major; commander of a cavalry squadron

*cheval-de-frise*: planks or beams studded with spikes or blades, used as a barricade

*chevaléger/cheval-léger*: light cavalry, usually French

*chevauxléger*: light cavalry, usually German

chouan: Royalist insurgent from Brittany

citadel: component of a fortification, consisting of four or five sides

class: annual proportion of the population liable

cockade: rosette bearing the national colors worn on a hat or helmet

color/colour: infantry flag, battalion or regimental

commissariat: army department responsible for supply

company: small tactical unit of infantry or cavalry, or

battery of artillery; a subdivision of a battalion

cornet: lowest officer rank in the cavalry; second lieutenant

- corps: self-contained formation, and the largest tactical unit in an army, containing elements of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and staff; a corps consisted of two or more divisions
- Cortes*: the parliament of Spain
- Cossack: generic name for irregular Russian cavalry
- court-martial: military court
- cuirass: metal breastplate or backplate worn by heavy cavalry
- cuirassier: heavy cavalymen wearing a steel cuirass and helmet
- debut: to issue from a ravine or wood into open ground
- defile: narrow way through which troops can only march on a very confined front
- demi-brigade: French unit of the Revolutionary period consisting of one regular and two volunteer or conscript battalions
- department/*département*: geographical sub-division of France used for administrative purposes
- division: military formation comprising two or more brigades, comprising several thousand infantry and cavalry supported by artillery
- dragoon: medium cavalry capable of fighting mounted or on foot, though almost invariably playing the former role
- eagle: standard consisting of an bronze Imperial eagle mounted on a staff and presented to most units of the French Army from 1804
- embrasure: opening of a parapet of a fortress or field fortification through which artillery (or small arms) could be fired
- émigrés*: Royalists who fled France after the outbreak of Revolution in 1789
- enfilade: to fire on the flank of an opponent
- ensign: the lowest rank in the infantry; second lieutenant
- Erzherzog*: Archduke; an Austrian title
- escadron*: squadron of cavalry
- esplanade: open area separating a citadel from surrounding buildings
- état-major*: regimental staff
- evolution: drill movement, including marching and weapons handling
- facings: distinctive colors on a uniform, usually the collar and cuffs, which differentiate units
- fascine: bundle of brushwood used to fortify a position or to fill ditches during an assault
- field marshal: highest rank in the British, Russian, and Prussian armies
- foot: infantry
- flèche* (modern spelling, *flèche*): V-shaped fortification whose rear is left open, from the French for “arrow”
- flintlock: most common form of musket of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
- forlorn hope: advance storming party, usually that sent ahead of the main assault into the breach of a city or fortress wall
- Freiherr: title used throughout German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Baron*
- Freikorps*: independently-raised units, usually from Prussia or Austria; bands of volunteers
- Fürst: title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Prince*
- fusil: musket
- gabion: wicker basket filled with earth used in fortification
- général de brigade*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a brigade; brigadier general
- général de division*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a division; major general
- glacis: slope leading up to a fortification
- Graf: Title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Count*
- Grapeshot: type of artillery ammunition, only effective at short range, consisting of a cloth bag filled with musket balls which spread on leaving the barrel
- grand battery: tactical amalgamation of several artillery batteries in order to produce a massive concentration of fire
- Grande Armée: From 1805, the main body of the French army and any allied forces serving under Napoleon’s personal command
- grenadier: elite infantry, no longer armed with hand grenades, often used to spearhead an attack; they could operate as entire units or form a single company of a battalion
- Grenzer*: troops serving on the Austrian frontiers with the Ottoman Empire
- guard: term accorded to elite troops, usually regarded as the best in the army; in both French and German, spelled “Garde”
- guerrilla: irregular fighter
- guidon: cavalry standard
- gun: an artillery piece (cannon); not to be confused with small arms, which were known by type, that is, musket, fusil, rifle, pistol, etc.
- handspike: metal lever used to manhandle a cannon into a desired position
- haversack: bag carried by an infantryman containing food and personal effects, usually worn slung on the hip, as opposed to a knapsack
- hornwork: part of a fortification comprising the front of a bastion and two side extensions

- horse artillery: light caliber guns drawn by horse teams whose crew either rode on the limbers or on horseback, thus giving them greater speed over the foot artillery
- howitzer: short-barrelled cannon used to lob shells using a high trajectory
- Hundred Days, The: term used to describe the period of Napoleon's short reign between March and June 1815
- hussar: type of elaborately costumed light cavalry; originally Hungarian
- Imperial Guard: elite formation of the French and Russian armies, in the case of the former divided into the Young, Middle, and Old Guard. This formed Napoleon's tactical reserve and was seldom committed to battle until the campaign of 1813
- invest: in siege warfare, to surround a town or city in preparation for the establishment of formal siege works
- Insurrection: militia from Hungary and Croatia
- Jäger/jäger*: literally, huntsman, in German; rifleman or other type of light infantryman, usually from a German-speaking area
- Junker*: East Prussian aristocracy
- Kalmuk: type of light cavalry from Asiatic Russia
- knapsack: pack worn by infantry on the back
- Korps*: Austrian army corps
- Krümper*: Prussian reservist serving between 1808 and 1812
- lancer: light cavalryman armed with a lance
- Landwehr*: militia or newly-recruited infantry unit, from German-speaking states
- légère*: light, indicating types of infantry or cavalry
- legion/*légion*: a military formation usually consisting of a combination of infantry, cavalry and artillery, often of foreign troops forming part of another army
- levée en masse*: universal male conscription introduced by the French during a period of national emergency in 1793
- light dragoon: type of light cavalry
- ligne*: line; standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- light infantry: equipped like line infantry, but employed in a more mobile capacity on the battlefield, especially by operating in open, or skirmish, order
- limber: two-wheeled carriage with ammunition box which connects a team of horses to a cannon to facilitate movement
- limber up: to attach a cannon to a limber in order to move the former
- line: in French, *ligne*; for example, standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- "line infantry" or "infantry of the line" (*infanterie de la ligne*)
- line of communication: route behind an army, either by road or river or both, by which supplies, reinforcements, and couriered messages traveled
- line of march: general route taken by an army on the march
- line operations: as with line of march, but normally applied to enemy territory
- line of retreat: general route of withdrawal taken by a (usually defeated) army
- loophole: opening made in a wall to enable the defenders to fire through with small arms
- lunette: triangular fortification atop a glacis or beside a ravelin
- magazine: place of storage for ammunition
- Mameluke: from the Turkish *mamluk* (slave), a type of Egyptian horseman, variously and elaborately armed, though also referring to those serving in the French Imperial Guard
- marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea
- marshal: highest rank in the French Army from May 1804
- militia: forces raised for home defense
- National Guard: troops raised in France (*Garde Nationale*) for home defense
- Oberst*: colonel
- opolchenye*: untrained Russian militia
- Ordenança*: Portuguese militia
- outpost: infantry or cavalry occupying an advanced position to facilitate observation of the enemy or early warning of its approach
- palisade: sharpened wooden stakes used mainly for defense against cavalry
- parallel: large trench dug during siege operations which runs parallel to the enemy fortification; manned by troops and supplies in anticipation of the assault
- parapet: stone wall or bank of earth offering protection to troops occupying a fortified position
- partisans: guerrillas; irregular troops
- piece: a cannon, regardless of caliber
- picket/*picquet*: sentry or a small outpost
- pioneer: regimental carpenter or other skilled craftsman
- pontoon: boats specifically designed to be laid adjacent to one another to form a bridge
- pontonier: engineer trained to build pontoons or temporary bridges
- quarters: soldiers' accommodation, whether barracks or civilian lodgings
- rampart: wall of earth or stone comprising the main part of a fortress
- ravelin: detached, triangular-shaped fortification positioned in front of a fortress wall

- redoubt: field fortification, usually dug just prior to battle, armed with infantry and often artillery
- representative on mission/*représentant en mission*: deputy of the Convention or other Revolutionary government official, armed with sweeping powers, sent on specific missions to various regions or armies; political commissars
- rifle: infantry firearm with a grooved or “rifled” bore, thus providing spin—and therefore greater accuracy—than its smooth-bore counterpart, the ordinary musket
- round shot: the most common form of artillery ammunition, consisting of a solid cast-iron sphere, now commonly referred to as a “cannonball”; the weight of the ball varied according to the caliber of the gun from which it was fired
- saber/sabre: cavalry sword with a curved blade, generally used by light cavalry and general officers
- sap: narrow siege trench
- sapper/*sapeur*: combat engineer; often used to construct or demolish field fortifications, and to dig saps during siege operations
- sans-culottes*: extremist revolutionaries in France, generally associated with Paris
- Schützen: German riflemen
- shako: cylindrical military headdress, usually of leather, with a peak and usually a chin-strap
- shell: explosive projectile
- shot: abbreviation for round shot, the most common form of artillery ammunition
- shrapnel: type of artillery ammunition, unique to the British Army, consisting of a hollow sphere packed with musket balls and powder, which when detonated in the air by a fuse showered its target with its contents
- skirmisher: soldier operating in open or extended order to snipe at the enemy individually or as part of a screen to mask friendly troops
- spiking: the means by which a cannon can be made inoperable by the hammering of a spike down the touchhole
- squadron: subdivision of a cavalry regiment, usually consisting of two companies or troops
- square: infantry formation assumed as a defense against cavalry
- standard: cavalry flag, usually rectangular in shape
- sutler: camp-follower who sells food and drink to soldiers, either on the march or in camp
- tirailleur*: skirmisher or light infantryman, usually French and serving together as a unit rather than in the light company of a line regiment
- train: transport service of an army, responsible for conveying supplies, artillery, bridging equipment, and all the other paraphernalia of war
- Tricolor: French national flag, adopted during the Revolution, consisting of blue, white and red bands
- troop: unit of cavalry smaller than a squadron, usually the equivalent of an infantry company
- uhlan*: Polish for *lancer*, usually applied to those serving in German-speaking states or in the Russian Army
- vedette*: cavalry sentry or scout
- vivandière*: female sutleress who accompanies an army on campaign and provides food and sundry services, such as cooking and clothes washing, for a fee
- voltigeur*: from the French for “vaulter,” a light infantryman usually serving in the light company of a line regiment, usually deployed in extended order to form a skirmisher screen ahead of infantry or cavalry
- winter quarters: the quarters occupied by an army during that season, when fighting usually entered a period of hiatus until spring

# Glossary of Naval Terms

- aloft: up in the masts or rigging  
*amiral*: admiral in the French Navy  
astern: behind the vessel  
boarding: coming aboard an enemy vessel by force  
bow: the forward (front-most) part of a vessel  
brig: a lightly-armed (ca. 14 guns), maneuverable, square-rigged, two-masted vessel, smaller than a sloop  
broadside: the simultaneous firing of all the guns positioned on one side of the ship  
canister shot: a type of ammunition consisting of a cylindrical tin case packed with many iron balls which when fired from a cannon at short range spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
carronade: a short-barrelled, heavy calibre gun used only at close range for devastating results against the enemy's hull and crew; only the Royal Navy carried such weapons, which were not counted in the rating of vessel  
chain shot: a type of ammunition comprising two iron spheres or half-spheres, connected by a short length of chain, mainly used to damage rigging and sails  
*contre-amiral*: rear admiral in the French Navy  
double: to attack an enemy vessel from both sides simultaneously  
fireship: vessel packed with combustibles, steered into the enemy, and set on fire  
flagship: the ship of the officer commanding a squadron or fleet, usually a vice- or rear-admiral, and flying his flag  
fleet: a force of more than ten warships  
flotilla: a force of small vessels, sometimes troop ships and gun boats  
frigate: a single-decked warship mounting between 24 and 44 guns  
grapeshot: a type of ammunition consisting of a canvas bag filled with small iron balls which when fired from a cannon spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
grog: drink made from a mixture of rum and water  
gun: a cannon; these fired round shot weighing between 12 and 36 lbs; small arms, technically speaking, were not "guns," but referred to by their specific type, for example, musket, pistol, etc.  
line ahead: formation by which all vessels follow one another in a line, bow to stern; the standard formation for attack  
line of battle: the positioning of warships in a line with their broadsides facing an enemy against whom they intend to engage in battle  
line of battle ship: ship of the line; vessels carrying at least 64 guns and thus large enough to sail in the line of battle, as opposed to frigates and other, smaller vessels  
magazine: place of storage for ammunition  
marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea  
port: the lefthand side of a ship when looking toward the bow; opposite of "*starboard*"  
prize: a captured enemy vessel  
rake: to fire at an enemy ship's bow or stern when it is at right angle to one's own vessel, so enabling the shot to travel down the length of the enemy ship  
ship: in distinction from a boat, a square-rigged vessel with three masts  
ship of the line: warship carrying a minimum of 64 guns that by virtue of its size and armament could fight in a line of battle; the standard type was the 74  
sloop: a single-decked warship slightly smaller than a sixth-rate (frigate) but larger than a brig  
starboard: the right-hand side of a vessel as one looks forward; opposite of "*port*"  
stern: the rear-most part of the hull, usually ornamented and especially vulnerable to enemy fire  
strike (one's colors): to haul down the national flag to indicate a desire to surrender  
tack: to change course by turning the bow through the wind  
*vice-amiral*: vice admiral in the French Navy  
wear: to change a ship's course by turning her stern to windward; opposite of tacking



# G

## **Gaeta, Sieges of (1799, 1806, 1815)**

Gaeta during the period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was a small port 50 miles to the north of Naples. It possessed very strong fortifications and was besieged on three occasions. In 1799 Gaeta was taken by a force led by General Louis Emmanuel Rey when a French army invaded the Kingdom of Naples and established the Parthenopean Republic. The fortress was handed back to Ferdinand IV later that year. In 1806 Gaeta was blockaded by a French army under the command of Marshal André Masséna. It took a couple of months for Masséna to assemble enough artillery to be able to begin the bombardment of the fortress. A combination of support from the Royal Navy and vigorous sorties from the garrison meant that Masséna was not able to complete his preparations until July. However, after a short bombardment, the garrison surrendered. The third siege of Gaeta took place after the defeat of the former French marshal Joachim Murat in 1815 at Tolentino, when the garrison commanded by General Alessandro Begani continued to hold the city in Murat's name. Gaeta was besieged by Austrian troops with the help of the Royal Navy from late May. The garrison put up a spirited defense until early August, when Begani surrendered.

In 1799 the Kingdom of Naples declared war on the Roman Republic, a French satellite, and French troops withdrew north after preliminary Neapolitan attacks on the outskirts of Rome. Although the capital was occupied for a short time, the Neapolitan army fell back. French forces then invaded the Kingdom of Naples in three columns, the third column, under Rey, having orders to take Gaeta. On arriving before the city Rey called on the garrison, 4,000 troops under Baron Charles de Tschoudy, to surrender. Despite being well supplied, Tschoudy chose to surrender the fortress intact. Gaeta was handed back to the Bourbon dynasty later in the year.

In 1806 Joseph Bonaparte became King of Naples and sought to impose his authority over his new territories. In

February a small force of French troops therefore called on the garrison to surrender, though this call was rejected. By March General Jacques-Nicolas Lacour had assumed command over operations against Gaeta, though he was only able to deploy ten guns in the siege lines, compared to the eighty that the garrison possessed. The garrison itself was composed of approximately 6,000 troops under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt. The prince conducted a series of sorties against the French, which damaged the siege lines and inflicted serious losses on the sappers. Hesse also regaled the French using a bullhorn. The French continued with the siege, and in June Lacour was replaced by General Jacques David Martin Campredon, who established more artillery positions until he too was replaced by Masséna. Masséna was anxious to end the siege quickly, for he believed that the 8,000 French troops in the siege lines could be better employed elsewhere.

On 28 June the French began a heavy bombardment of the walls, with mortars shelling the interior of the fortress. On 3 July, however, the garrison was reinforced by naval guns and troops brought and landed by the Royal Navy. The fire from the newly arrived artillery was particularly effective in silencing a number of French pieces. On 10 July Hesse was wounded and was replaced by Colonel Johan Conrad Hotz. Hotz lacked Hesse's resolve, and Masséna, realizing this, increased the volume of fire directed against the breaches. Masséna had also heard of the French defeat at Maida and knew that he must quickly bring the siege to a successful conclusion. On 18 July Masséna formed up storming parties in front of the breaches. Hotz, seeing the French massing against him, agreed to surrender. The French had lost around 1,500 men, but, crucially, the siege had denied the French the opportunity to invade Sicily with the troops otherwise occupied outside Gaeta.

The last siege of Gaeta took place in 1815. After former French marshal Joachim Murat had surrendered his Neapolitan army to the Austrians on 22 May, Begani resolved to hold Gaeta in Murat's name. On the twenty-eighth

Austrian forces under the command of General Matthias von Rebrovich arrived to blockade the city. They were supported by the Royal Navy, which maintained a continuous bombardment on the defenses. Many of Begani's men began to desert, and he was forced to disarm mutinous officers. On 8 June Begani mounted a sortie on the siege lines, destroying a number of trenches and damaging some of the guns. For the next two days the garrison withstood a heavy bombardment, and Begani rejected the continual demands to surrender. By 2 July the Austrians had been reinforced by Neapolitan troops now loyal to the restored Bourbon monarch, King Ferdinand IV (who now styled himself Ferdinand I). By 8 July news of the catastrophic French defeat at Waterloo had reached Begani, but he still refused to surrender. On 16 July a combined Anglo-Neapolitan naval force of sixty-one gunboats bombarded Gaeta, using heavy-caliber shot and Congreve rockets. Begani defiantly continued to issue counterbattery fire, destroying two guns and killing a number of Austrian gunners. On the thirtieth Begani raised a huge flag bearing Murat's emblem, though he was aware that further resistance was futile, not least after a heavy bombardment on 5 August. Three days later Begani surrendered and on the following day marched out with the 800 remaining troops of the garrison. Murat's Neapolitan kingdom was no more.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Congreve Rockets; Ferdinand IV, King; "Italian Independence," War of; Maida, Battle of; Masséna, André; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Neapolitan Campaign; Sicily; Siege Warfare; Tolentino, Battle of

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### **Gamonal, Battle of (10 November 1808)**

The Battle of Gamonal was one of the few actions at which Napoleon was personally present during the Peninsular War. Following the Battle of Bailén, the Emperor was determined to take revenge for what had occurred, and he poured large numbers of reinforcements across the Pyrenees. Joining the bulk of the existing army of occupation in a strong position behind the river Ebro in the province of Navarre, by late October 1808 these troops made up a mass of some 110,000 men. On 5 November, meanwhile, Napoleon, who had resolved to come to the Peninsula himself, reached French headquarters at Vitoria. Four days later 67,000 men were heading for Burgos under the Emperor himself, while other columns pressed deep into the Basque

provinces and Aragón. The Spanish, assembled in four different armies, were spread out in a great horseshoe around the perimeter of the French forces and were helpless in the face of this attack.

Facing Napoleon himself there stood only the first two divisions of the Army of Extremadura (Extremadura) under the Conde de Belveder, a young officer who appears to have owed his command chiefly to family connections. Consisting of no more than 9,000 men, this force had no chance. Deploying to meet the French in a thin line between the village of Villimar and the river Arlanzón, early in the morning of 10 November it was struck by the infantry division of General Georges Mouton and the cavalry division of General Antoine Lasalle. Covered by an extensive area of pine woods that masked the Spanish center, Mouton's forces broke through almost immediately and captured the bulk of the Spanish artillery. Lasalle's cavalry overwhelmed two regiments of hussars that tried to oppose it under General Juan Henestrosa and then rolled up the defenders' right wing. Faced by complete catastrophe, Belveder's army then fell to pieces, the only unit that put up much of a fight being a single battalion of the Walloon Guards, which held out in square for some time and lost 226 of its 300 men. (In fairness to Belveder, it should be noted that he repeatedly tried to rally other regiments, but none would stand for him.) In all, Spanish casualties came to 3,000, while many other men disappeared into the countryside and never returned to the ranks. The French losses amounted to 50 dead and 150 wounded, and the way was now clear for them to march on Madrid and roll up the Army of Extremadura's neighbors on its right and left.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis, comte; Peninsular War

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### **Ganteaume, Honoré Joseph Antoine, comte de (1755–1818)**

Honoré Joseph Antoine Ganteaume was born in La Ciotat, Bouches-du-Rhône, on 13 April 1755 into a naval family and began his life at sea in 1769 helping his father's business. In 1778 Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, a peculiar character of many guises—businessman, spy, dramatist, and arms dealer—was with French government connivance secretly engaged in procuring weapons for the American rebels through a bogus company he had estab-

lished for the purpose. In order to escort vessels carrying weapons and supplies across the Atlantic, Beaumarchais recruited Ganteaume as an auxiliary officer on board the armed vessel *Fier Roderigue*.

When the *Fier* was commandeered by Admiral Charles Hector, comte d'Estaing, Ganteaume, under the command of Admiral Jean-Guillaume-Toussaint de la Motte-Picquet, participated in convoy escort duty and was present at the Battle of Grenada (6 July 1779), during which his captain was killed. His ship then participated in the expedition to Savannah, Georgia, prior to his return to France. As a result of his outstanding conduct, Ganteaume was given command of a frigate for the duration of the campaign. Thereafter he was placed in charge of the store ship *Marlborough*, a prize ship attached to Admiral Pierre de Suffren's squadron from April 1781 to October 1782. Suffren then assigned him to the frigate *Surveillante*. On his return to France, and as a reward for his good service, Ganteaume was promoted to the rank of junior lieutenant. Between 1786 and 1793 he was not employed in the navy.

During the Revolution the government appointed Ganteaume a lieutenant on 1 September 1793. Then, owing to the shortage of naval officers, he was promoted to captain on 27 February 1794. While in command of the ship *Le trente-et-un mai*, he gained renown in the Battle of the Glorious First of June in 1794, in the course of which he was wounded three times. The vital wheat convoy from America, escorted by Admiral Pierre Jean Vanstabel and present with the fleet on that day, arrived safely at Brest, and thus the Republic was saved from famine. Ganteaume next participated in the fight off Hyères in 1795 and later, at the head of a small force, captured several British vessels in the Aegean Sea. In 1796 he successfully escorted a large convoy to Brest. He became a rear admiral on 7 November 1798, then chief of staff to Admiral François Brueys during the expedition to Egypt, where he escaped during the disastrous French defeat at the Battle of the Nile in which Brueys was killed. After being placed in charge of what remained of the fleet after the battle, Ganteaume assisted the land forces in the sieges of Jaffa and Acre on the coast of Syria. While aboard the frigate *Muiron* he commanded the detachment of ships that brought Bonaparte back to France in October 1799. He served as a senior member of the Council of State in 1800, during which time he cruised the Mediterranean for ten months, unable, however, to re-supply the expedition in Egypt, which had been stranded there after Commodore Sir Horatio Nelson's victory.

Loyal to Bonaparte, Ganteaume commanded the Mediterranean squadron from 1800 to 1802, when he was made naval prefect of Toulon in 1802. Promoted to vice admiral on 30 May 1804, he was placed in command of the Brest fleet. Unable to break the British blockade, he failed

to join Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve as part of Napoleon's grand plan to unite several squadrons to seize control of the Channel and move his army from Boulogne to the coast of southern England. From 1808 to 1810 Ganteaume commanded the Mediterranean fleet. In 1810 Napoleon granted him the title of Count of the Empire, and on 1 August 1811 he was made the colonel commanding the battalion of Marines of the Guard.

During the Restoration, Ganteaume transferred his allegiance to Louis XVIII, who made him a peer of France in 1815 and then *inspecteur général des classes*. He voted for the death penalty for Marshal Michel Ney at the conclusion of that officer's trial. Ganteaume died in 1818. He was a good seaman, but he lacked decisiveness.

Patrick Villiers

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Brueys d'Aigalliers, François Paul; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Hyères, Action of; Middle East Campaign; Ney, Michel; Nile, Battle of the; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Garay y Perales, Martín de (1771–1822)

An Aragonese nobleman and official of the Ministry of Finance, in 1808 Martín de Garay was intendant of the province of Extremadura (Estremadura). Appointed to the junta of that province following the Spanish uprising of 1808, he was chosen as one of its representatives to the Junta Suprema Central. When the new government met at Aranjuez, Garay was immediately elected to be its secretary general. Being a man of great ability, moreover, Garay quickly came to dominate the junta's proceedings, all the more so because the Conde de Floridablanca's successor as its president, the Marqués de Astorga, was a nonentity ridiculed as the "little king." For most of the period from September 1808 to January 1810, then, Garay was the mainstay of Spanish resistance to Napoleon. In that capacity he showed great vision and courage, and his efforts to ensure continued British support and to pave the way for a new national assembly are particularly noteworthy.

Following the fall of the Junta Central in 1810, he remained in Cádiz and in 1812 became a member of the Council of State. In 1814 King Ferdinand VII, in recognition of his services to the royal administration prior to 1808, exonerated him of the charges of collaboration with the liberals that might have been laid against him

and appointed him director of the Canal Imperial in Aragón, and at the end of 1816 he became minister of finance. In this capacity he struggled for the next two years to introduce a new system of taxation modeled on that brought in by the Cortes of Cádiz in an attempt to solve the monarchy's increasingly desperate financial problems, but his measures alarmed the ever-cautious Ferdinand, and in September 1818 he was summarily dismissed. Rallying, in consequence, to the Revolution of 1820, he again became a member of the Council of State, only to fall sick and die at the end of 1822.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Cádiz, Cortes of; Ferdinand IV, King; Junta Central; Peninsular War

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### **García de la Cuesta, Gregorio (1740–1812)**

A tough and vigorous soldier from Santander, Gregorio García de la Cuesta first came to prominence in 1795 when forces under his control drove the French from the border district of Puigcerda. Thereafter, however, he fell out with the royal favorite, Manuel de Godoy, and in 1800 he was dismissed from his post as president of the Council of Castile (the most important of the various councils of administration that had traditionally overseen the governance of Spain) and banished to his home province. Rehabilitated by King Ferdinand VII when he came to the throne in March 1808, Cuesta was then appointed captain general of Old Castile. However, Ferdinand's favor did not mean that Cuesta instantly rallied to the uprising. On the contrary, when his capital of Valladolid rose in revolt, Cuesta opposed the insurrection on the grounds that, first, it was politically illegitimate and, second, it was militarily futile. In the end, however, he surrendered (though tradition has it that only the threat of death sufficed to get him to do so), while he went on to display considerable energy and devotion.

Quickly driven from Valladolid after a disastrous action at Cabezón in which his efforts were ruined by the indiscipline of the mob, within a few weeks he built up an army of 9,000 men in León with the aid of a few regular cavalry who had fled to his headquarters (in 1808 Old Castile had been almost devoid of troops). At the same time, through sheer force of personality he succeeded in imposing his authority over the juntas that had emerged in such towns as León, Salamanca, and Zamora. Despite the

arrival of part of General Joaquín Blake's Army of Galicia, however, most of Old Castile was lost as a result of the Battle of Medina de Río Seco. A severe defeat for the Spanish, this loss has often been attributed to Cuesta's incompetence, but it was, rather, the result of general confusion and clever maneuvering on the part of the French.

Yet Cuesta cannot be said to have acted at all wisely in the aftermath of the battle. In the first place he fiercely resisted suggestions that he should unite his forces with those of Blake, despite the fact that it was quite clear that his army was just too weak to stand alone against the French. And in addition, a serious quarrel broke out between Cuesta and the Junta of León, the upshot of which was that Cuesta ended up arresting the representatives that the junta dispatched to the new provisional government known as the Junta Central, which was in the process of formation at Aranjuez. According to Cuesta, indeed, this body was not legitimate at all, responsibility for the governance of Spain having fallen to the Council of Castile.

In the atmosphere of 1808, however, such a stance was unrealistic. Denounced by several of his fellow generals, Cuesta was summoned to Aranjuez and was left with no option but to surrender his command. Still at Aranjuez when the French forced the Junta Central to flee in December 1808, Cuesta made his way to Badajoz, where the frightened local authorities asked him to take charge of the remnants of the Army of Extremadura. The Junta Central had no choice but to accept this decision, and Cuesta was soon back in action. Conscious of the fact that he had many political enemies in Seville, he sought to consolidate his position through gaining a military victory, only to suffer a major reverse at Medellín.

Again, however, his generalship was by no means so insensate as has often been claimed, while he showed considerable personal courage and narrowly escaped death when he was ridden down by some fleeing cavalry. Once his army had been reconstituted, there followed the infamous campaign of Talavera, for which Cuesta again did not deserve the opprobrium heaped on him by British sources: The actual battle saw the Spanish general do all that Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) asked of him. By this time, however, age and infirmity were taking their toll, and on 12 August 1809 Cuesta suffered a serious stroke. Eventually he recovered sufficiently to accept a position as captain general of Mallorca (Majorca), but in 1812 he suffered a second stroke and died.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Blake, Joaquín; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcadia; Junta Central; Medellín, Battle of; Medina de Río Seco, Battle of; Peninsular War; Talavera, Battle of

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**Gay-Lussac, Joseph-Louis (1778–1850)**

Joseph-Louis Gay-Lussac was among the young men who took advantage of the social mobility of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France to build a scientific career. From a legal family that suffered in the Revolution, Gay-Lussac entered the Ecole Polytechnique in 1797 and the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées in 1800. The same year Gay-Lussac, already planning a scientific career, met the chemist Claude-Louis Berthollet, who adopted him as a lab assistant and protégé. Working from Berthollet's home at Arcueil, Gay-Lussac almost immediately made an important discovery: that all gases expand by the same proportion for an equivalent rise in temperature, given constant pressure. This discovery is now referred to as Charles's Law, after Jacques-Alexandre-César Charles, whose previous work had been much sketchier and unpublished. Gay-Lussac's approach to chemistry was deeply influenced by the mathematical culture of French Newtonian physics, and unlike many of his contemporaries, he defined the chemist's primary task as the establishment of mathematically expressed laws. Gay-Lussac also made the highest balloon ascensions to date on 24 August and 16 September 1804 to measure the atmosphere at high altitudes. These ascensions are considered to mark the beginning of scientific ballooning.

In 1806 Gay-Lussac was elected to the First Class of the Institute of France. He was also a member of the exclusive scientific body the Society of Arcueil and was appointed teacher of physics at the Faculty of Science in the newly established University of France in 1808. In 1809 he justified the institute's faith in him by announcing another law, Gay-Lussac's Law of combining volumes of gases. This law states that gases that combine chemically always do so in simple ratios. Gay-Lussac viewed the key measurement in the chemical combination of gases to be the volume, rather than the weight, of the gases. Gay-Lussac's position at the center of Parisian chemistry was further enhanced in 1810, when he received the chair of chemistry at the Ecole Polytechnique.

From 1807 to 1815 Gay-Lussac's great rival in European chemistry was the Englishman Humphry Davy. The two were often working on similar projects, and accusations of poaching occasionally flew back and forth across the Channel. (The situation was exacerbated by the poor communications between the two warring countries.)

Gay-Lussac had the advantage of working in Paris, Europe's scientific capital, but he lacked Davy's intellectual daring. Although Gay-Lussac hinted at the elemental nature of chlorine, then known as oxymuriatic acid, it was Davy who boldly proclaimed it and gave the new element its name. On the other hand, while Davy and Gay-Lussac quarreled over priority in the description of iodine, it was Gay-Lussac's exhaustive memoir on the subject in 1814 that laid the basis for the subsequent development of chemical studies of the element.

Never as identified with the Napoleonic regime as were the older leaders of Arcueil—Berthollet, Jean Antoine Chaptal, and Pierre-Simon Laplace—Gay-Lussac adjusted easily to the Restoration, succeeding Berthollet as France's leading chemist.

*William E. Burns*

*See also* Balloons, Observation; Chaptal, Jean Antoine; Davy, Humphry; Science, Exploration, and Technology (contextual essay)

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**Geisberg, Battle of the (26 December 1793)**

The Battle of the Geisberg, fought in mountainous terrain, ended the First Coalition's 1793 invasion of France across the Rhine. The French victory convinced the Austrians to retreat into Germany, forcing the Prussians to quickly follow them. The battle also firmly established General Lazare Hoche as one of the rising commanders among the republicans, who stressed the élan of his men as a key element of victory.

By November 1793 Austrian forces under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Dagobert Graf Würmser and the Prussians under the Duke of Brunswick planned to go into winter quarters. The opposing French armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle, under General Jean-Charles Pichegru and Hoche, respectively, opened an offensive against them, hoping to relieve the fortress of Landau. While Pichegru engaged the Austrians to the south, Hoche tried unsuccessfully to drive the Prussians from Kaiserslautern on 28–30 November. Undiscouraged by his failure, Hoche reorganized the Army of the Moselle. Using diversionary frontal attacks to mask a turning column, Hoche defeated Brunswick on 22 December at Froschwiller (Froeschwiller). The Prussians retreated toward the Rhine.

The Prussian retreat forced Würmser to fall back as well. He assumed a new position around Weissenburg, whose key was the Geisberg heights. Owing to Hoche's success, the representatives on mission with the armies (who

served as a kind of political commissar), promoted him to commander in chief over both armies on 24 December. His rival Pichegru was furious but unable to prevent the change.

Hoche was determined to push the Austrians out of Weissenburg. The knowledge that unsuccessful commanders ended up on the guillotine gave extra urgency to his decision. He massed approximately 35,000 men in five divisions and launched an attack on 38,000 troops under Würmser on 26 December. The French right, under General Louis-Charles Desaix, helped hold Austrian reserves in place, but the main effort took place in the mountains around Weissenburg. The French assault caught a 4,000-man Austrian detachment making a reconnaissance in force at the Geisberg River. They were swiftly overwhelmed and thrown back on the Austrian main body. When the Austrians rallied around the fieldworks on the Geisberg heights, Hoche responded by ordering a bayonet charge. His men, driven by their early successes, overwhelmed the three battalions on the Geisberg and pierced the Austrian line.

Abandoning many cannon and baggage, Würmser ordered a general retreat. Despite Brunswick's best efforts, Würmser was determined to recross the Rhine. He did so at Philippsburg on 30 December and took up winter quarters in the Palatinate. Brunswick realized Prussian forces could not remain in Alsace without support. He ordered a general retreat and crossed the Rhine at Mainz on the same day. A small Prussian force remained at Fort Vauban and were the only Allied troops on French soil at the beginning of 1794.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; First Coalition, War of the; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Weissenburg, Battle of; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Genoa, Siege of (April–June 1800)

The defense of the last French stronghold in Italy beginning in late April 1800 played a key role in pinning down substantial Austrian forces while Bonaparte, the First Consul, crossed the Alps with his army. Despite his promises to relieve the siege, Bonaparte abandoned the defenders

under General André Masséna, who surrendered in early June after enduring considerable hardship.

With promises of resupply, Bonaparte persuaded Masséna to take command of French forces on the Mediterranean coast in early February. On 6 April, the Austrian commander *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Melas swept south, cut the French left wing under General Louis Suchet off from Masséna, and closed the ring around the walled city on 19 April. Left with 9,600 fit troops, the French attempted forays to obtain food, but they were usually frustrated by the Austrians and their local supporters. On 24 April the Allies demanded Masséna's surrender. He responded that he "would rather be buried under the ruins of Genoa than surrender" (Masséna 1966–1967, 3–4: appendix). Three days later, Melas left *Feldmarschalleutnant* Peter Freiherr Ott von Bar-tokez with 24,000 troops, but without heavy siege guns he could only maintain a blockade to starve the French out. The British mounted a steady naval bombardment.

The city was able to eke out meager food supplies for a month, and some local merchant ships ran the blockade to deliver highly priced corn. Bread was being sold to local inhabitants, but this was stopped on 20 May when the Austrians cut the aqueduct, which supplied waterpower for the flour mills. The military ration was reduced to 153 grams of bread—made from flour, sawdust, starch, hair powder, oatmeal, linseed, rancid nuts, and cocoa—and an equal quantity of horseflesh. However, wine was plentiful, so each man received a daily liter. Once the horses had been eaten, the city's cats, dogs, and rats were consumed. Townspeople resorted to boiled leaves and grass, seasoned with salt, before being reduced to boiling old bones, leather, and other skins. Each day, up to 400 emaciated bodies were dumped in an open grave. The civilian population of 120,000 was reduced by more than 30,000. Austrian prisoners aboard the prison hulks received a quarter ration. They resorted to eating their shoes and leather equipment before starting on canvas sails.

On 14 May Masséna mounted one final attempt to break the blockade through Monte Creto, but he was defeated and General Nicolas Soult was captured. That night, a naval bombardment conducted by gunboats spread disorder through the population until calm was restored at dawn, when Masséna ordered any group of larger than four to be shot. A British raid on 21 May was followed by popular insurrection. On 31 May rations ran out and desertions started. Seeing no sign of relief, Masséna offered to surrender on 1 June. His parley coincided with Melas's order to Ott to lift the blockade and march north, but the Austrians delayed his departure until 4 June, when the surrender was signed and they took possession of the city.

*David Hollins*

See also Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Masséna, André; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Second Coalition, War of the; Siege Warfare; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Suchet, Louis Gabriel

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### Gentz, Friedrich von (1764–1832)

Political thinker and publicist. Born a Prussian, Friedrich von Gentz's nationalist ideas, expressed in fluid prose, found favor in Austria. There he supported the war party, and later the Austrian foreign minister, Klemens Fürst Metternich, with various publications.

Born into a family of officials in Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland), Gentz studied law at Königsberg (where the philosopher Immanuel Kant taught) and developed his literary abilities. In Berlin, he worked for Minister Friedrich Graf von der Schulenberg-Kehnert and received his title as a royal secretary. Initially an enthusiastic supporter of the French Revolution, his first public essay, "On the Origins and Main Principles of Justice," appeared in 1791. His views were changed when he translated Edmund Burke's "Observations on the French Revolution" in 1792, while his own work was translated into English. Now a noted antirevolutionary, he joined the Prussian military General Directorate in 1793. He continued to translate French émigré pamphlets and was introduced to Friedrich von Schiller's ideas of a single German people. Gentz established *Die neue deutsche Monatschrift* (the New German Monthly) to publish essays with an atheistic-political emphasis, but by 1795 he had abandoned it to focus on opposing the French Revolution. When Frederick William III became king in November 1797, he naively directed a *Sendschrift* (open letter) to the new bureaucratic monarch, who disliked intellectuals. In 1799 he established *Das historische Journal*, which was pro-British, a stance that brought him further conflict with the censor's office.

Despite British financial support, he looked increasingly to Austria. In October 1802 he moved to Vienna, where with Matthias Fassbender's support in his capacity as civilian adviser to Archduke Charles he was appointed a *Hofrat in ausordentliche Diensten* (imperial adviser without portfolio), following which he visited Britain to further Anglo-Germanic links. Back in Austria in 1803 with the sponsorship of joint foreign ministers Johann Ludwig Graf Cobenzl and Franz Graf von Colloredo, he published pam-

phlets supporting the war party's policies. Following the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, he unsuccessfully attempted to aid Prussian policy to draw Austria into renewed war before joining the Prussian royal family at Naumburg in October 1806. Proscribed by Napoleon after the Battle of Jena, he fled to Prague until the Austrian foreign minister, Johann Philipp Graf Stadion-Warthausen summoned him to Vienna in 1808. In the following year, he composed the proclamation issued by Archduke Charles on 15 April, which called for Austria and the various states of Germany to unite against France in 1809.

In 1813 he published more works in support of Metternich, although the proclamation "An die deutschen Fürsten" (To the German Princes), which bears his name, was not his. During the Congress of Vienna, he worked tirelessly to promote his ideas and explained his political philosophy in "Verfechter der Restaurations-Tendenzen und Bekämpfer des Liberalismus" (Champion of the Tendency to Restoration and Opponent of Liberalism). Supported by the Vienna censor, he set up the *Wiener Jahrbuch* (Vienna Annual) in 1818 and advocated control of the press. A close associate of Metternich, he wrote many pamphlets in support of the chancellor's conservative policies against the European revolutions.

David Hollins

See also Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Colloredo, Franz Graf von; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Jena, Battle of; Kant, Immanuel; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Schiller, Friedrich von; Stadion-Warthausen, Johann Philipp Graf; Vienna, Congress of

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### George III, King (1738–1820)

King of Great Britain during the American Revolution, the French Revolutionary Wars, and the Napoleonic period, George III's prowar policy in 1803 following the Treaty of Amiens deprived Napoleon of the peace he sought to rebuild France. George was the first son of Frederick Louis,

Prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha and succeeded his grandfather George II in 1760 as the third Hanoverian monarch, his father having predeceased him in 1751. In 1761 he married a German princess, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, by whom he had fifteen children, nine sons and six daughters.

George III wished to increase the power and authority of the monarchy and attempted to weaken the cabinet and Parliament. Early in his reign he appointed several prime ministers: the Earl of Bute, George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Chatham, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord North. George successfully oversaw the defeat of the French in the Seven Years' War (known as the French and Indian War in America) (1756–1763), adding Canada to his realms. His commitment to having the American colonists pay taxes to support British army garrisons in the thirteen colonies for their own protection led to the American Revolution (1775–1783) and to the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The king supported North's policies, which ultimately resulted in the loss of the American colonies. Many members of Parliament, including Charles James Fox and William Pitt the Elder, viewed the government's treatment of the colonies as unjust. North's government fell in March 1782 and was succeeded by governments formed by Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland.

William Pitt the Younger became prime minister in 1783 following the peace and was aided by his cousin, Lord Grenville, as foreign secretary from 1791 to 1801. Britain went to war against France in 1793, joining the First Coalition which was determined to bring an end to the French Revolution and its threat to European monarchs. George oversaw British naval victories at Camperdown (1797), St. Vincent (1797), the Nile (1798), and Copenhagen (1801) and expeditions marked by mixed success to the West Indies, Egypt, and the Continent before finally agreeing to a treaty of peace concluded at Amiens in 1802. Pitt and Grenville had resigned in 1801 over the issue of Catholic emancipation, which the king violently opposed, and the new prime minister, Henry Addington, had overseen the conclusion of peace. But the king and Pitt, working behind the scenes, maneuvered to keep Malta, a vital strategic possession that was to have been evacuated under the terms of the treaty.

War between France and Britain resumed in 1803 over the issue of Malta after George's bellicose speech from the throne on 8 March, in which he recommended calling out the militia and adding 10,000 sailors to the navy. As before, the king continued to fear French power on the Continent and the spread of Revolutionary ideology. Since the Revolution began, he had also welcomed French émigrés to Britain and had supported their claims to property and the restoration of the Bourbons in France, though Pitt no

longer sought a return of royalist power as a requirement of peace with France. While George accused Napoleon of undertaking military preparations in French and Dutch ports, Napoleon claimed he had actively negotiated to preserve peace so as to provide an opportunity to rebuild his country. His naval preparations, he added, were to suppress the revolution in St. Domingue (now Haiti).

Britain regarded this as a ruse and declared war on 18 May 1803 in an effort to restore the balance of power on the Continent and thus preserve Britain's security from invasion. Addington left office a year into the war, to be replaced by Pitt, who would serve until his death in January 1806. Apart from a short period in office for the Whigs under Grenville (1806–1807), the Tories held power (under the Duke of Portland [1807–1809], Spencer Perceval [1809–1812], and Robert Banks Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool [1812–1822]) until the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, with the king an unswerving supporter of his nation's war effort. A fit of madness, brought on by porphyria, rendered George unfit to serve as king, thus obliging ministers to appoint his son George as Prince Regent from 5 February 1811. George III died in 1820, succeeded by his son.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Camperdown, Battle of; Catholic Emancipation; Copenhagen, Battle of; Emigrés; Fox, Charles James; Great Britain; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Nile, Battle of the; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; St. Vincent, Battle of; West Indies, Operations in the

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## George IV, King

*See* Prince Regent and the Regency Period

## Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte (1773–1852)

Maurice Etienne Gérard was a distinguished French military commander who participated in many of the key battles of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

The son of a royal huntsman, Gérard was born at Damvillers on 4 April 1773. At the age of eighteen he enlisted in the 2nd Battalion of the Meuse and saw extensive action during the Revolutionary Wars. In 1795 he was appointed to the staff of General Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte and acted as his aide-de-camp until 1806 when, having served gallantly in a number of important battles including Austerlitz, was promoted to *général de brigade*.

After a brief time spent fighting in Spain, Gérard was given command of the 3rd Division of Marshal Louis Davout's I Corps in time for Napoleon's Russian campaign. He once again proved his mettle at the Battle of Borodino (7 September 1812) and was promoted to *général de division*. Gérard was a tower of strength during the retreat from Moscow, and he continued to fight tenaciously throughout the campaign of 1813. For his efforts he was made a Count of the Empire.

Gérard grudgingly accepted the Bourbon restoration, but the return of Napoleon in 1815 rekindled his republican loyalties and once more he took up arms for the Emperor. He was given command of IV Corps during the Waterloo campaign and played an essential role in the defeat of the Prussians at the Battle of Ligny (16 June).

Though Ligny had been a French victory, much of the Prussian army had been able to withdraw. Following the battle, Gérard's IV Corps was placed under the command of Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, who was ordered to intercept and destroy the remaining Prussians before they could join the main Allied force under the Duke of Wellington. However, Grouchy proved inadequate to the task and eventually lost contact with the Prussians. Late on the morning of 18 June, Grouchy's senior officers heard the low rumble of artillery, which signaled the opening of the Battle of Waterloo. Gérard immediately urged his commander to march toward the sound of the guns in order to reinforce Napoleon in what was sure to be the decisive battle of the campaign. Grouchy promptly refused and insisted on engaging only the Prussian rear guard at Wavre. Not only did this decision deprive the Emperor of desperately needed reinforcements, but had Grouchy immediately followed Gérard's suggestion, they would have almost certainly intercepted the Prussian army before it was able to smash into Napoleon's right flank.

After Napoleon's second abdication, Gérard spent a short time in exile before returning to France in 1817. There he resumed his military career, becoming both minister of war and a marshal of France. Near the end of his life he was made a senator by Napoleon III. He died in Paris on 7 April 1852.

*Samuel Cohen*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Germany,

Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Ligny, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of

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## German Liberation, War of

See Germany, Campaign in

## Germany, Campaign in (1813)

The campaign in Germany in 1813 was Napoleon's final struggle to maintain his dominance of Europe. The great Battle of Leipzig in October of that year was the largest military confrontation in history until then, and it was overshadowed only by the fearful slaughter of World War I a century later. Leipzig, also known as the Battle of the Nations, was the climax of the Napoleonic Wars, and it marked the end of Napoleon's attempts to retain control over central Europe. After the battle for Germany in 1813 came the battle for France in 1814 and Napoleon's first abdication.

The destruction of Napoleon's Grande Armée of 600,000 men in Russia in 1812, until then the largest army ever assembled, dramatically altered the balance of power in Europe. Instead of Napoleon bringing Russia into line, Europe now had the chance of bringing Napoleon to bay. The crossing of the Berezina River in November 1812 by the last miserable remnants of a once-proud army symbolized the end of Napoleon's Russian adventure. The signing of the Convention of Tauroggen with the Russians by the Prussian general Johann von Yorck marked the next phase of the struggle against Napoleon. This act of rebellion, in which the Prussian contingent in Napoleon's army was declared neutral, opened what later became known to Germans as the War of Liberation.

After the catastrophic defeat in 1806 and the French occupation of the territories left under Prussian rule, a growing group of patriotically minded people prepared for a war against France. Fearing Napoleon might use this unrest to justify a dismemberment of Prussia, the king, Frederick William III, discouraged such activities, leading to several disputes and the resignations of senior officials and army officers. The events of the winter of 1812–1813 gave these groups new encouragement and led to Prussia's declaration of war on France on 17 March 1813, after an alliance with Russia had been agreed on in the Convention of Kalisch a month earlier.



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 31.

Napoleon had not been idle. When it became clear to him that his army had been totally destroyed, he departed for Paris to secure his regime against any attempt to overthrow it, and with characteristic energy he set about raising a new army in the hope of reversing the setbacks of 1812. Although resources were being rapidly exhausted, all of Europe set about raising new forces for the forthcoming campaign, which was fought largely by raw levies and callow youths lacking many of the basics of training and equipment.

### The Spring Campaign

In the early months of 1813 the French forces remaining in Germany were under the command of Napoleon's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy. He attempted to keep hold of as much of Germany as possible, but rebellions in various parts of the north made his position difficult. Napoleon's original intention—for Beauharnais to hold both Warsaw and Posen and to relieve the garrison of Danzig—proved unattainable. Regular forces, both Prussians and Russians, took advantage of the situation, moving gradually toward the Elbe River. Beauharnais abandoned Berlin and fell back across the Elbe, maintaining a

bridgehead at Magdeburg. With Berlin now free, the Prussians accelerated their mobilization.

The Allies moved westward in three columns. The right, under the command of General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein (a German in Russian service), consisted of Prussians (including the corps of Yorck and Friedrich von Bülow), Russians, and Swedes. It was to march on Magdeburg. The center column was led by Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, the hero of the campaign of 1812. Not only was he reluctant to continue the war, since Napoleon had been driven out of Russia, but also he fell ill and died, which delayed the movements of his column. On the Allied left the Army of Silesia, consisting of Prussians and Russians, was under the command of General Gebhard von Blücher. He marched to Dresden in the hope of winning over the Saxons to the Allied cause, entering the city in March. However, the Saxons were reluctant to commit themselves, so Blücher continued to Leipzig, where he waited for Kutuzov.

A Russian free corps entered Hamburg to a jubilant welcome. The citizens of this great trading city had suffered particularly severely under the Continental System, Napoleon's embargo on trade with Britain. Eugène now

massed around Magdeburg, while Marshal Louis Davout was posted to Hamburg, which the French later reoccupied, ruling its rebellious residents with an iron fist.

Meanwhile, Eugène engaged Wittgenstein's advancing Prussians and Russians in and around Möckern, to the east of Magdeburg, fighting a battle on 5 April. The French were driven back, losing over 2,000 men, while the Allies lost only 500. Another Prusso-Russian army, under the command of Blücher, moved on Dresden, on the Elbe River in Saxony, forcing Eugène to abandon further territory. The Austrians maintained a position of neutrality and awaited further events. The Saxons also hesitated, although there were calls for war with Napoleon. His position in Germany was precarious, and all of Europe's eyes were focused on the events to come there.

When Napoleon returned to Germany at the end of April at the head of a new army, the balance tipped in his favor again. At first he had hoped to be in a position to carry the war back deep into central Europe, operating between the Elbe and Oder rivers, using the fortresses he still held there as bases. The events of the previous weeks now made that impossible. Instead, he decided to cross the Elbe in Saxony and press on to the Oder. By occupying substantial parts of Prussian territory, he would throw their mobilization into chaos.

Although outnumbered, the Allies sought a battle with Napoleon, hoping to beat him. A victory at this stage of the campaign would have restored Prussia as a great power and ensured Russia's expansion westward, leaving Austria on the sidelines. They chose the area around Leipzig for making this challenge, as the flat terrain would allow them to use their superiority in cavalry to its full.

Napoleon marched into Saxony, having taken full control of the theater of operations on reaching Erfurt on 25 April. He was operating largely without ears and eyes, as it had not been possible to replace enough of the vast numbers of cavalry he had lost in Russia. He no longer had an army of veterans, and he was not facing green troops. He blundered into a trap set by the Allies, who had placed their forces close to his line of movement. On 2 May the Allies, a Prusso-Russian army under the command of Wittgenstein, sprang a trap at Lützen (Grossgörschen), a village near Leipzig. This battlefield was only a short distance from Jena and Auerstädt, where Napoleon had won his great victories of 1806. Here, the Allies caught Marshal Michel Ney's corps in its camp, surprising the troops. They had the opportunity of dispatching Ney and dealing with each of Napoleon's corps piecemeal as they marched up the road from Weissenfels to Leipzig. However, as a result of poor staff work—the Allied staffs had yet to develop a sufficiently close collaboration—they missed this one opportunity of inflicting a crushing blow on Napoleon and

ending the campaign at this stage. The war in Germany would now continue for much of the rest of the year.

Lützen was a hard-fought battle and a very confused affair. Much of the fighting took place in and around four villages that formed a quadrangle in the center of the battlefield. The bloodbath here was horrific, and equally bitter fighting was to characterize the rest of the campaign. Caught off balance by this surprise attack, Napoleon soon regained his footing and turned the tables, bringing around 78,000 of his men into action. About 34,000 Prussians and 36,000 Russians fought here. The Allied attacks failed because of their lack of coordination and because of Ney's determined defense. This bought Napoleon time to bring up more men and use his advantage in numbers. The fighting continued into the night, leaving the French in control of the battlefield and the Allies beaten but not broken. The superior Allied cavalry prevented any sort of pursuit taking place. The French lost around 22,000 men killed and wounded; the Allies about 20,000.

General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, the leading Prussian military reformer, was wounded at Lützen, although not seriously. He was serving as Blücher's chief of staff. After the battle he was sent to Austria as an ambassador, hoping to persuade it to join the Allies. However, his wound became infected, and he died.

Napoleon followed up, but the hard marching was taking a toll on his youthful army. The Allies fell back eastward, toward Russia and reinforcements. Napoleon's line of communication, which ran through hostile territory, lengthened. The Austrians continued to hesitate. Napoleon put pressure on Frederick Augustus, the king of Saxony, to open his fortresses to Napoleon's army and to declare his continued membership in the Confederation of the Rhine. Frederick Augustus gave way and returned to Dresden from his refuge in Austrian-ruled Bohemia. Johann Adolph Frieheerr von Thielmann, the Saxon general commanding the vital fortified crossing of the Elbe at Torgau, resigned his post in protest and went over to the Allies. The situation in Germany remained fragile.

Napoleon now needed a decisive victory to bring Germany back into line and to ensure that Austria did not enter the war. The Allies needed at least to hold their own and show they had the mettle to defeat Napoleon. At best, a battlefield success would strengthen their position considerably. Napoleon's military objective remained to reach the line of the Oder River, to relieve the besieged garrison of the crossing at Glogau, to take both Berlin and Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland), the capital of Silesia, and to enable Davout to regain control of Hamburg and from there march into Pomerania.

The Allies decided to offer battle west of the Oder. They prepared a position in and around the town of

Bautzen, on the river Spree and close to the Bohemian border. Here they hoped to fight Napoleon to a standstill before enveloping his left flank, driving him against the mountains along the Bohemian border, and trapping him with Austrian territory to his rear.

The Battle of Bautzen was a two-day affair, fought on 20–21 May. Napoleon started the battle with 115,000 men against 66,000 Russians and 31,000 Prussians under Wittgenstein. Ney came up to support Napoleon with a further 84,000 men, although not all of them were committed to the battle. Napoleon's plan was to tie down the Allies with a frontal assault on the first day, while Ney enveloped their right flank on the second day. Napoleon hoped to deal a crushing blow and win the campaign.

After softening up the Allies with a heavy artillery bombardment, Napoleon crossed the Spree on the first day, forcing the Allies to commit many of their reserves to shore up their line. Ney's approach was known to the Allies, but they underestimated his strength. On the second day, Napoleon continued his assaults on the Allied line, hoping to distract their attention long enough for Ney to accomplish the planned envelopment. However, Napoleon did not communicate his intentions to Ney clearly enough, which led to delays and errors in the implementation of this maneuver. Blücher and General Friedrich von Kleist, on the Allied right, were able to fight their way out of the trap, and the day ended with the Allies withdrawing. Each side lost around 20,000 men. While Napoleon was the victor, he was far from achieving the decisive blow he had intended, and the Allies slipped away, with their superiority in cavalry ensuring that no effective pursuit took place.

So far in this campaign Napoleon had shown he was capable of winning battles, but despite a significant superiority in numbers he was not much nearer to winning the war. The Allies had shown themselves capable of fighting Napoleon but not of beating him. The war was very much in the balance. Both sides had suffered heavy losses and were exhausted. A respite was necessary for all to bring up fresh forces, so on 4 June the Armistice of Pleischwitz was agreed on. It lasted seven weeks, enabling the Prussians to complete their mobilization and the Russians to bring up more men.

Now that the soldiers were resting and recuperating, the diplomats began working feverishly. All eyes now focused on Vienna, for the balance of power and the likelihood of success would be tipped toward whichever side Austria might join. In the Treaty of Reichenbach of 27 June, Austria agreed with Russia and Prussia that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine should be abolished, that Austria should receive Illyria on the Adriatic coast, that all territory seized from Prussia in 1806 should be returned, and that France should

return all the north German territory it had annexed in 1810. If Napoleon refused these terms, Austria would declare war on him.

At the Congress of Prague, which ran from 15 July to 10 August, Napoleon's representative, Armand-Augustin, marquis de Caulaincourt, refused these terms. They would have left Napoleon with Italy, Belgium, and the west bank of the Rhine. On 12 August Austria declared war, and by the Treaty of Teplitz concluded with Russia and Prussia the following month, the Habsburg Empire formally joined the Sixth Coalition. The campaign in Germany now entered its final phase.

### The Autumn Campaign

The Allies were organized into three armies. The Army of the North, a mixture of Prussian, Russian, and Swedish troops, was under the command of the crown prince of Sweden, Napoleon's former marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte. It was deployed in and around Berlin. The main Allied force, known as the Army of Bohemia and consisting largely of Austrians but with contingents from both Russia and Prussia, assembling in Bohemia, was under the command of Austrian *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg. Blücher was at the head of the Army of Silesia, a mixed force of Russians and Prussians stationed in the area around Breslau. A fourth army under the Russian general Levin Bennigsen, the Army of Poland, was in the process of formation. The three field armies numbered around 440,000 men.

Napoleon's center of operations and main base was in Saxony. From here through to the Elbe, he had deployed around 240,000 men. Just south of Berlin, Marshal Nicolas Oudinot commanded an army of 66,000 men. On the lower Elbe, near Hamburg, Davout, with 35,000 men, faced a very mixed bag of 25,000 regulars and irregulars under General Ludwig Graf von Wallmoden-Gimborn, an Austrian officer in Russian service. The Bavarian general Karl Philipp Freiherr von Wrede, with 30,000 men, faced a similar number of Austrians in southern Germany. Napoleon was outnumbered, so he sought to take on and destroy the Allied armies individually. Strategically, he enjoyed the advantage of the central position. He could seal the passes from Bohemia into Saxony with relatively few men, concentrate his remaining forces against one Allied army and achieve a local superiority in numbers. However, the Allies had agreed on a strategy of avoiding battle with Napoleon himself, the Trachenberg Plan, and wanted to wear him down by taking on his subordinates. Once Napoleon was sufficiently weakened, they would then unite their armies for the decisive battle.

The armistice was broken prematurely when Blücher's army crossed the armistice line on 14 August. Napoleon

decided to deal with Blücher first, then cross into Bohemia and press on to Prague. He sent Oudinot to take Berlin. While Napoleon was chasing the elusive Blücher, Schwarzenberg's army debouched from the mountain passes and marched into Saxony. Napoleon rushed back to Saxony, leaving Marshal Jacques Macdonald in charge of the Army of the Bober, to pursue Blücher.

The dilemma Napoleon was facing now materialized. While he moved to meet Schwarzenberg's Army of Bohemia, his subordinates floundered. On 23 August Oudinot was defeated at Grossbeeren and thrown back from Berlin. On the twenty-fifth Blücher defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach and expelled the French from Silesia. Napoleon's victory over Schwarzenberg at Dresden on 26–27 August went some way toward making amends, but Napoleon had to concentrate on restoring order in his two defeated armies, so he left General Dominique Vandamme in charge of the pursuit of Schwarzenberg. By a stroke of misfortune, Vandamme got himself surrounded at Kulm on 30 August, and his command practically annihilated. These events more than offset the gain made at Dresden.

Leaving Schwarzenberg to lick his wounds from Dresden, Napoleon sent Ney to take another stab at Berlin. This too failed when Ney was defeated at Dennewitz on 6 September. While Napoleon was chasing Blücher back into Silesia, Schwarzenberg again advanced into Saxony. Because he was continually striking at air, Napoleon decided to concentrate his forces in Saxony and wait for the Allies to advance to meet him. He hoped to defeat each army in turn in rapid succession.

Blücher fought his way over the Elbe at Wartenburg on 3 October. Following in Blücher's wake, Bernadotte's Army of the North also crossed the Elbe, linking up with Blücher.

The ring was closing around Napoleon. Napoleon struck out at Blücher, hoping to cut his communications. The Army of Silesia, however, adroitly sidestepped, and the blow fell wide. Meanwhile, Schwarzenberg moved cautiously in the direction of Leipzig.

On 8 October the Bavarians went over to the Allies. Napoleon was losing what little control he had left in Germany.

On the fourteenth a great cavalry battle took place at Liebertwolkwitz, south of Leipzig. This was the preliminary to the great battle, fought in and around Leipzig itself, which started two days later. For four days, a great slogging match took place here. Napoleon faced 200,000 men under Schwarzenberg on the first day, having 178,000 men at his disposal. Understandably, Schwarzenberg made little progress at first. However, Blücher was moving up, having routed Marshal Auguste de Marmont at Möckern that day. On 17 October Bennigsen's Army of Poland approached. The next day, the Saxon and Württemberg contingents

crossed over to the Allies, while the Army of the North closed in. The weight of numbers prevailed when, on 19 October, the Allies stormed Leipzig itself and the remnants of the Grande Armée followed Napoleon westward, toward France. Napoleon lost 70,000 men, including 30,000 prisoners. The Allies suffered 54,000 casualties. On 30 October Napoleon brushed aside a force of Bavarians at Hanau, but he never returned to Germany.

In little more than a year, two French armies amounting to nearly a million men had perished. Napoleon's empire was approaching its end.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Bautzen, Battle of; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dennewitz, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Hamburg, Defense of; Hanau, Battle of; Kalisch, Convention of; Katzbach, Battle of the; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Kulm, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Leipzig, Battle of; Liebertwolkwitz, Action at; Lützen, Battle of; Lützow, Adolf; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Möckern, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Pirna, Battle of; Poland; Poserna, Action at; Prussia; Reichenbach, Convention of; Russian Campaign; Saxony; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Taugoggen, Convention of; Teplitz, Treaties of; Thielmann, Johann Adolph Freiherr von; Torgau, Siege of; Tugendbund; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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### Gerona, Siege of (24 May–11 December 1809)

A minor fortress in northern Catalonia, Gerona was the object of the longest regular siege of the Peninsular War. Despite being attacked by the French on two separate occasions in the course of 1808, it steadfastly refused to fall, and the early summer of 1809 therefore saw a large number of French troops concentrated against the city under General Jean-Antoine Verdier. Operations began on 24 May, the French plan being to seize the chain of forts that crowned the heights that towered over the eastern and northern walls of the city. Progress, however, was extremely slow: On the one hand, the French trenches had to be hacked out of bare rock, and on the other, the governor, Mariano Alvarez del Castro, who was both a very determined man and an extremely good soldier, launched attack after attack on their positions. Not, then, until 11 August did the chief fort fall to the French. An attempt to storm it in July had been repulsed with heavy losses, and it eventually had to be blown apart with the aid of twenty-three mines.

At this point, Gerona should in theory have fallen: The walls beneath the heights lacked proper bastions and could be breached with ease, while the defenders had suffered heavy losses and were increasingly short of food. However, Alvarez del Castro refused to give up, and on 1 September

the Spanish forces in Catalonia, which were then commanded by General Joaquín Blake, succeeded in piercing the French lines and throwing a large convoy into the city. With the invaders by now suffering terrible losses from disease, the siege therefore dragged on into the autumn. Desperate to bring matters to an end, on 19 September Verdier ordered his troops to assault several breaches that had been opened in the northern walls, but the French were yet again beaten off.

For all his gallantry, however, Alvarez del Castro could not raise the siege single-handed, and in the absence of any further help from the Spanish forces outside the city, Gerona once again began to starve. As winter set in, moreover, rain and cold began to exact a heavy toll. Indeed, the governor himself fell desperately ill. On 11 December, then, the garrison surrendered. Only 3,000 of the 9,000 troops involved in the defense survived, and almost half the 14,000 inhabitants also perished. French losses, however, came to some 14,000 men, while Alvarez del Castro (who died just after the city had fallen) had succeeded in tying up their operations in Catalonia for an entire year.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Blake, Joaquín; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare  
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### Ghent, Treaty of

*See* War of 1812

### Gillray, James (1757–1815)

An English caricaturist, James Gillray produced many satirical cartoons that mocked Napoleon and the French. He was also critical of George III and the political system of Britain throughout the Napoleonic Wars.

Gillray was the son of a soldier who had been injured at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745 and was a pensioner at Chelsea Hospital. He trained as a letter engraver but grew tired of this occupation and became part of a traveling theater company. He returned to London in 1775 and made engravings for a number of print shops. In 1778 he became a student at the Royal Academy. By 1791 he worked for a print seller called Hannah Humphrey and lived above her shop in London for the rest of his life. Due to his artistic training Gillray often drew on different styles of painting as a basis for his cartoons. He frequently

made use of contemporary historical paintings and replaced the faces of the characters in them with the people he wanted to satirize.

Gillray was critical of all forms of extremism and of the establishment. His first target was the royal family; he helped dub George III “farmer George” on account of his interest in agriculture. He also criticized the sexual and extravagant activities of other royals. The political situation in Britain at the time lent itself to the growth of caricature. Political debate often centered around personal attacks on opponents. Gillray attacked both Tories and Whigs, but it was believed that his sympathies were generally with the Tories. He was, however, very critical of the British government and the prime minister, William Pitt, for the introduction of an income tax to finance the war against Napoleon. In 1797 it was generally believed that the Tory Party actually paid Gillray a pension so that he would not criticize them in his work.

On the outbreak of the French Revolution, Gillray sympathized with some aspects of the changes taking place in France, but he was against the atrocities of the Terror and portrayed Napoleon as a midget verging on the edge of madness. In one of his best-known cartoons, “Plumb Pudding in Danger,” he depicts Napoleon and Pitt carving out spheres of influence on a globe during a fictitious dinner, all with little regard for other nations. Gillray also helped establish the personification of Great Britain in the figure of John Bull. Gillray was a prolific artist, and more than 1,000 cartoons have been attributed to him.

In about 1810 Gillray began to suffer from bouts of mental instability. This was not helped by his frequent drunkenness and depression caused by his failing eyesight. For the last two years of his life he was effectively confined above the shop of his employer.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* George III, King; Pitt, William; Terror, The  
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## Girondins

The identity of the Girondins, a political grouping in the Legislative Assembly and Convention, has been much debated as historians have sought to grasp the nature of politics in the Revolution. No organized political parties existed, and the term *faction* was employed pejoratively to suggest an affront to national unity, not least in 1792–1793, a time of crisis and division. Thus the description “Girondins” only became established in the nineteenth century, supplanting other labels, such as “Brissotins” or “Rolandins,” based on

the names of prominent leaders. The Girondins were composed of at least two entities: One comprising deputies from the department of the Gironde, based in Bordeaux, which included orators such as Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud and Marguerite Elie Guadet, the other formed by writers and journalists involved in Parisian politics, such as Jacques-Pierre Brissot or Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray.

These groups came to prominence when war with Austria loomed toward the end of 1791, and they welcomed conflict as a means of rallying the French people and flushing out traitors. They came to command a majority in the Legislative Assembly, and in March 1792 Louis XVI was obliged to choose ministers from their ranks. Relations with the court soon reached a breaking point when the military situation rapidly deteriorated, and the Girondin ministry was dismissed, though not before it had become tainted by office and unpopular with the Parisian crowd. The overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 put Girondins back in power, but pressure from the streets sharply escalated. Indeed, their removal from the Convention in the parliamentary purge of 2 June 1793 was a sop to the sans-culottes, since even opponents, such as Maximilien Robespierre, were reluctant to take this step.

The twenty-nine deputies who were subsequently outlawed formed the core of Girondin lists that contemporaries and historians have compiled. Another seventy who protested against proscription are usually added, but coherent group policies are difficult to discern. Personalities predominated, and deputies’ voting behavior on key issues, notably the king’s fate, indicates a dogged individualism and nothing resembling a party line. The Girondins shared the same background as most members of the assemblies: They were middle-class professionals, aged in their thirties and forties, who had risen to local renown in the earlier years of the Revolution. These men were not elected on a partisan basis; rather, they forged affinities after they arrived in Paris and began sitting near one another in the Convention. They were scarcely more moderate than their Jacobin rivals, not simply supporting the Republic but espousing the abolition of slavery and equal rights for women besides. The key distinction resided in their relationship with the people of Paris: Economic liberalism, concern for law and order, and provincial sympathies left them badly exposed to the wrath of the sans-culottes. The Girondins’ enjoyment of authority brought allegations of treason, and many were killed as a consequence, though survivors returned to work after the Terror and enhanced their reputation as Revolutionary idealists in a turbulent age.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Convention, The; French Revolution; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Slavery; Terror, The

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Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sydenham, Michael. 1961. *The Girondins*. London: Athlone.**Glorious First of June, Battle of the  
(1 June 1794)**

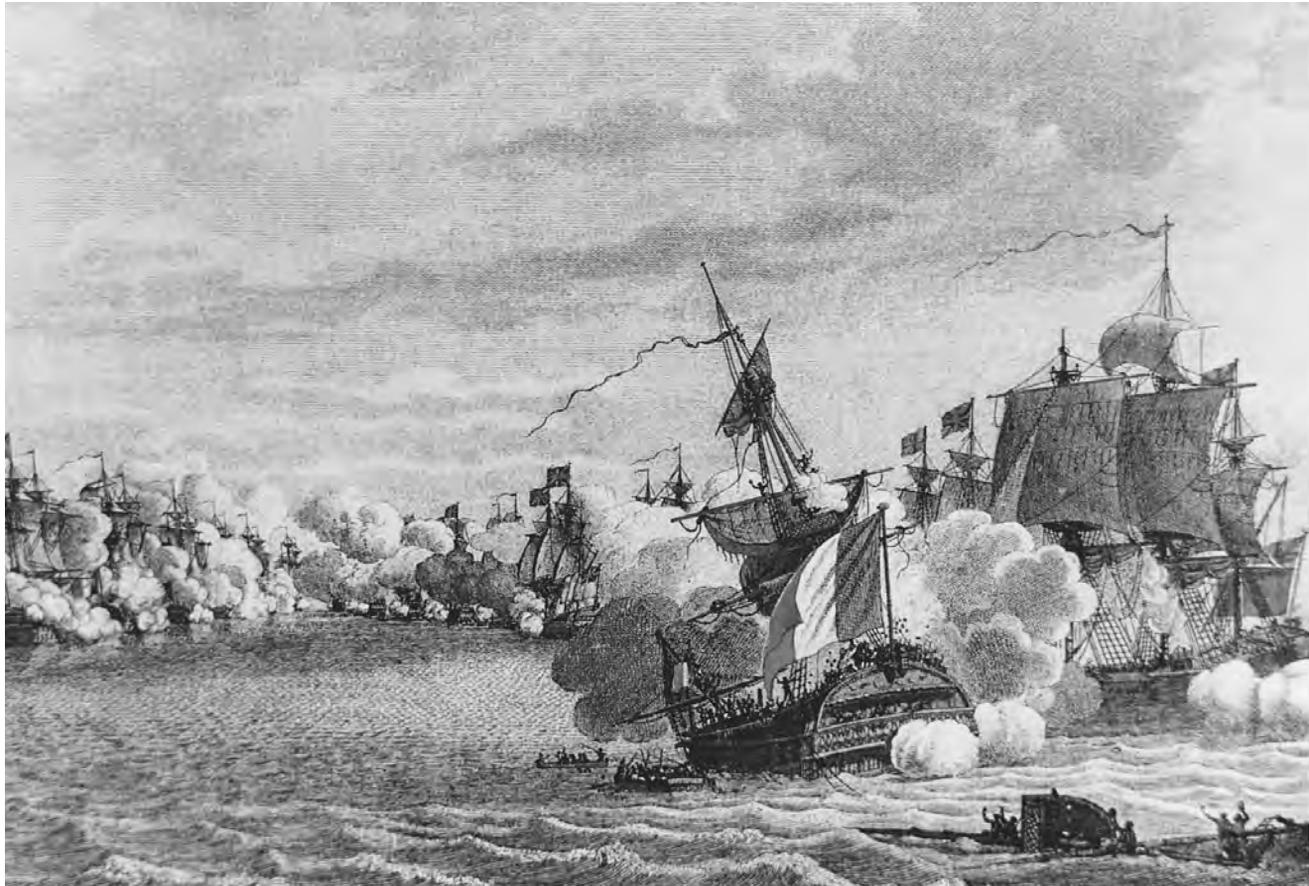
The first major fleet action of the French Revolutionary Wars, it is known by this name in Britain, the French referring to it as the Bataille du 13 prairial an II, after the equivalent date in the Republican calendar.

In the spring of 1794 the Royal Navy learned that an important grain convoy was sailing from North America to France. A French fleet stationed at Brest was to sail and escort the convoy to port. Admiral Richard, Lord Howe, commanding the Channel Fleet, set sail in May, intending to interpose his force between the convoy and its covering force, which was still in Brest. The convoy was escorted by a squadron under Rear Admiral Joseph Marie Nielly which

had itself captured a British Newfoundland convoy and its escort HMS *Castor*. Howe's fleet retook some of these vessels on 21 May, including two French frigates that mistook his fleet for their own. These captures gave the British valuable information about French movements.

On 28 May the enemy fleet was spotted, commanded by Admiral Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse (or Villaret de Joyeuse). The French had the weather gage—that is, they were upwind of the British—making it difficult for Howe's force to get into action. Only a squadron of frigates was able to reach the rear of the French fleet, whereupon the 110-gun ship *Révolutionnaire* fell back to cover the withdrawing French fleet. This ship was attacked by a succession of British frigates, supposedly striking her colors, but owing to a misunderstanding among the British she was allowed to escape to Brest.

Battle was resumed the following day with Howe breaking through the enemy line and cutting off three French ships. The French fleet came to the rescue of these vessels. Twelve British ships were heavily engaged, sustaining some damage, while the seriously damaged French ves-



The Battle of the Glorious First of June. Although a tactical British victory, Admiral Howe failed to achieve the broader strategic aim of intercepting a vital grain convoy bound for the famine-ridden French populace. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after Ozanne from *Victoires et Conquêtes des Armées Françaises, 1792–1801*. Paris: Sanard & Derangeon, n.d.)

sels were replaced by Nielly's squadron, which reached the main fleet the following day.

These skirmishes gave the British the advantage. Fog over the next few days allowed the French to retire, although Howe managed to keep in touch with the enemy. After seeing his damaged ships get away safely, Villaret-Joyeuse had twenty-six ships of the line, opposing twenty-five under Howe. The fog cleared on the thirty-first, but Howe decided to wait until 1 June before attacking, seeking a full-scale and decisive battle.

Howe's fleet approached the French early on the first with the British ships in a slanting line. The aim of this tactic was for each vessel to break through the enemy line and fight from the leeward side. This would produce a general action and prevent any French ships from escaping. Only six of Howe's ships actually obeyed this instruction, but the French fleet stood firm and by 9:30 A.M. a full-scale engagement ensued. The battle consisted mainly of single-ship actions, fought fiercely by both sides, with the most famous of these duels being that between the *Brunswick* and the *Vengeur*. These vessels became locked together by their rigging and pounded each other at point-blank range for over four hours until in the early afternoon the *Vengeur* struck her colors. She was so badly damaged below the waterline that she rapidly sank, allowing only her captain and 150 of her crew to be rescued.

By about 1:00 P.M. the fire slackened, to reveal nine French ships totally dismasted, and two French three-deckers retaining only their foremasts. Many British vessels also bore various degrees of damage. At this stage the French attempted to extricate as many of their ships from the action as possible. Villaret-Joyeuse formed a line of eleven ships 2 miles away and used this to cover his disabled vessels that were either under sail or being towed away from the British.

Howe considered pursuing the enemy but was advised against this by his captains, who thought that the French might use their reformed fleet to attack the badly damaged British ships. In fact, their concern was misplaced: Villaret-Joyeuse was conducting a purely defensive maneuver. The battle was over. The British lost 287 killed and 811 wounded, while their opponents suffered nearly 3,500 casualties, and an equal number were taken prisoner.

The Glorious First of June was a great British victory, with one French vessel sunk and six more carried triumphantly to Spithead. Howe had won by a combination of tactical skill, superior gunnery, and a well-trained and disciplined fleet. The victory was a great morale booster for Britain, and King George III came to Portsmouth to greet the victors and present Howe with a diamond-encrusted sword. Other honors were bestowed upon the other admirals present, and many of the officers received a special gold medal commemorating the action.

Paradoxically, on the French side, Villaret-Joyeuse also had cause to be satisfied. He had saved the grain convoy, vitally needed in France, and had shown great tactical skill against a formidable opponent. A very heavy defeat had been prevented from becoming a total disaster.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Howe, Richard, Earl; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas

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### **Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von (1760–1831)**

Prussian reformer and chief of staff to General, later Field Marshal, Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher, who provided well-reasoned operational planning that was essential to Prussia's resurgence and to the defeat of Napoleon. If, during the later stages of the Napoleonic Wars, Blücher was the heart and soul of the Prussian Army, then August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau was its mind. His ability to advise Blücher soundly and to coordinate the actions of Prussian and Allied forces on the campaign trail freed Blücher to act decisively on the battlefield.

Gneisenau was born on 27 October 1760 at Schilda. After a stint as a student at the University of Erfurt, he served in an Austrian cavalry regiment (1778–1780), went to Canada to serve as an infantry officer (1782–1783) in a force provided by Ansbach-Bayreuth during the American Revolutionary War, and in 1786 obtained a commission in the Prussian Army from King Frederick II. Until the battles of Jena and Auerstädt (14 October 1806) he languished as a company commander on garrison duty in Silesia. While many officers of the Prussian Army were disgraced in those battles and in the numerous capitulations that followed, Gneisenau's career was reinvigorated



General August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau, chief of staff of the Prussian army under Blücher during the campaigns of 1813–1815. An indifferent field commander, he proved an accomplished administrator. (Print by P. E. Gebauer from *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* by Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 1913)

as he won recognition for his courage under fire. Subsequently he was promoted to major, and in April of the following year he was entrusted with the defense of the fortress of Kolberg. When the French attacked later that spring, he and his force held out against repeated attacks until the Treaty of Tilsit ended hostilities in July.

Gneisenau's reputation as a fighting man had been greatly enhanced by his response to the crises of 1806 and 1807. Prussia's defeat, however, provided him with the additional opportunity of bringing his mental abilities to bear on the problem of reforming the nation's army. Gneisenau joined with General Gerhard von Scharnhorst and the other members of the Military Reorganization Commission in trying to provide Prussia with an army of citizen-soldiers capable of rendering service in a manner more like that of Napoleon's army. During the period between hostilities Gneisenau was second only to Scharnhorst in contributing to the work of the commission.

After Scharnhorst was wounded at Lützen (also known as Grossgörschen, 2 May 1813), Gneisenau assumed the duties of chief of staff to Blücher. In this capac-

ity Gneisenau built upon the model established by his predecessor and continued to provide well-reasoned guidance as a counterweight to the impetuosity of Blücher. Indeed, his outstanding service as chief of staff was critical to numerous victories, but never more so than at the Battle of Waterloo. When Blücher was put out of action two days earlier at Ligny (16 June 1815), it was Gneisenau who set in motion the Prussian army's retreat on Wavre. Retreating away from the safety of his own lines of communication, Gneisenau delivered the Prussians to the field of battle in time to frustrate Napoleon's hopes of defeating the Anglo-Allied army under the Duke of Wellington.

With the crisis of the Napoleonic Wars at an end, Gneisenau and the reformers lost their influence with Frederick William III. Promoted to field marshal in 1825, Gneisenau died of cholera on 23 August 1831 while protecting the Prussian frontier during the Polish revolts.

Charles Steele

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Jena, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Prussian Army; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Tilsit, Treaties of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of

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### Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia (1767–1851)

A petty noble from Extremadura (Extremadura), from 1792 to 1808 Manuel de Godoy was the leading figure in the court of King Charles IV of Spain. Arriving at the court as a trooper in the Guardias de Corps in 1787, Godoy quickly came to the notice of the then-heir to the throne, Prince Charles, and his wife, María Luisa, as a man of courage, intelligence, and energy. Thus, alarmed at the constant factional fighting in the Spanish court, when Charles and María Luisa came to the throne in 1788 they decided to make him a strongman who would be entirely dependent on their patronage.

By 1792 Godoy had therefore been raised to the rank of captain general and had been created a grandee of Spain and endowed with a fortune to match. According to legend, all this was really due to his having become the lover

of the queen, but there is no evidence of any such relationship, and the story is almost certainly an invention of the favorite's many enemies. Moreover, if Godoy's star now rose still further, it was due not to his supposed prowess in the bedchamber but, rather, to the growing concerns raised by the French Revolution. With tension escalating in the court—tension that the king and queen seem genuinely to have feared might produce a Spanish version of the events in France of 1789—in November 1792 Godoy was appointed secretary of state. As such, he went to war with France in March 1793 and then negotiated the peace settlement that ended the conflict in July 1795. Obtaining reasonable terms as he did, he was now given the title “Prince of the Peace.”

He knew, however, that the war had been a hopelessly unequal contest. Reform was therefore essential, but in the meantime British hostility made it vital to revive the old Franco-Spanish alliance. While Godoy struggled to push through reform at home, then, in 1796 Spain joined France in its war against Britain. The goal was in the end to throw off the French yoke, but in practice the contradictions of the situation were too great. Although domestic reform made considerable strides, especially with regard to the expropriation of the lands of the church, Godoy's plans were never fully realized, for he could neither rely on the support of the Crown nor shake off his own reputation for corruption.

Meanwhile, matters were made still worse by natural disaster and by Britain's control of the seas, while Spain became less and less able to break free. With Godoy increasingly exposed, a coterie of disgruntled nobles and churchmen opposed to enlightened absolutism took advantage of the situation to plot his overthrow, working in conjunction with the future Ferdinand VII, whom they persuaded that Godoy intended to seize the throne. Desperate to escape, Godoy sought safety in an invasion of Portugal that would bring him an independent principality, and therefore he willingly collaborated with the French occupation of that country in late 1807. Before his plans could be put into effect, however, after several months of confusion, he was overthrown in a military coup at Aranjuez in March 1808. Rescued from almost certain execution by Napoleon, he spent the rest of his life in exile and eventually died in poverty in Paris in 1851.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also Basle, Treaties of; Charles IV, King; Ferdinand VII, King; Spain

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## Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832)

The most celebrated German man of letters, comparable to Dante or Shakespeare; along with Friedrich von Schiller, the leading exponent of Weimar Classicism. In 1774 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe published his first novel, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther), written as a series of letters and in which Werther, cast as a Romantic hero, eventually commits suicide when he fails to win the love of the beautiful Charlotte. As an administrator at the court of Saxe-Weimar, Goethe accompanied Imperial (Holy Roman Empire) troops in the campaigns of 1792–1793. His response to the Revolution was at once more fragmented and more extensive than Schiller's explicitly philosophical one, though it was part of an equally well-integrated worldview. A polymath whose scientific endeavors ranged from mineralogy to evolutionary biology to optics, Goethe sought to discover, in nature, society, and culture, the regularities beneath the turbulence of appearances.

Whereas many German intellectuals reacted to the Revolution first with enthusiasm and then with disillusionment, Goethe was skeptical from the start. To be sure, he attributed revolutions to the failings of governments and insisted that he was no friend of the status quo, as such. His famous declaration that the French victory at Valmy marked a new era in history was a diagnosis rather than a eulogy for the *ancien régime*. But for Goethe, revolution was the greater and more avoidable evil, one that released animal instincts and shattered institutions that should be cautiously reformed rather than demolished. He regretted injustice but abhorred disorder.

Goethe grappled with the Revolution in contemporaneous literary works and later autobiographical reflections. Several comic dramas (1791–1793) were not convincing as either art or political commentary. The novella “Conversations of German Emigrants” (1795) and the verse epic “Hermann and Dorothea” (1797), though no less antirevolutionary, were more satisfying and nuanced. The latter conferred a Homeric dignity on bourgeois domestic life and celebrated its triumph over threats from above and below.

The foe of revolution was, however, no friend of nationalism. Because German identity was for Goethe cultural—he described his fatherland as everywhere and nowhere—he could view even the collapse of Prussia with equanimity. His belief in a reform conservatism based on bourgeois-aristocratic partnership also led him to hail Napoleon as a world-historical visionary capable of restoring order. An audience at Erfurt (1808), at which the Emperor expressed his admiration for Goethe's talents, confirmed

that judgment. Goethe could evince no enthusiasm for the German War of Liberation in 1813 (or indeed, any form of chauvinism) and continued to admire Napoleon even after his exile and death.

Goethe spent much of his life working on his most famous work, *Faust*, an extremely complex and tragic drama in two parts, the first of which appeared in 1808, the second shortly after his death, in which the hero is obliged to make various compromises with the Devil (Mephistopheles) to secure his happiness on earth. *Faust* was meant to be read, rather than performed, and is considered by many to be the greatest piece of German literature ever produced.

Ironically, the rarefied Weimar literary environment that Goethe valued as a sanctuary from politics became a political topic thanks to the visiting Mme. Germaine de Staël, whose idealized portrait of Teutonic cultural vigor, *On Germany*, was taken as a critique of France and banned by Napoleon (1810). The only lasting harm done by the book was to confuse in the minds of generations of foreigners the distinction between Weimar Classicism and Romanticism.

*James Wald*

*See also* Erfurt, Congress of; Literature and the Romantic Movement (contextual essay); Romanticism; Saxony; Schiller, Friedrich von; Staël, Mme. Germaine de; Valmy, Battle of

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### **Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince (1771–1844)**

Russian general and corps commander. Dmitry Vladimirovich Golitsyn was born to the Moscow branch of the prominent Golitsyn family and enlisted in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment in 1774. He studied at the University of Strasbourg and traveled extensively in Germany, Britain, and France in 1786. In 1786–1789 he studied in the Ecole Militaire in Paris. Simultaneously, Golitsyn was promoted to *vakhmistr* (a rank in the Guards roughly equivalent to ensign, the lowest officer rank) and transferred to the Life Guard Horse Regiment on 22 December 1785.

While he studied abroad for six years, Golitsyn was promoted to cornet (12 January 1786), sub-lieutenant (12 January 1788), lieutenant (12 January 1789), and second *rotmistr* (a junior officer rank) (12 January 1791). In 1794 he became *rotmistr* and fought the Polish confederates, dis-

tinguishing himself at Praga. He was promoted to colonel on 12 May 1797, rose to major general on 16 August 1798, and to lieutenant general on 2 September 1800. He also served as *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Prince Golitsyn 5th Cuirassier Regiment (later renamed the Military Order Cuirassier Regiment) between 3 May 1800 and 20 April 1809.

In 1805 Golitsyn served in General Levin Bennigsen's corps but did not participate in major operations. In 1806 he was given command of the 4th Division and participated in the campaign against the French in Poland, fighting at Golymin in December. In January 1807 he commanded the cavalry of the left wing and, at Eylau the following month, led a series of cavalry charges. He then distinguished himself at Wolfsdorf, Heilsberg, and Friedland. In late 1807 Golitsyn remained at Vilna, and in 1808 he was dispatched to Finland, where he commanded a corps at Vaasa during the Russo-Swedish War. In 1809 he made preparations to cross the Gulf of Bothnia, but he was replaced by General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly. Upset by this replacement, Golitsyn retired on 20 April and traveled in Germany before going back to Moscow.

In 1812 Golitsyn returned to the army and commanded the 1st and then the 2nd Cuirassier Divisions in the 2nd Western Army. He fought at Shevardino, Borodino, Tarutino, Maloyaroslavets, Vyazma, and Krasnyi. In 1813 he remained with his cuirassier divisions in reserve at Lützen and Bautzen but fought at Dresden, Kulm, and Leipzig. In 1814 Golitsyn participated in the battles at Brienne, Malmaison, Arcis-sur-Aube, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Paris. He was promoted to general of cavalry on 14 April and became commander of the 1st Reserve Cavalry Corps on 21 August. He was also given command of the 1st and 2nd Guard Divisions on 14 September 1814 and of the Guard Light Cavalry Division on 14 March 1815. On 24 July 1818 he became commander of the 2nd Infantry Corps, with which he served for two years.

Golitsyn was appointed the military governor of Moscow on 18 January 1820. He was instrumental in rebuilding Moscow after it was devastated by the great fire of 1812. While serving in this position, Golitsyn became a member of the State Council on 12 November 1821. He became *chef* of the Military Order Cuirassier Regiment on 2 November 1834. However, Golitsyn became seriously ill in late 1830 and traveled extensively in Europe for treatment. He resigned from his governorship on 20 January 1841 but remained a member of the State Council. He died on 8 April 1844 in Paris. His body was transported back to Moscow, where he was buried with great honors on 31 May. Golitsyn's literary legacy includes *Manuel du volontaire en campagne* (Manual for the Volunteer on Campaign, 1794) and *Opyt nastevlenii*,

*kasaushikhsia do ekzertsitsii i manevrov kavaleriiskogo polka* (Manual Concerning the Tactics and Maneuvers of Cavalry Regiments, 1804).

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bautzen, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August; Brienne, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Golymin, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War

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### **Golitsyn, Sergey Fedorovich, Prince (1749–1810)**

Russian general and army commander. Sergey Fedorovich Golitsyn descended from one of the most prominent families of Russian princes. He enlisted as a corporal in the artillery on 1 January 1757, rose to sergeant in 1757 and then to *shtyk junker* (officer candidate) on 12 March 1761. Graduating from the University of Moscow and the Infantry Cadet Corps, he received a rank of lieutenant and became an adjutant to a *général en chef* (probably *général en chef* Jacob Bruce) on 14 May 1764 and a captain on 3 February 1766. During the Russo-Turkish War in 1768–1774 he fought at Rachev Cape, Kagul, and Silistra. His actions earned him quick promotions, and he received the rank of second major on 30 December 1769 and premier major on 1 August 1770. Golitsyn became a lieutenant colonel of the Smolensk Dragoon Regiment on 5 December 1771. On 3 October 1775 he became a *flügel-adjutant* and colonel of the Smolensk Dragoon Regiment. Three years later, on 3 October 1778, he transferred as a brigadier to the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment, and on 16 May 1779 he was promoted to major general. The same year, he married Varvara Vasilievna Engelhardt, niece of Prince Gregory Potemkin. In 1782 he served in the Crimea. He was decorated and received the rank of lieutenant general on 25 July 1788.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792 Golitsyn fought at Ochakov, where he commanded the reserve of the left flank, on the Prut River, where he commanded a re-

serve corps, at Macin, and at Braila. In 1794 he commanded a corps in General Nikolay Repnin's army in Poland. In 1796–1797 he served as a battalion commander of the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment and briefly commanded the whole regiment. He was promoted to general of infantry on 21 April 1797. The following year he had an argument with Tsar Paul I due to the intrigues of Count Alexander Kutaisov, whom Golitsyn detested because of his low origins. Golitsyn was discharged from the army on 12 September 1798 and retired to his estate in the Kiev *gubernia* (province). While preparing for the campaigns against France in late 1798, Paul recalled Golitsyn on 29 December 1798 and gave him command of a corps. However, as the corps marched to Italy, Golitsyn was relieved of command on 18 January 1799 because of his criticism of Paul.

Golitsyn remained at his estate of Zubrilovka in the Saratov gubernia until the assassination of Paul in March 1801, when the new tsar, Alexander I, recalled him and appointed him governor general of Riga and infantry inspector for the Lifland gubernia on 17 July 1801. Golitsyn retired for the third time in September 1804. During the 1806–1807 campaigns, he became commander in chief of the militia (*zemskoe voisko*) of the 3rd Region. He returned to military service on 8 April 1809 and took command of a corps in Galicia against the Austrians. However, he adamantly opposed the war against Austria and avoided actions with Habsburg forces. After the campaign he was appointed a member of the State Council on 13 January 1810, but he died of a stroke on 1 February 1810 at Tarnopol.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kutaisov (Kutaysov), Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Paul I, Tsar

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### **Golymin, Battle of (26 December 1806)**

In this engagement during the War of the Fourth Coalition, Prince Dmitry Golitsyn, in command of a Russian division, held off a considerably larger French force. Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau with his corps attacked first and the assault was then renewed by Marshal Joachim Murat and elements of Marshal Louis Davout's corps. However, the Russians beat off all attacks and withdrew in good order.

This battle was fought on the same day as Pultusk and in the same poor weather conditions. The town of Golymin, 12 miles to the northwest of Pultusk, was surrounded by woods and marshes, thus providing Golitsyn's troops with a good defensive position. Golitsyn was covering the withdrawal of General Fedor Buxhöwden's army, and Golymin was at an important crossroads. Augereau began the attack at about 10:00 A.M. from the west. Owing to the poor weather he was unable to bring up any artillery support. His two divisions advanced but were rapidly brought to a halt by being forced into square by enemy cavalry and then coming under fire from Golitsyn's artillery. Augereau's troops were to play little further part in the battle. Golitsyn now took the chance to move some of his troops in front of Augereau to face a new threat from the south. In so doing these troops exposed their flank to the French and suffered many casualties. The threat was due to Murat's pushing his cavalry forward. Within a short space of time the Russian defenders were forced into the woods south of Golymin. However, without infantry support Murat could advance no further.

This impasse changed, however, with the arrival of General Louis Morand's division from Davout's corps. Morand began his attack shortly after 3:00 P.M. Because of the poor weather and the fact that neither side could bring up artillery support, the fighting in the woods was effectively hand-to-hand. Morand's numbers shifted the balance in his favor, and after a fierce engagement he drove the Russian defenders from the woods. Murat now moved his cavalry forward in order to complete the defeat of the Russian force, believing that the Russians were retreating across open ground. He was in fact wrong in his appraisal, as the ground was actually very marshy. Indeed, it was reported that the Russian infantry were standing up to their waists in the marsh. Their fire was effective enough to halt the French advance, and General Jean Rapp, an imperial aide-de-camp, was wounded. Morand, seeing the cavalry repulsed, decided not to renew his attack and was content to hold onto the woods that had cost him so many men to take.

Murat is reported to have estimated the strength of the Russians as being 50,000, whereas in fact Golitsyn's force amounted to only 18,000. As night fell Golitsyn withdrew northward with both sides having around 800 casualties.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Murat, Joachim; Pultusk, Battle of; Rapp, Jean

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### **Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte (1764–1830)**

Marshal of the Empire. Though his surname is properly styled as Gouvion St. Cyr, he is often known merely as St. Cyr (not to be confused with Claude Carra St. Cyr). He proved a successful general during the republican period, particularly at the Battle of Biberach, before embarking on a short ambassadorial career. In 1812 he led VI Corps during the invasion of Russia where, following the Battle of Polotsk, he was made a marshal. He fought at Dresden in 1813 but did not rally to Napoleon in 1815.

St. Cyr volunteered for the 1st Chasseurs Republicains in 1792. Prior to that he had been an artist in Italy. St. Cyr served in the Army of the Rhine under General Adam de Custine. At one point Custine saw St. Cyr sketching an enemy position and promoted him onto his staff. While serving there he developed a close friendship with General Louis-Charles Desaix and generals (later marshals) Michel Ney and Louis Davout. In 1793 St. Cyr proved himself by defeating an Austrian attack at Landremont. He served with the Army of the Rhine until 1797, his greatest success coming at the Battle of Biberach on 2 October 1796.

In March 1798 St. Cyr was sent to Italy to take command of the Army of Rome from General André Masséna. He dealt very successfully with a near mutiny among his troops and with guerrilla resistance from the local population. He was then ordered back to the Army of Mayence (Mainz) under the command of General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, whom he disliked. French forces were obliged to withdraw. St. Cyr was granted leave until June, when he was placed under the command of General Jean Moreau. At the Battle of Novi on 16 October he proved that he had the tactical skill to enable the defeated French to retreat in good order. His troops possessed sufficient confidence in his leadership that they took an oath of allegiance to Bonaparte and the Consulate. In late 1799 he took command of troops around Genoa and was able to hold back superior Austrian forces. At the end of 1799 St. Cyr was ordered back to the Army of the Rhine, where he clashed with Moreau. However, in May 1800 St. Cyr won the second Battle of Biberach, shortly after which he sought permission to return to France.

From 1801 to 1803 he served as ambassador to Spain, in the course of which appointment he negotiated the cession of Louisiana to France. In March 1804 St. Cyr refused to sign the document proclaiming the Empire. It is possible that Napoleon did not include him in the marshalate, established in May 1804, because of this. By late 1805, during the War of the Third Coalition, St. Cyr persuaded King Ferdinand IV of Naples to sign a treaty of neutrality, and he marched northward to form part of Masséna's forces. St. Cyr won the Battle of Castelfranco and blockaded Venice.

However, he was then placed under the direct command of Masséna and, resenting this, resigned his command and returned to Paris. Napoleon ordered his immediate return to field command. By December St. Cyr was in command of the invasion camp at Boulogne and I Reserve Corps stationed on the Channel coast in preparation for an invasion of England. He spent most of the next two years improving the fortifications of the port.

In August 1808 he was sent to Spain to command the (French) Army of Catalonia. He succeeded in defeating the Spanish in the field, but he failed to take the city of Gerona by siege and assault. Napoleon, displeased by this failure, ordered him to be replaced by Augereau. Augereau was slow to take up this command, and St. Cyr, who was ill, left his forces and arrived in Perpignan to personally transfer his command to his successor. Napoleon had St. Cyr arrested for desertion. He received no command until February 1812, when he led the all-Bavarian VI Corps in the invasion of Russia. Soon after the campaign began, St. Cyr was ordered to Polotsk to support the corps under Marshal Nicolas Oudinot, who was facing the Russian general Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein. The Russian forces had pushed Oudinot back to Polotsk, and the position of the French forces was not strong. On the first day of the battle St. Cyr followed orders, but he did not provide as much aid to Oudinot as he could have done because he resented being commanded by a man who had been subordinate to him in the republican period. The French had the worst of the first day of battle, and both St. Cyr and Oudinot were wounded. St. Cyr assumed command and on the following day inflicted a severe defeat on the Russians. As a reward for his success he received a marshal's baton on 27 August. St. Cyr held Polotsk for the next two months. However, owing to wounds, he was forced to hand over command to Oudinot. By December he had rejoined VI Corps and together with the forces of Eugène de Beauharnais covered the retreat of the Grande Armée from Russia.

In early 1813 he was ill with typhus, but by August he was in command of the garrison at Dresden. He held off Allied attacks for two days until Napoleon arrived. During the Battle of Dresden, St. Cyr led his corps very effectively, and the Emperor concluded that there were few better defensive generals. After Dresden St. Cyr was left to garrison the city. Following the decisive French defeat at Leipzig, Napoleon ordered St. Cyr to escape from the encirclement being conducted by the Allies. He was unable to effect this and surrendered early in November. Until the abdication of Napoleon, he was a captive at Karlsbad. He returned to France in June 1814. St. Cyr did not rally to Napoleon in 1815 and later served as minister for war, in which capacity he was instrumental in reorganizing the French Army.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bavarian Army; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Biberach, Battle of; Consulate, The; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Dresden, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Genoa, Siege of; Germany, Campaign in; Gerona, Siege of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Leipzig, Battle of; Louisiana Purchase; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Naples; Ney, Michel; Novi, Battle of; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Peninsular War; Polotsk, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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### **Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de (1746–1828)**

The greatest Spanish painter of the Revolutionary era, and, indeed, one of the greatest Spanish painters of all times, Francisco de Goya was born in the Aragonese town of Fuendetodos, and he established such a reputation that in 1799 he was made official painter to the Spanish court. In Napoleonic terms, his chief importance lies in the fact that he left a series of works that provide a detailed commentary on the history of Spain between 1789 and 1814. First of all, there are his famous paintings of the king and queen, the rest of the royal family, and the court favorite, Manuel de Godoy. Next, there are the two great paintings that Goya produced as a record of the rising of the Dos de Mayo in Madrid, an event he witnessed (2 May 1808) firsthand and in which at least one of his students took part. And, finally, there is the terrifying series of etchings known as *Los Desastres de la guerra* (The Disasters of War).

Even in the context of the televised horrors of the current age, these etchings are still deeply shocking. Dismembered bodies hang from trees; men are strangled, torn apart, sawn in half, or hacked to pieces; women are raped,

or they slash at the enemy with babies in their arms; starving civilians huddle in dark corners or beg for aid in the streets; and there is on all sides nothing but savagery, murder, and brutality. A fitting answer to those who revel in the glories of the Napoleonic age, these depictions of the Peninsular War have become a symbol of the supposed heroism of the Spanish people in the face of Napoleonic aggression.

Yet in reality the work of Goya in this respect is far more complex than it at first seems. In the earlier series of etchings known as *Los caprichos* (The Caprices) the painter is shown to have been deeply scornful—fearful even—of the common people, and his depiction of the atrocities of the Peninsular War reflects these feelings. In very few of the works concerned is it possible to tell one side from the other with any certainty, and it is therefore very clear that Goya was as anxious to highlight Spanish brutality as that of the French armies. Nor did he follow the example of many other intellectuals and flee the French zone of occupation; on the contrary, he remained in Madrid throughout the war and painted several portraits of Joseph Bonaparte. This equivocal conduct did not lead to punishment after the war—he was in fact reinstated in his old role of official painter to the court—but growing disillusionment with the state of Spain led him to go into voluntary exile in France in 1824, death coming four years later on 16 April 1828.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also Bonaparte, Joseph; Charles IV, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Madrid Uprising; Peninsular War

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### Graham, Sir Thomas (1748–1843)

A British general, Thomas Graham played an active role in the French Revolutionary Wars. Graham was born on 19 October 1748, probably in Perthshire, Scotland. His father was Thomas Græme, laird of Balgowan, and his mother was Lady Christian Hope. Books and learning were important to Graham. One of his early tutors was James Macpherson, who in the 1760s was famous for his supposed discovery of the *Poems of Ossian*. Graham later attended Christ Church, Oxford. In 1774 he married. He traveled extensively before purchasing, in 1787, Lednoch, an estate in Methven near Perth. Graham was known to

contemporaries for his improving abilities, which included cultivating turnips and breeding livestock. He was also an avid deer hunter, thereby, he said, sharpening skills that proved useful to his military career.

Some argue that Graham turned to the military to help relieve the emptiness that accompanied the loss of his wife in 1791. Whatever the reason, he soon distinguished himself in action. In the summer of 1793 Graham was aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, who was defending against the French at the siege of Toulon. Later, in Scotland, Graham raised a battalion known as the “Perthshire Volunteers.” Graham was appointed lieutenant colonel of this, the 90th Foot, in 1794, the same year in which he was elected to represent Perth in Parliament. In 1796 Graham was at Mantua to help *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser defend against the French, unsuccessfully despite Graham’s heroic efforts to carry intelligence to the Austrian general Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberек, at Bassano—a feat he accomplished by traveling over treacherous territory and in disguise. In 1797–1798 Graham was at Gibraltar, Minorca, and Messina. In late 1799 he was sent, as brigadier general, to Malta, which had been occupied by the French who were gathered at Valetta, which Graham blockaded. The French capitulated in September 1800, shortly after Graham’s command had been assumed by General Henry Pigot. Graham joined his regiment in Egypt and traveled through Turkey, spending time at Constantinople before passing through Vienna and Paris while returning home.

Graham was stationed in Ireland in 1804–1805 and spent three years in the West Indies before accompanying Sir John Moore to Sweden and then Spain, where Graham was present at the Battle of Corunna, in which Moore died. Promoted to major general in 1809, Graham was brigade commander at Walcheren, under Lord Chatham, and at the siege of Flushing. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1810, Graham took charge of the British and Portuguese forces at Cádiz, in southern Spain. On 5 March 1811 Graham won an important and celebrated victory over the French at Barrosa. In 1811 he was appointed second in command, under Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington, whom Graham assisted at the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo in early 1812, for which he was knighted three months later. Problems with his sight forced Graham’s return to Scotland in July 1812. By May 1813 he had rejoined the British army in Portugal in time to command a large British force during the Battle of Vitoria on 21 June. Wounded at Tolosa, in early July, Graham was sent to besiege San Sebastian, which surrendered on 9 September. He crossed the Bidassoa, passing into France, before health problems again caused his return to Britain, where he received many honors. In the spring of 1814 Graham was

back in the field, briefly, in Holland, where he won a victory at Merxem but failed at Bergen-op-Zoom.

Graham was deservedly praised and promoted at the conclusion of the war. He was officially recognized in Parliament, created Baron Lynedoch of Balgowan, promoted to full general (1821), and appointed governor of Dumbar-ton Castle (1829). Graham's long retirement was divided between foreign travel, London politics, and improvements at Lynedoch. He died at age ninety-five on 18 December 1843.

*Mark G. Spencer*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Frieherr von Berberek; Barrosa, Battle of; Bassano, Battle of; Cádiz, Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Corunna, Battle of; Malta, Operations on; Mantua, Sieges of; Moore, Sir John; Netherlands, Campaign in the (1813–1814); Peninsular War; San Sebastian, Siege of; Toulon, Siege of; Vitoria, Battle of; Walcheren, Expedition to; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Grand Strategy

Grand strategy integrates the political objectives and the military resources of a nation in times of war and peace. It is distinguished from tactics, which are only concerned with utilizing troops on the battlefield. Grand strategy also extends beyond winning a war because the goal is to project long-term national interests through the coordination of national policies and the resources necessary to achieve those interests.

Historians of military strategy have concluded that a successful grand strategy is incumbent upon various considerations. The first component of grand strategy is the management of a country's limited resources (manpower, natural resources, infrastructure, economic productivity, and the like), which has challenged monarchs and statesmen from ancient times to the twenty-first century. The second component of grand strategy consists of diplomacy conducted during war and peace, in which a nation advances its relative geopolitical position through forming alliances and coalitions, recruiting neutral actors, and isolating opponents. Third, and no less important to grand strategy, is correctly gauging national morale. For a nation's objectives to be met, its population must support its

leaders' policies and be willing to accept the sacrifices necessary to achieve those ends. Because these components are often at odds with one another, formulating grand strategy remains a difficult task.

The Napoleonic Wars are a classic example of the employment of grand strategy. Britain and France utilized their national resources, formed coalitions, and engaged in economic warfare with one another in order to achieve their respective national objectives, whether it was to preserve the European balance of power or to spread the ideals of the French Revolution. How each country employed its grand strategy will be considered here.

### French Grand Strategy

The French Revolution threw France and all of Europe into chaos. The momentum of the Revolution accelerated from 1789, with the convening of the Estates-General, to 1793, with the execution of Louis XVI. Alarmed by the turn of events in France, the monarchs of Europe assembled their forces to restore the *ancien régime* of the Bourbons. From 1792 until 1815 France entered into a series of conflicts against the European powers, beginning with its declaration of war against Austria and the Holy Roman Empire, in order to save its Revolution and to spread it across the Continent.

In addition to altering the political landscape of Europe, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars transformed modern warfare. Before the wars of the French Revolution, the officer corps of the European armies consisted of noblemen who purchased their commissions, while soldiers in the ranks were enlisted or conscripted from the lowest rungs of society. The monarchs of Europe waged limited warfare to achieve their aims. The Revolution purged the French Army of its royalist elements and added a new dimension to tactical warfare. The biggest change wrought by the Revolution was the introduction of the *levée en masse*, which conscripted every able-bodied French male. The *levée en masse* reflected the revolutionary ideal of citizen participation in all aspects of French society, including warfare. Total mobilization of its population allowed France to meet the challenges of confronting coalitions of hostile neighbors bent on destroying the Revolution. Along with its citizenry, the economic resources and labor force of France were mobilized to suit its war aims.

On 19 November 1792, in the face of foreign intervention, the National Assembly declared that France would extend its assistance in liberating all the oppressed peoples of Europe, inaugurating more than twenty years of warfare. In 1793 the execution of Louis XVI pushed Austria, Prussia, Britain, and Holland to form the First Coalition against France and put 400,000 troops into the field. France

averted disaster through the *levée en masse*. Even before this critical stage in the war, at the decisive Battle of Valmy in September 1792, French forces had halted those of the Duke of Brunswick. Republican France then pushed forward into the Rhineland and the Austrian Netherlands in its bid to reassert the dominance in western Europe that, ironically, the Bourbons had once enjoyed under Louis XIV, though even the Sun King never achieved the kind of territorial gains later to be made by Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

A new chapter in the Revolution turned as Bonaparte rose to power, beginning in 1799 and culminating in his coronation as Emperor Napoleon I in 1804. Napoleon radically transformed the organization of the French Army by introducing the corps. Each corps contained all types of formations used on the battlefield, that is, several infantry divisions, cavalry, and artillery. Each corps had its own command structure, which allowed it to act with initiative. Napoleon also laid strong emphasis on artillery by increasing the number of field guns. In addition, he improved the effectiveness of the cavalry by a combination of increased numbers and knowledge of exactly when to employ it. Napoleon's strategy was also revolutionary in the way he divided an opposing army into smaller parts and overwhelmed them with his artillery while cutting their lines of supply and retreat. Thus, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Europe faced a new enemy who changed the whole notion of strategy.

After 1803 Napoleon reorganized the map of Europe through an aggressive foreign policy. In securing the borders of France, he created buffer states at its eastern frontiers and installed his siblings on the thrones of the countries he conquered. His brother Louis, for example, became King of Holland. Out of the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire Napoleon consolidated some 300 German states into the 30 states of the Confederation of the Rhine, where his brother Jérôme became King of Westphalia. Northern Italy was divided into the Cisalpine Republic and the Ligurian Republic, while Naples was given to Napoleon's brother, Joseph, who then became King of Spain after 1808. In the east, Napoleon wrested the Illyrian Provinces from Austria and carved out the Duchy of Warsaw from Prussia's Polish holdings after decisively defeating a mixed Prusso-Saxon force at the Battle of Jena. At the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, Napoleon made peace with Tsar Alexander I by allowing Russia to gain territory at the expense of Turkey and Sweden; in turn, Russia would cooperate in the Continental System against Britain.

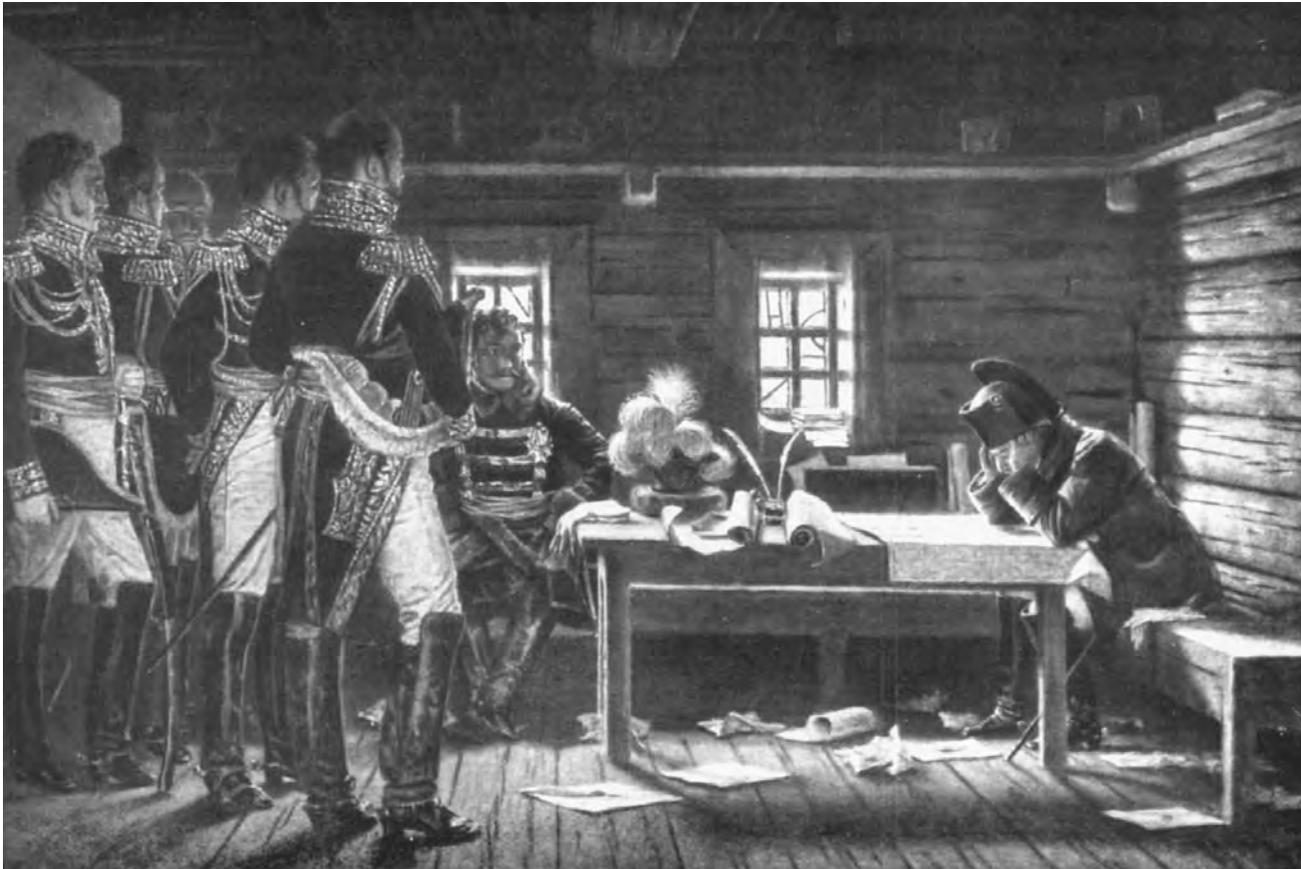
Britain was Napoleon's constant enemy, for it was Britain's naval and commercial supremacy that challenged the position of France in Europe. As early as 1797 there had been plans by the Revolutionary government to invade

Britain with 120,000 troops through Ireland, where anti-British sentiment was widespread. However, Napoleon took a gamble by striking at Britain's interests in the eastern Mediterranean. In 1798 he brought an expeditionary force to Egypt to block Britain's access to India and the Orient. However, this disastrous campaign forced Napoleon to consider another plan. Between 1803 and 1805 the fleets of France and Spain (from 1804) were assembled to destroy the Royal Navy in preparation for an invasion of Britain. The Battle of Trafalgar, however, ended Napoleon's hopes of defeating the British and marching to London.

Since a direct invasion of Britain remained impractical, Napoleon decided to launch an economic war. An 1802 French survey of the British economic system concluded that Britain's ability to finance its war against France would be endangered if its access to markets was closed off through a combination of conquest and diplomacy. In 1806, but particularly from 1807 onward, the Continental System was applied to choke off Britain's access to capital in Europe, making it difficult to subsidize allies and necessitating budget cuts in its military. The Berlin and Milan Decrees of 1806 and 1807, respectively, forbade neutral nations, under threat of seizure, from purchasing British goods and from transporting cargoes through British shipping. The British responded with its Orders in Council forbidding trade with French shipping. In 1807 Russia agreed to participate in the Continental System, and in the same year the Royal Navy bombarded Copenhagen and captured the Danish fleet to prevent Denmark from participating. In 1808 France invaded Portugal because of its refusal to boycott British commerce. While the Continental System had an immediate effect of raising prices and encouraging smuggling, it proved difficult to drive Britain into bankruptcy, for the British looked outside Europe for potential markets. Moreover, it was the British Orders in Council that ignited the War of 1812 with the United States. By 1810 Russia withdrew from the Continental System, rendering it ineffective.

### **British Grand Strategy**

Britain went to war against France in 1793, not so much out of opposition to the Revolution but for traditional security concerns, which included protecting the Low Countries from French aggression. Beginning with the ministry of William Pitt, the British government formed seven coalitions with other European powers to restore the balance of power on the Continent, with the ultimate goal of restoring the Bourbons to the throne with a constitutional government (though from 1803 the return of the Bourbon dynasty ceased to be a *sine qua non* of peace). The British gained support of French royalists and émigrés and recruited a small number for the ranks of its own army. As



Napoleon and his corps commanders considering the next strategic move during the Russian campaign in 1812. (Print by W. Wereschtschagin from *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* by Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 1913)

early as 1799 Pitt envisioned that the borders of France would be rolled back to those of 1789, surrounded by strong buffer states, particularly in northern Italy, backed by Austria, and in Belgium, backed by Prussia and Holland. Despite the numerous setbacks from Napoleon's victories, Britain tirelessly crusaded to restore the balance of power in Europe.

Crucial to the British war effort was the Royal Navy's command of the sea, which deterred any attempts at invasion of the British Isles. In 1793 Britain went to war with a relatively new fleet in prime condition, which, however, had deteriorated by 1807. In 1803 the Royal Navy had 82 ships, of which 32 were ships of the line. By 1809 the navy had 108 ships of the line, 150 frigates, and 424 sloops. The cost of maintenance and construction of naval vessels rose over the years and peaked at £20 million in 1813. Aside from spectacular naval engagements such as the Battle of the Nile and the Battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Navy's contribution to British victory over Napoleon came in the form of the blockade of French ports (and those of its allies) from 1803–1815, a blockade that could not be broken by Napoleon's navy. Naval supremacy in numbers and ef-

fectiveness was assured after the victory at St. Vincent against the Spanish on 14 February 1797; at Camperdown against the Dutch on 11 October 1797; at the Nile against the French on 1 August 1798; at Copenhagen against the Danes on 2 April 1801; and above all at Trafalgar against the French and Spanish on 21 October 1805. The Royal Navy's presence in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and the Atlantic gave Britain a projection of power that facilitated the dispatching of expeditions anywhere on the Continent and to much of the world besides.

The British Army was no less impressive. In 1804 Britain's regular army consisted of 150,000 troops, which grew to 260,000 in 1813. The army was also augmented by foreign troops from Hanover known as the King's German Legion. Britain itself was protected by a regular militia, which consisted of 60,000–90,000 men. The Volunteers, numbering around 300,000 men, were a part-time reserve who trained for twenty-eight days out of the year and were maintained in case of an invasion. The regular army generally remained in Britain for home defense, to maintain a strong army in Ireland, and to garrison the Channel Islands. The colonies also required large numbers of troops.

As a result of these concerns about home defense, Britain's forces never reached the size of its allies' forces, and thus the island kingdom depended on alliances with the major continental powers to defeat Napoleon.

In the course of twenty years, Britain assembled seven coalitions to defeat France. However, assembling those coalitions was not easy, nor did it guarantee immediate success. The first and biggest challenge to British foreign policy was convincing the other European powers of Britain's goodwill and constantly reminding them of the threat Napoleonic France posed to the security of Europe. As early as 1794 Prussia and Austria were more suspicious of each other than of France, and both eyed Russia warily in their designs for central and eastern Europe. Second, all the other powers were jealous of Britain's commercial wealth. Austrian, Prussian, and Russian envoys often reported that they were suspicious of Britain's call to arms out of concern that in overthrowing Napoleon, Britain would become a threat to their respective governments' interests. Moreover, they resented the fact that while the continental powers suffered in terms of men and resources, Britain was merely paying for the service of ridding the world of Napoleon by furnishing subsidies to its allies.

At the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars Britain suffered reverses, particularly in the Low Countries and the Mediterranean. The British government expected a short conflict that would result in the restoration of the Bourbons. The prime minister, William Pitt, promised the Prussians a foothold in the Rhineland and pledged to restore Flanders to the Austrians. The First Coalition, consisting of Austria, Prussia, Britain, Spain, Holland, Sardinia, and other minor powers, collapsed in 1797 in the wake of French victories in Italy, though Prussia and Spain had already withdrawn from the war two years earlier. On 24 December 1798 Britain formed the Second Coalition, which included Austria, Russia, Naples, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire. The Second Coalition collapsed in the wake of Napoleon's defeat of Austria, ending with the Treaty of Lunéville on 9 February 1801, Russia having effectively withdrawn in 1799. On 27 March 1802 Britain concluded peace with France through the Treaty of Amiens, in which Britain surrendered all the colonial possessions it had captured except for Trinidad and Ceylon (Spanish and Dutch possessions, respectively).

The peace that resulted lasted only a year, and in 1805 Britain formed the Third Coalition with Austria, Russia, and Sweden. Even though Britain was safe from invasion after the Battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon decisively defeated the Austrians and Russians at the Battle of Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, resulting in the granting of considerable concessions from the Austrians. In 1806 Prussia, Russia, and Sweden joined Britain in the Fourth Coalition, high-

lighted by Prussia's crushing defeats at the twin Battles of Jena and Auerstädt on 14 October of that year and Russia's defeat in the Battle of Friedland on 14 June of the following year. Both powers made great concessions in the landmark Treaty of Tilsit, which marked the zenith of Napoleon's power. Undeterred, Britain continued to prosecute the war, and, unbeknownst to contemporary observers, the beginning of Napoleon's defeat lay in Spain.

Napoleon's overthrow of the Spanish royal family and the occupation of their country under his brother Joseph sparked a popular uprising that would ultimately cost France heavily in men and resources, inaugurating a bitter conflict known as the Peninsular War (1807–1814). Britain sent troops to Spain in 1808, but they were evacuated at Corunna early the following year. Another expeditionary force under Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) landed in Portugal. Wellesley's forces, combined with Portuguese and Spanish regulars and supported by guerrillas, inflicted heavy casualties on Napoleon's army. Throughout his six years in the Iberian Peninsula, Wellesley never commanded more than 60,000 men, yet he was able to use them very effectively against far larger opposing armies. Tactically, he preferred to position his troops on high ground and to invite attack. In all, Napoleon lost about 400,000 troops from his "Spanish ulcer," which contributed substantially to his final defeat.

Britain's persistence in prosecuting the war against Napoleon was possible because of its commercial and economic supremacy. To compensate for its small military presence on the Continent, the British government gave substantial loans and subsidies to its allies. Yet British economic policy also raised tensions with other European powers. In order to generate the funds necessary to grant loans and subsidies on the scale required, Britain demanded that its allies provide access to their markets, which threatened their domestic economies. Between 1793 and 1802 the British government furnished £9.5 million in subsidies and £6.25 million in loans. Between 1803 and 1812 successive British governments provided a total of £23.25 million in subsidies and £600,000 in loans. Between 1813 and 1815 Britain spent £26.25 million in subsidies and loans (Duffy 1989, 139–142). Yet even these immense sums the continental powers thought insufficient, convinced as they were that Britain possessed endless financial resources. However, as the war continued, the continental powers grew more dependent on British money and materiel in order to continue the war against Napoleon.

The British government had to raise the revenue to subsidize its allies without alienating the British population. Successive governments raised revenue through taxes and by increasing the national debt, at which by this time the Bank of England had become most adept. Between

1793 and 1815 the British government's revenue from taxes totaled £1.217 billion, plus £440 million in loans. In the last few years of the war the government borrowed more than £25 million a year (Kennedy 1987, 130). The decision by the Bank of England to go off the gold standard and issue paper currency opened a reserve of funds that could be devoted to the war effort. Inflation was at a moderate level, and the burden of taxation, particularly the income tax, fell not on the poor but on the rich, who stood most to gain from victory.

Britain emerged from the Napoleonic Wars more powerful than ever. Its colonial empire grew larger as a result of territories it acquired during the war, such as Tobago, St. Lucia, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, and Guyana (Guiana). At the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, foremost for Britain and the European powers was the question of containing France. The chief architect of the British plan for post-Napoleonic Europe was the foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh. The borders of post-Napoleonic France were rolled back to its 1790 borders. The Bourbons were restored, with Louis XVIII on the throne. Belgium was ceded to Holland, while Prussia received territory on the Rhineland. After his defeat at Waterloo, Napoleon was exiled to the remote British possession of St. Helena in the South Atlantic, where he could never again threaten the peace of Europe. Britain entered into the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Prussia, and Russia to maintain the principle of legitimacy and to maintain the balance of power.

However, aside from Britain, Russia stood most to gain from the postwar settlement, potentially threatening British interests, for Russian troops had occupied Paris after the fall of Napoleon. Castlereagh abandoned the previous policy of drawing Russia into the European alliance system by allying with France and Austria to check Russian influence and ambitions in central Europe and by favoring closer cooperation between Austria and Prussia. Notwithstanding the shifting winds of continental politics, after the Congress of Vienna Britain was secure in its naval and commercial supremacy, neither of which were to be challenged for most of the nineteenth century.

The Napoleonic Wars influenced the study of grand strategy. Napoleon's tactics and strategy are still studied by military officers today. Karl von Clausewitz, who served in the Prussian Army, wrote his treatise *On War* based on his observations. He maintained that war was an extension of political policy and that military strategy must coincide with political objectives. Clausewitz envisioned "wars of the people" as the wars of the future, which would be more destructive than the dynastic wars of the eighteenth century. The Napoleonic Wars presaged the era of total warfare that would emerge with the world wars of the twentieth

century. Even with the technological advances of the last two centuries, the study and formulation of grand strategy remains as pertinent today to national decision makers as it did to those of the Napoleonic era.

Dino E. Buenviaje

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Austria; Berlin Decrees; Blockade; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Corps System; Emigrés; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Great Britain; Levée en Masse; Lunéville, Treaty of; Milan Decrees; Naval Warfare; Orders in Council; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Peninsular War; Prussia; Quadruple Alliance; Royal Navy; Russia; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Sweden; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Vienna, Congress of; War of 1812; Waterloo Campaign; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Grand Tactics

Among the principles of war the first is perhaps the most important: The aim must be selected and maintained. This applies at all levels of military planning, from grand strategy down to minor tactics. The levels are:

- *Grand strategy*: What the aim of the whole is. Napoleon's aim was to conquer Europe.
- *Strategy*: The means of achieving the grand strategy. Napoleon conquered individual nations or armies whenever possible and then imposed satellite rule.
- *Grand tactics*: Now known as the operational level. Napoleon used speed of maneuver and surprise as his method of defeating his enemies piecemeal or before they had time to form an army capable of defeating him.
- *Tactics*: The method of fighting the enemy face to face.
- *Minor tactics*: The methods used by individuals and units to defeat the enemy locally.

All the levels are dependent on each other both up and down, and Napoleon himself made the decisions relating to matters down to the grand tactics level, leaving tactics and minor tactics to his corps and divisional commanders and those in the units below that level—right down to the individual soldier.

Napoleon was one of the few great generals who was consistently flexible. He never had any rules to bind him in his operations, but he did adhere to certain maxims. Critical to him was observation of the principles of war to the extent that commanders would adapt themselves to the principles, which resulted in making war as much a science as an art. He believed there was much to be learned from such great commanders as Alexander the Great, Caesar, and others, who by imitating he hoped to achieve success on the same scale. His operational concept was grounded in the economical use of the forces available to him and the concentration of all his effort at the decisive point of the campaign or battle. He sought at all times to catch the enemy off balance and then pick off the parts of his army at will. He believed too that one must “make war offensively” (Napoléon 1858–1870, 4: no. 281), the only way to become a master of the art of war.

It is at the operational level that great generals become great. The higher regions of strategies are often quite simple to formulate, but putting the right force in the right place and at the right time will almost inevitably lead to victory in battle. To this end Napoleon trained his infantry in marching at speed over long distances. By this means he was able to ensure that he was almost always ready to fight before the enemy was strong enough to resist his attack, and he could undertake campaigns of a size that lesser generals with slower armies could not comprehend. Napoleon sought to force his enemies to react to his operations rather than to plan for themselves.

Napoleon was a planner; he said that he always worked out his proposed courses of action some months ahead. He also carried out assessments both of what his enemies were capable of doing in the situation presented to them by his actions and of what they were most likely to do. At the same time he was acutely aware of the operation of chance on the best-laid plans. All eventualities had to be carefully considered, with seemingly inconsequential factors sometimes carrying disproportionate weight.

His operational planning was superb, and he employed every method of deceit and stratagem to conceal his plans from the enemy. He closed the borders of France, had Joseph Fouché's secret police search for traitors, and moved troops in one direction only to have them change direction at night or once they were out of sight. In one celebrated maneuver during the campaign of 1805 he moved his cavalry ahead of his main army to create the impression of a frontal attack through the Black Forest, only to redeploy them as a flank guard for an attack further north.

He appreciated the whole picture of war; he understood the art of maneuver better perhaps than any of his contemporaries, whose armies were more ponderous and unable to alter direction once set upon a particular move. Further, he understood the value of the components of his army—infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and commissariat—and he used them in a concerted fashion that laid down precepts of the operational art that are still valid today.

Napoleon said, “If you lose a battle your army is lost. . . . An army superior in cavalry will always have the advantage of being able to cover its movements, of being well informed as to the enemy's movements, and giving battle only when it chooses. Its defeats will have few evil consequences and its successes will be decisive” (Napoléon 1858–1870, 6:346). This was the heart of his operational or grand tactical concept: He knew that without cavalry he would have less intelligence of the enemy, would be less able to control conditions on the battlefield, and would be limited in his ability to secure the final destruction of the enemy. On the battlefield itself

cavalry could protect his flanks, guard against enemy cavalry attacks, and deliver a final, demoralizing charge or pursue the beaten enemy until the opposing force was of no threat to his future operations.

Time was, to Napoleon, a fundamental factor in operations. "I may lose a battle," he said, "but I shall never lose a minute." To this end he realized that his rapid movement of troops contributed much to his success: "Marches are war" (Napoléon 1858–1870, 6:346). As a highly intelligent commander he also realized that to press his men too much was to send them exhausted into battle. For this reason he chose (or had chosen) routes that were the shortest or the easiest to negotiate. His men moved on average about 12 miles per day, but in crises he could ask for more. The smoothness with which whole armies changed direction on a single order shows that his method was practical and was backed by good staff work and training.

Napoleon's staff supported him to the hilt, allowing him to choose operational options that suited his aim: to bring the enemy to battle in a place of his choosing and at the time he planned. On the eve of battle Napoleon had his troops assembled so that they could, on the day of battle itself, outflank the enemy on either side without any major realignment. They were assembled, not concentrated, so that his operational flexibility was maintained until the very last moment before they were committed to the fight.

*David Westwood*

*See also* Artillery (Land); Cavalry; Corps System; Division; French Army; Grand Strategy; Infantry

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## Grande Armée

*See* French Army

## Grant, Colquhoun (1780–1829)

One of the most famous of the Duke of Wellington's exploring (intelligence) officers during the Peninsular War, Colquhoun Grant was known for his honesty, ability to handle tough situations, and outstanding ability to learn languages and customs. Although Grant's adventures behind enemy lines are legendary, his major achievement was organizing intelligence as an overt function of war.

Grant was born into a military family, and at the age of fourteen he began his military career as an ensign. Within two years he purchased his lieutenantcy (the only promotion by purchase in his career). Grant participated in the 1798 expedition to Ostend, was captured, and spent a year in a French prison. Following his release, he spent six years in the Caribbean, reaching the rank of captain. In 1807 he was stationed on the Portuguese island of Madeira and in 1809 was transferred to Lisbon.

The Battle of Busaco (27 September 1810) was Grant's first and last major battle as an infantry officer. Grant's unique skills, which enabled him to procure large quantities of cattle and food while a hungry British army was at Torres Vedras, caught Wellington's attention. Grant was subsequently always employed by Wellington on special duties.

Wellington made Grant an exploring officer whose duties included riding behind enemy lines, in full uniform, collecting information and developing networks of informers. (Because spying was considered unseemly and was punishable by death, exploring officers always wore their uniforms.) Wellington had numerous exploring officers, but Grant was considered the duke's best source of intelligence.

On 16 April 1812 Grant and his local guide, Leon, were captured. Leon was immediately shot as a spy, while Grant was treated as an officer and gentleman, even dining with Marshal Auguste de Marmont. Grant later accepted parole, believing it would give him the opportunity to continue sending information to Wellington. Marmont, in a violation of the parole, arranged to have Grant turned over to the French secret police. Grant saw a copy of the letter confirming the arrangements and, knowing it amounted to a death sentence, escaped. Instead of heading south to rejoin the British army, he claimed to be an American officer and headed to Paris.

After spending several months in Paris, sending intelligence back to Wellington, Grant escaped from the Continent on a French fishing boat. He rejoined Wellington in time for the Battle of Orthez in 1814. During Napoleon's Hundred Days, Wellington appointed Grant head of field intelligence. While out in the field, Grant received information that Napoleon had left Paris and was moving north. Grant immediately sent the intelligence to Wellington, but

the courier was intercepted by a cavalry patrol. Major General Sir William Dornberg, commander of the cavalry, did not believe the information and refused to let the courier take the message to Wellington. By the time Grant delivered the information himself, it was too late. In the famous words of Wellington, Napoleon had “humbugged” him (Wooten 1999, 31). If Grant’s message had arrived, Wellington would have had twenty-four hours to concentrate his army to meet Napoleon, and the Waterloo campaign might have been decisively different.

After four years on half-pay, Grant took a position in India, participating in the First Burmese War (1823–1826) and attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel. The years of campaigning in India took a toll on Grant’s health, and he died in Aachen.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Busaco, Battle of; Espionage; Orthez, Battle of; Peninsular War; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Grapeshot

*See* Artillery (Land); Artillery (Naval)

## Great Britain

The abbreviated form of what became known, after the Act of Union in 1801, as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, consisting of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland—though contemporaries, both Britons and foreigners alike—often erroneously referred to the collective whole as “England.”

The period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars saw Great Britain establish the foundations of its preeminent position in the nineteenth century. Economically, Britain created the world’s first industrial economy while it dominated world trade. Politically and militarily it built the largest empire the world had ever seen while it established unquestioned dominance over the world’s oceans. Facing the external challenge of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, Britain remained its most consistent and successful foe. Facing the domestic challenge of revolutionary ideas, the British elite weathered opposition from radical movements for religious equality, parliamentary reform, more frequent elections, and, in the most extreme formulations, the question as to whether all

adult males should be granted the right to vote. It also faced and met the difficult challenge of maintaining control over Ireland.

The British economy was being transformed by the so-called Industrial Revolution, a term not used at the time. The first surge of industrialism was in the manufacture of textiles, particularly cotton. Economic expansion in textiles was initially based on a series of technical and organizational innovations in spinning and weaving, including the spinning mule, the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine with separate condenser. The British textile trade, particularly in cottons, was export oriented, and it was so efficient that despite Napoleon’s attempts to exclude British goods from the European continent, even the French Army was clothing soldiers in English cotton cloth. In addition to Europe, colonial markets were very important, as were exports to India and Africa. Even the United States, despite its Anglophobia, continued to be a major market for British manufactured goods. Other British industries that were expanding included iron and coal, both of which would receive a powerful stimulus from the demands of war.

Most of the British populace were members of the established Church of England or the established Church of Scotland. Protestant Dissenters, many influenced by the Enlightenment, often opposed what they saw as the rigidity and exclusiveness of the established churches as well as corruption and despotism within the British state. Some of the most influential early sympathizers with the French Revolution, such as Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, were Dissenting ministers. Catholics were barred from most forms of political participation in both Britain, where they were a small minority, and Ireland, where they were an overwhelming majority, but their opposition to the British state would be tempered by hostility to “anti-Christian” Revolutionary France.

Although the social impact of the Industrial Revolution was manifest in such centers of industry as Manchester and Birmingham, Britain remained a society whose ruling class derived its power from the land. The political center of Britain’s ruling elite was the unreformed Parliament, both of whose houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, were dominated by landowners. The prime minister for the early period of the wars was William Pitt, who held the post from December 1783 to his death in 1806, with one interruption from 1801 to 1804. Pitt relied principally on his own great ability and the support of King George III rather than appealing to the public. Pitt’s great rival, Charles James Fox, whom the king loathed, was forced to ally with the heir to the throne, the future George IV. Fox had briefly come within sight of power in the “Regency Crisis” of 1788, when George III’s

madness nearly made his son the regent. Fox's shrinking body of followers (many went over to Pitt) kept the designation "Whig," while Pitt's followers were referred to by the revived term "Tory" and later as "Conservatives." Largely excluded from high politics were the radicals, often Protestant Dissenters, who continued to charge the British constitution with subservience to royal despotism and, more credibly, with corruption. A more moderate movement with some elite support, which did not challenge the legitimacy of the British state, fought for the abolition of the slave trade.

The French Revolution further polarized British politics. Many people, including Fox, first greeted the Revolution with the hope that France would now adopt a parliamentary government on the British model, but horror at French excesses, including the Terror and the execution of the king and queen, accelerated the conservative reaction that had begun with Pitt's coming to power. This reaction extended to religion as well as to politics as many Britons turned away from the more secularist culture of the Enlightenment. Sympathy for the exiled French Catholics and Catholic priests in Britain even moderated some British anti-Catholicism. Not all Britons were repulsed by the French Revolutionaries, however. Some British radicals—the so-called British Jacobins—openly sympathized with the Revolutionary cause. Radicals, including the young William Wordsworth, sympathized with the French and made Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792) a bestseller, selling over 200,000 copies, far exceeding the still very successful *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) by the antirevolutionary Edmund Burke.

On 1 February 1793 Pitt's government declared war on France, so opening a conflict that would last, with one break (the Peace of Amiens, March 1802–May 1804), until 1814, and again briefly in 1815. At the same time, the prime minister responded domestically to the popularity of the French Revolution in Britain by repressing dissenters, suspending habeas corpus, and crushing the radicals in what came to be called "Pitt's reign of terror" in 1793–1794. The repression was particularly harsh in Scotland, which had a code of law and legal structure different from England's, with fewer safeguards for the accused. The government had less success in England, but it still managed to cow reformers or drive them underground. Not all of the opposition to radicals was directed from above, however. British sympathizers with the French Revolution also inspired popular opposition, partly because they were revolutionary and partly because they were associated with France, the "traditional enemy." Loyalist "Church and King" mobs, encouraged by local gentry and Church of England clergy, attacked Dissenting chapels and individuals suspected of sympathy

with France, the most notable example being Priestley, who was eventually driven out of the country.

The outbreak of the war in 1793, precipitated by the French conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, caught Britain militarily unprepared. The army had fewer than 50,000 men, though this was partially offset by the unmatched power of the Royal Navy, which enjoyed a substantial numerical superiority over its French counterpart notwithstanding Britain's far-flung imperial commitments. Both the creation and maintenance of a large military force and the endless subsidies required by Britain's continental allies would strain the British treasury, forcing the adoption of an income tax in 1799. British assets in the war with France included its geographical position, which meant that any French invasion would have to be seaborne, its navy's control of the seas, and its dynamic economy, which made it the paymaster of the anti-French coalitions. Revolutionary France faced the same disadvantage at sea that Bourbon France had faced in its eighteenth-century wars, and it never successfully challenged British naval supremacy. A planned French invasion across the Channel in 1797, for which Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed commander of the Army of England, was abandoned as impractical owing to Britain's naval power.

The same year, however, saw a much more dangerous threat to British naval supremacy from a different quarter: its own sailors. Mutinies in April and May conducted by the sailors at the naval stations at Spithead and the Nore were precipitated less by sympathy with the French Revolution than by low pay, often made in arrears, and poor food and working conditions. The government resolved the crisis by making concessions to the sailors and punishing the ringleaders of the Nore fleet, which had actually blockaded London and proclaimed its sympathy with the French.

The naval mutinies and the Irish revolt of 1798 precipitated another wave of repressive legislation, including the Unlawful Oaths Act of 1797 aimed at secret societies, the 1798 Newspaper Act establishing tight controls over the press, and the 1799 Corresponding Societies Act suppressing political committees of correspondence (groups organized by letter-writing). The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were aimed at workers' organizations and combined the government's desire to repress popular organization with employers' desire to crush workers organizing for improved wages and working conditions.

The need to effectively control Ireland, whose restiveness with British rule made it both a site of rebellion and a target of French invasion, led to the Act of Union of 1801, which joined Great Britain and Ireland into the United Kingdom. The incorporation of Ireland into the British polity made Catholic emancipation an issue in British

politics. Pitt and much of the political elite, including the Whig opposition, supported the granting of political rights to Catholics as a quid pro quo for Irish Catholics' acceptance of the union, but they were firmly and effectively opposed by the king and most of the Protestant population.

The navy, recovering from the mutinies, won an important victory under the greatest admiral of the war, Horatio Nelson, at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. The battle forced Napoleon to abandon his Egyptian expedition. Napoleon would organize another attempt at an invasion of England in 1805, this time with Spanish aid. Nelson's greatest victory, at Trafalgar in 1805, cost the admiral his life but destroyed any possibility of a French invasion and established Britain's complete domination of the seas.

The struggle by land was initially far less successful. At the outset of the French Revolutionary Wars, British forces initially played only a minor role in the war in Europe. In the Caribbean the British lost many soldiers in an unsuccessful intervention in the Haitian revolution and, above all, as a result of tropical disease. The relatively minor role of the British Army in the nation's war effort only changed after 1808 with the Peninsular War, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) established his reputation as Britain's leading general despite inadequate support from the British government. The British Army still played a relatively minor role compared to those of the great continental powers. Even Wellington's victory at Waterloo, which ended the wars, was achieved with an army containing a substantial non-British element, not to mention vital assistance from the Prussians.

The confrontation between Britain and France was economic as well as military. A key front was trade. The importance of the export trade for the British economy was also a weakness. Although Napoleon could do nothing to prevent Britain from exporting outside Europe, he did attempt to close the European market to British exports with his Continental System, by which the ports of French-controlled Europe were closed to British trade. The British also had difficulty exporting to the United States, which under President Thomas Jefferson attempted to isolate itself from the European war. (Shipping-related disputes between Britain and the United States would eventually lead to the War of 1812.) Britain responded to Napoleon with a series of Orders in Council, which essentially put all French-ruled Europe under a blockade, demanding that all exports to Europe pass through Britain first. The Orders in Council aroused fierce opposition from the British business community, however, and were abandoned in 1812.

Politically, after the death of Pitt no one figure was dominant. A coalition including Fox, the so-called Min-

istry of All the Talents, proved short-lived. The most successful prime ministers in the later period of the wars were Tories, Spencer Perceval and Robert Banks Jenkinson, the Earl of Liverpool. George III's final descent into madness in 1810 brought his son into power as Prince Regent the following year, but by that time the future George IV had lost most of his sympathy with the Whigs, and his ascent had little impact on the war effort.

The wars cost Britain approximately £15 billion and 210,000 lives. Victory in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars enabled the British to vastly expand their empire. The British acquired many new territories, including the Dutch colonies in Ceylon and South Africa, the Spanish Caribbean colony of Trinidad, and the Mediterranean island of Malta. They also expanded their possessions in India. Britain's imperial predominance would not be seriously challenged until the late nineteenth century.

William E. Burns

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Blockade; British Army; Catholic Emancipation; Continental System; Corn Laws; Enclosure Act; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fox, Charles James; George III, King; Grand Strategy; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; India; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Nore, Mutiny at the; Orders in Council; Paine, Tom; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Royal Navy; Slave Trade; Slavery; Spithead, Mutiny at; Trafalgar, Battle of; Union, Act of; Vienna, Congress of; War of 1812; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; West Indies, Operations in the; Wilberforce, William; Wordsworth, William

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## Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron (1759–1834)

British foreign secretary and prime minister who continued the wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon, William Grenville was born on 25 October 1759 at Wotton House, Wotton-under-Bernewood, Buckinghamshire, the youngest son of former prime minister George Grenville (in office 1763–1765) and cousin of William Pitt the Younger, who served as prime minister from 1783 to 1801 and from 1804 to 1806. Grenville was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, before being elected a Member of Parliament for Buckingham in 1782. Grenville married Anne Pitt, the daughter of Thomas Pitt, First Baron Camelford. He served as chief secretary for Ireland (1782–1783), paymaster and joint paymaster of the forces (1783–1789), and vice president of the Board of Trade (1786–1789), and in 1787 he was sent to The Hague and to Versailles to discuss economic and political matters related to Holland as a champion of free trade.

In 1789, as the French Revolution was breaking out, he became speaker of the House of Commons, and was appointed home secretary (1789–1791), responsible for law and order across the country. Grenville oversaw policing, criminal justice and prisons, immigration, and internal security. He became leader of the House of Lords (November 1790–February 1801) after being raised to the peerage as Baron Grenville of Wotton-under-Bernewood in 1790.

As an ally of Pitt, Grenville became foreign secretary (1791–1801), handling foreign relations for Britain during the French Revolutionary Wars and playing a significant part in raising the First and Second Coalitions against France. His decade as foreign secretary was a dramatic one as a prominent member of a government in favor of prosecuting the war, and he supported Pitt’s measures for domestic security. His policies supported British forces fighting on the European continent while endeavoring to maintain control of the seas. Grenville and Pitt resigned in 1801 over the question of Catholic emancipation when King George III refused to grant political rights to Roman Catholics.

Pitt was replaced by Henry Addington (prime minister from 1801 to 1804), who negotiated the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. However, the king and the Addington government refused to evacuate Malta, precipitating a crisis that resulted in the resumption of war with Napoleon in 1803. Grenville befriended the Whigs, allying himself with Charles James Fox and refusing to reenter the ministry when Pitt returned as prime minister in May 1804.

Following Pitt’s death in January 1806, Grenville was asked by the king to form a government (February 1806–March 1807). Grenville became prime minister, and his

cabinet included Fox (who, however, died in September 1806), to be replaced by Viscount Howick (shortly thereafter to become Earl Grey on the death of his father in 1807) as secretary of state for foreign affairs. Grenville's government was a coalition of his own followers, Foxite Whigs, and friends of Addington (Lord Sidmouth), who became Lord Privy Seal and president of the council in this political coalition known as the "Ministry of All the Talents." The Grenville ministry was responsible for the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Grenville reformed the treasury's accounting system, strengthened the armed forces while continuing to prosecute the war against Napoleonic France, and reorganized the governing of Scotland to ensure support from the Scottish members of Parliament for the war effort. He was leader of the House of Lords for a second time from February 1806–March 1807.

Grenville's support for the Catholic Relief Bill in opposition to George III led to his government's resignation in March 1807. Grenville had attempted to repeal the Test Laws and allow Catholics to serve as officers in the British Army and the Royal Navy, but the king viewed this as an attempt to undermine the Church of England, whose preeminence he was sworn to uphold. Grenville became chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1810 until his death on 12 January 1834. He continued to support the Whigs, led by Earl Grey in Parliament, although in 1815 he supported the prowar position of Robert Banks Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool. A stroke in 1823 ended his political career, but he continued as chancellor of Oxford until his death.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Catholic Emancipation; First Coalition, War of the; Fox, Charles James; George III, King; Great Britain; Pitt, William; Second Coalition, War of the

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## Gribeauval System

As a young officer Napoleon Bonaparte was a gunner, and when he took command of the Army of Italy in 1796 he in-

herited an artillery that had been reorganized by Jean-Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval. Gribeauval had served as first inspector of artillery in the 1770s, during the reign of Louis XVI, but his substantial reforms were still of value to the Revolution and, later, to Napoleon. Gribeauval concentrated on making artillery much more mobile and on standardizing calibers. Field guns were issued in three "natures," which were the 4-, 8-, and 12-pounder guns, plus a 6-inch howitzer. For siege operations 18- and 24-pounder guns were used, but the mobility of these guns could never be greatly improved and they were never seen on the main battlefield. To improve mobility Gribeauval reduced the length and weight of the gun barrels and also of the gun carriage. Gun carriages were fitted with iron axle trees and larger-diameter steel-rimmed wheels.

To improve the accuracy of the guns, the manufacture of shot was also standardized. Shot was now made truly spherical and to the correct caliber, which in turn reduced the amount of powder needed to fire the shot. Gribeauval also introduced the system of issuing powder and shot in one composite shell, making the work of the gun crews much simpler and easier. As noted, guns fired shot, simple round iron balls, but they could also fire canister shot, which consisted of thin tin cylinders, in diameter slightly less than the caliber of the gun, filled with musket balls. A typical canister shot contained about 180 musket balls, which sprayed from the muzzle of the gun in the same way that shot spreads from a shotgun cartridge. At short ranges canister was a devastating weapon, but it was limited in effectiveness to approximately 300 yards. It is interesting to note that British gunners soon adopted canister, and when attacked by cavalry, they loaded canister in front of round shot so that the balls would disable the leading cavalry and the round shot would penetrate further. By the Battle of Waterloo both the French and the British were using "common shells" in their howitzers. These were fused hollow metal spheres with a range of between 750 and 1,300 yards. To be effective the fuses that exploded the charges in the spheres had to be cut accurately, a skill that continued to elude French gunners.

Gribeauval's contribution to the development of artillery was significant: He made it more mobile so that it could offer direct fire in infantry support. Napoleon, toward the end of his command, used a large quantity of artillery to compensate for the decreasing quality of his conscript army. The Duke of Wellington used artillery more as a scalpel than as a hammer.

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*See also* Artillery (Land); French Army; Siege Warfare

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### Grossbeeren, Battle of (23 August 1813)

The Battle of Grossbeeren was fought between the (French) Army of Berlin under Marshal Nicolas Oudinot and Prussian forces under generals Friedrich von Tauentzien and Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow. Oudinot's objective was to seize Prussia's capital city, but he suffered a defeat in the first major action of the autumn campaign of 1813 and was thrown back. This defeat, along with that on the Katzbach on 26 August, canceled out Napoleon's success at Dresden on 26–27 August. Oudinot's forces consisted of IV (General Henri-Gatien Bertrand), VII (General Jean Louis Reynier), and XII (Oudinot) Corps along with III Cavalry Corps (General Jean Toussaint Arrighi de Casanova), a total of 66,000 men and over 200 guns. A substantial part of Oudinot's forces, particularly the infantry, consisted of contingents from the Confederation of the Rhine and from Italy. Both their quality and their reliability were questionable. The training of the cavalry was particularly inadequate.

The Prussian forces involved were part of the (Allied) Army of the North under the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, formerly Napoleon's Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte. The Prussian III Army Corps (Bülow) was around 40,000 men strong. The IV Army Corps (Tauentzien) was around 33,000 men strong, but it consisted almost entirely of untried militia. Only part of this corps was involved in the battle. The motivation of these troops was high, as they were in part Brandenburgers defending their homes.

Oudinot's orders were to push aside the troops defending Berlin, seize the city, disarm its inhabitants, and disperse the militia. If Berlin resisted, Oudinot was authorized to destroy the city. By doing this, Napoleon hoped to severely disrupt Prussia's mobilization.

Grossbeeren lies just to the south of Berlin in what was heavily wooded and marshy terrain. The wooded area contained many undulations, and the marshes were cut by many drainage ditches, so wheeled traffic was largely confined to the few roads that passed through it, restricting Oudinot's lines of advance.

On 23 August Oudinot approached Berlin. Bertrand marched down the Blankenfelde road, Reynier moved

through Grossbeeren, while XII Corps took the route through Ahrensdorf. The woods prevented lateral communications, and there was a danger that the corps could be isolated and defeated individually. Furthermore, Oudinot's cavalry lacked the skills necessary to gather adequate intelligence, so he was operating without accurate information on the strength and dispositions of the forces facing him. He expected to brush aside the half-trained and ill-equipped militia and enter Berlin the next day.

Bertrand, on the right, was the first to make contact with the Prussians, as he moved along the road from Jühnsdorf to Blankenfelde. About 9:00 A.M. he clashed with Tauentzien's vanguard, men of the division of General Leopold Wilhelm von Dobschütz, just south of Blankenfelde. Bertrand's 20,000 men outnumbered the 13,000 Prussians, but the terrain prevented Bertrand from deploying all of them. The Prussian vanguard fought in the woods south of Blankenfelde for several hours, eventually forcing Bertrand to withdraw. He started falling back about 2:00 P.M. Both sides lost about 200 men. For the Prussians, holding off so many Italians for so long at such a small price was considered a remarkable success.

Reynier, in the center and commanding a mixed force of French and Saxons, moved off about noon. The vanguard, General von Sahr's division of Saxons, reached Grossbeeren about 2:00 P.M. The Prussian artillery exchanged shots with them for a short while, before limbering up (hitching the ordnance to a gun carriage) and withdrawing. The three battalions defending the burning village held on for a while, but the Saxons ejected them. Considering the battle over, Reynier's men pitched camp. While they were doing this, Bülow's artillery moved up and fired on them. Meanwhile, Reynier's rear divisions arrived, and the battle now started in earnest.

Bülow's men were exhausted, having been marching in the pouring rain since 7:00 A.M. They too were intending to camp in the area, but news of the earlier combat at Grossbeeren reached them, and since part of Reynier's men were still in the woods, the decision was made to go over to the offensive.

The heavy rain hid the Prussians' movement from Reynier. The divisions of Prince Ludwig von Hessen-Homburg and Colonel Karl von Krafft marched off, with General Heinrich von Thümen and the cavalry and artillery reserves following behind in support. Advancing rapidly to surprise Reynier, the Prussians did not have time to conduct a detailed reconnaissance of his positions. Instead of flanking him, they plunged forward with a frontal assault that was more costly. This attack began with an artillery duel that lasted one and a half hours. Bülow had over 100 guns against Reynier's 68, so he gained the upper hand. The Prussian infantry formed up 300 paces to the

rear of the artillery, waiting for the opportune moment. When the French fire slackened, General Karl von Borstell's division advanced on Grossbeeren from the east, having moved through the village of Kleinbeeren. Krafft approached the windmill west of Grossbeeren, threatening the rear of Sahr's Saxons, who now withdrew rapidly. Their rear guard was involved in close combat with the Prussians; bayonets and musket butts were being used, since the heavy rain hindered the use of small arms.

Reynier now brought up fresh formations to stage a counterattack, employing the divisions of General Pierre Durutte and General Lecoq. The retreating Saxons panicked Durutte's men, two-thirds of them raw conscripts, and they fled without coming into action. Lecoq's men advanced toward the windmill hill, but they did not get halfway before being ordered to withdraw. They turned round and took refuge in the Genshagen wood, along with Durutte's men. Reynier decided not to risk using his last reserve, Colonel von Brause's brigade, in another attack. Instead, he disengaged his men.

Oudinot's column advanced toward the sounds of the guns. General Fournier-Sarlovèze's light cavalry division, from the left column, made some headway, advancing as far as Kleinbeeren and arriving there about 8:00 P.M. Its intervention helped Reynier extract his endangered men and prevented the retreat from becoming a rout. After losing around 100 men, the French cavalry also retired. The bad weather and the general exhaustion of the troops prevented the Prussians from staging a pursuit. The Army of Berlin fell back the following day as well.

The French lost around 3,000 men, along with thirteen guns and sixty ammunition wagons. The Prussians lost around 1,000 men. Although this was a relatively minor affair, it was the first Prussian victory since 1806.

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*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Dresden, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Katzbach, Battle of the; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer

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## Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de (1766–1847)

An aristocrat and soldier whose courage and outstanding career as a cavalry officer and administrator have been largely ignored, owing to the blame he received for the French defeat at Waterloo. Although he was the last mar-

shal appointed by Napoleon, few French officers served on as many fronts or in as many major battles or received as many wounds as did Grouchy.

Grouchy, of noble birth, was one of many aristocrats to embrace the ideals of the Revolution. He started his military career at age thirteen, attending the Strasbourg Artillery School. Lack of interest in artillery led him to transfer to the cavalry in 1784. Within two years he was a lieutenant in the Royal Guard. His embracing of republican principles put him at odds with his superior officers, but the Revolution saved him from expulsion from the army.

After the Revolution began Grouchy's skills and belief in the Revolutionary cause enabled him to rise quickly in rank, reaching brigadier general of the cavalry in the Army of the Alps (1792). He participated in the suppression of the royalist counterrevolts in the Vendée and Brittany, but the following year he was forced to leave the army as a result of a decree by the Convention, which excluded nobles from military employment. Due to his strong belief in the republican cause, he enlisted in the National Guard as a private.

With the fall of Maximilien Robespierre, Grouchy was reinstated, serving as chief of staff for the Army of the West and playing a significant role in the ill-conceived expedition to Ireland (1796–1797). The following year Grouchy was transferred to the (French) Army of Italy, and during the Battle of Novi (15 August 1799) he received fourteen wounds before being captured. Upon his release, he returned to military service and served with generals Jean-Victor Moreau and Michel Ney in the decisive battle against the Austrians at Hohenlinden (3 December 1800).

Although harboring substantial reservations about the coup of Brumaire, Grouchy served loyally and with great courage in every one of Napoleon's campaigns. His pursuit of the Prussians after Jena-Auerstädt (14 October 1806) is considered one of the greatest in history. His command of the cavalry at Eylau (7–8 February 1807), where he was wounded, was nothing short of brilliant. After his exemplary conduct at Friedland (14 June 1807) Grouchy was sent to Spain to serve as governor of Madrid (1808), where he was responsible for the suppression of the rebellion of 2 May. The following year, his leadership and daring at Wagram (5–6 July 1809) so impressed Napoleon that he was selected to succeed (future marshal) Auguste de Marmont as colonel general of the Chasseurs à Cheval de la Garde Impériale. After receiving numerous other awards, including the Grand Cross of the Order of Bavaria, the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honor, and others, Grouchy went on the semi-active list from 1809 to 1811.

Grouchy returned to service in time to command one of the four corps of cavalry in the Grande Armée, which



Marshal Grouchy, an accomplished French cavalry officer, served in every major campaign of the Napoleonic Wars including the last, when his refusal to march to the sound of the guns at Waterloo proved fatal to his emperor. (Print by Jean-Sébastien Bouillard from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

invaded Russia in 1812. At the Battle of Borodino he was hit in the chest by a blast of grapeshot, but he made a quick recovery and served brilliantly as commander of the Emperor's bodyguards covering the retreat from Russia. The physical strain of the retreat left Grouchy temporarily unfit for duty in 1813, but he returned the following year to fight in every major battle (being wounded several times) during the invasion of France. Under the Bourbon Restoration, he was stripped of all titles and honors.

During Napoleon's Hundred Days (the Waterloo campaign) Grouchy rallied to his Emperor's side and was rewarded, on 3 June 1815, by being made the twenty-sixth and last Marshal of the Empire. He commanded the forces that crushed the royalist uprising in southern France, was appointed commander of the cavalry in the Army of the

North, and later led Napoleon's right wing at the Battle of Ligny against the Prussians.

Napoleon's plan for the campaign in Belgium was to leave Paris unnoticed, move up with the Army of the North, and occupy a central position between the Duke of Wellington's Anglo-Allied army and Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's Prussian army. That accomplished, he attacked and defeated Blücher at Ligny (16 June) and ordered Grouchy to lead 33,000 men in pursuit of the retreating Prussians. The key was for Grouchy to prevent the Prussians from reorganizing and to keep pushing Blücher's forces north and east—toward Liège—away from Wellington. This would allow Napoleon to turn on Wellington's smaller army, crushing it. If Blücher and Wellington were able to combine their armies, Napoleon was finished.

Everything seemed to be going well for Napoleon. The mauling he gave the Prussians at Ligny was pushing them in the desired direction, and Grouchy was in pursuit. Grouchy, however, lost contact with the Prussians on 17 June, and when he reestablished contact the next day at Wavre, he was unaware that Blücher had reorganized his army and was marching toward Waterloo. On the eighteenth Grouchy heard the sound of the guns at Waterloo, but lacking orders to reinforce Napoleon, he adhered to his existing orders to pursue the Prussians. When Grouchy attacked the Prussian rear guard at Wavre, he thought he was hitting the rear of an army retreating east away from, not moving west toward, Waterloo. Although Wavre constituted a tactical victory for Grouchy, it sealed Napoleon's doom at Waterloo. Grouchy's decisions or lack thereof allowed Napoleon to pin the blame for the defeat on his most recently appointed marshal.

In the two days following Waterloo, Grouchy conducted a masterful retreat back to Paris, where he handed control of the army over to the minister of war, Marshal Louis Davout, and fled to America. He was amnestied in 1821 and restored to the rank of marshal in 1831, but he spent the rest of his life a broken man, reviled by royalists and Bonapartists alike, trying to justify his actions and regain his good name.

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*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Ligny, Battle of; Madrid Uprising; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Marshalate; Moreau, Jean Victor; National Guard (French); Ney, Michel; Novi, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Vendée, Revolts in the; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of

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**Guerrilla Warfare**

Guerrilla warfare was not a new phenomenon in the Napoleonic period: In most of the conflicts of the eighteenth century, raiding and skirmishing had been a frequent occurrence. However, it was the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods—or, more specifically, the Peninsular War—that gave the phenomenon of small-scale warfare designed to harass and wear down an opponent by means of constant raids and ambushes its modern name (the term comes from the Spanish word *guerrilla*, meaning “little war”).

At the same time, it was also the Napoleonic period that saw the phenomenon escape the control of the state and start to become an affair of armed civilians acting on their own account in response to the social and economic pressures generated by military occupation or an intrusive regime. From the beginning of the French Revolutionary Wars, in fact, popular resistance was a frequent phenomenon in the French sphere of influence. This was the result of two factors. In the first place, French armies were both much larger and much less disciplined than their eighteenth-century predecessors, with the result that occupation at their hands tended to be particularly unpleasant for the populace. In the second place, with the French and their satellites wedded to the notion of imposing at least the principle of universal conscription, the demands of the state for manpower became much more severe. And in the third place, far from being associated with liberation, the reforms associated with the French Revolution brought great social disruption, an assault on traditional patterns of belief and popular custom, and, in some instances, more exploitation by the propertied classes.

Only in some instances, however, was the response the formation of rebel bands of armed civilians. More commonly, indeed, the response was mass revolt. Thus, in the Vendée (1793), Belgium (1798), and Tuscany and Calabria (1799), spontaneous armies of peasants took on the forces of the state in desperate bids to throw off its yoke. But guerrilla bands did take the field. In the wake of the defeat of its Royal and Catholic Army, the Vendée used this tactic to continue to resist the Revolution, while in both Brittany

and Normandy the period from 1793 to 1800 was marked by the activities of peasant guerrillas known as the Chouans. And on the frontiers of France both the Spanish and the Piedmontese made use of traditional rural home guards—the *somatenes* and the *barbetti*—to harass the invading French armies by means of guerrilla warfare.

It was, however, the Napoleonic period that made the phenomenon famous and produced what may justly be described as the first guerrilla wars in history. When the French invaded Naples in 1806, Calabria again exploded in revolt, except that this time the method chosen was not an insurrectionary army but rather gangs of brigands. When the French intervened in Spain in 1808, they were harassed from the very beginning of hostilities by armed bands known as *partidas*. And, finally, when the Tyrol revolted against Bavarian occupation in 1809, both the mountainous terrain and traditional patterns of military organization—above all, the fact that the Tyrol had always relied for its defense on a peasant militia known as the *Schützen*—made partisan operations an obvious option. Meanwhile, guerrilla war was also to be found outside the French sphere of influence. When revolt broke out against the Ottoman Turks in Serbia in 1804, the fighting was almost entirely the work of bands of irregulars referred to in English as *hadjuks* or *chetniks*, and in Finland the Russian invasion in 1808 was met by the formation of such forces.

As all regular soldiers engaged in the resultant conflicts recognized, the consequences of this phenomenon were very serious. In the first place, the fighting tended to be very protracted: The bands' mobility and knowledge of the difficult terrain in which they usually operated made them hard to hunt down, while they themselves could strike at will (and often proved adept at choosing the spots where the occupying forces were most vulnerable). In the second place, the ability of forces harassed by guerrillas to engage in conventional operations at the same time was severely compromised—hence the enormous problems faced by the French in the Peninsular War. And in the third place, such conflicts, which were inevitably accompanied by atrocities of all types, had a serious impact on the discipline and morale of the troops, while at the same time they eroded collaboration among the civilian population and impeded the imposition of political and social reform. And, last but not least, the losses inflicted by the guerrillas were by no means insignificant.

Yet in reality the problem of guerrilla warfare was not as severe as has often been portrayed. As time went on, strategies were evolved that ensured the eventual defeat of such insurgencies: The Tyrol was overwhelmed in less than a year, and Calabria was pacified by 1810, while even the Spanish *partidas* would probably have been suppressed had the invasion of Russia in 1812 not cut off the supply of

troops to the Iberian Peninsula. Meanwhile, detailed study of the Spanish guerrillas, at least, has suggested, first, that comparatively few civilians took up arms in this fashion; second, that much of the fighting was actually the work of regular troops or organized militias; third, that there was a steady decline in the incidence of organized irregular resistance (as opposed to mere banditry); fourth, that the successes of the *partidas* has often been greatly exaggerated; fifth, that the motivation of many of the combatants had little to do with patriotism; and sixth, that most of the commanders who emerged from the civilian population were at best adventurers who had seized on the war as a means of escaping poverty and obscurity.

In the end, then, guerrilla fighters did not shake the preeminence of conventional warfare; rather, they remained an adjunct to it. Indeed, if one moves away from the special conditions presented by the Iberian Peninsula and the Balkans, the picture that emerges is one that was little changed from the eighteenth century. In both the Russian campaign and the campaign in Germany in 1813, for example, guerrilla warfare was used against the French, but the forces concerned turn out to have been Cossacks, hastily raised volunteer *Freikorps*, and detachments of regular light cavalry—in other words, precisely the same sort of troops as those who had waged the less formal aspects of, say, the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

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*See also* Calabria, Uprising in; Chouans; Cossacks; Espoz Ilundaín, Francisco; Martín Diez, Juan, “El Empecinado”; Merino, Jerónimo; Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Gulf of Genoa, Battle of the (13–14 March 1795)

A minor Anglo-French naval action fought between approximately equally matched squadrons under Vice Admiral William Hotham, commander in chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and Rear Admiral Pierre Martin commanding the French.

Over the winter of 1794–1795 Hotham maintained a rather ineffective blockade of Toulon from his base in the bay of San Fiorenzo, on Corsica. When the *Berwick* (74 guns) received damage in a swell on 16 January Hotham took his ships to Leghorn (Livorno) to undertake repairs. The French therefore took advantage of his absence to dispatch a force for the recapture of the island. On 3 March a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line and six frigates, together with transports carrying 5,000 men, left Toulon under Martin. Four days later they were within sight of the island. When three of Martin's frigates sighted the jury-rigged *Berwick* leaving San Fiorenzo Bay, they chased, engaged, and captured her.

On 8 March Hotham, lying at Leghorn, received intelligence of a French sighting off Isle St. Marguerite and sent a brig to San Fiorenzo to order the *Berwick* to meet Hotham off Cape Corse. On the ninth Hotham put to sea with a large force. In the van were the *Captain* (74 guns), *Bedford* (74), *Tancredi*, a Neapolitan (74), *Princess Royal* (98), and *Agamemnon* (64). The frigates and smaller vessels included two Neapolitan ships, the *Minerva* (32), and *Pilade* (32). There were also the British ships *Lowestoft* (32), *Poulette* (26), and the brig *Tarleton* (14). In the center were the *Illustrious* (74), *Courageux* (74), *Britannia* (100), *Egmont* (74), and *Windsor Castle* (98). These were accompanied by the *Inconstant* (36) and *Meleager* (32). In the rear were the *Diadem* (64), *St. George* (98), *Terrible* (74), and *Fortitude* (74). There were also the *Romulus* (36), *Moselle* (18), and the diminutive cutter *Fox*.

The enemy fleet of fifteen line-of-battle ships, six frigates, and two brigs were sighted to the south on the eleventh by part of Hotham's force. The enemy was seen again at daybreak on the twelfth, but light winds prevented the two sides from closing. When fresh winds arrived that evening, Hotham approached and formed his order of battle on a westerly course. Poor weather that evening inflicted damage to one of the French 74s, the *Mercure*, which made for the safety of Gourjean Bay with a frigate as her escort.

Shortly after dawn on the thirteenth Hotham perceived that the French had no thoughts of fighting, and he ordered a general chase. The wind was brisk and favored him. Around 8:00 A.M. the *Ça Ira* (80), being third from the enemy rear, became fouled with the *Victoire* (80), in the process losing her own fore-topmast and main topmast. Profiting by this mishap, the *Inconstant*, at about 9:00 A.M., neared the *Ça Ira* on her port quarter and fired into her. The *Vestale* (36), in turn, closed, fired from a distance at the *Inconstant*, and began to tow the injured *Ça Ira*. Notwithstanding this, the *Inconstant* tacked and engaged the *Ça Ira* again with a broadside on the enemy's lee. The *Ça Ira* had by now thrown her damaged masts overboard

and began to fire. This proved sufficient to force the *Inconstant* to bear up.

Around 10:45 the *Agamemnon* took up the fight against the *Ça Ira*, assisted for a while by the *Captain*. Around 2:15 P.M., however, several enemy vessels approached in support, obliging the *Agamemnon* to assume her place in the line. Meanwhile the *Bedford* and *Egmont* were busy with the three rear-most enemy ships, but the British disengaged when the *Agamemnon* ceased her own fire in order to bear up. The French changed to a port tack and kept close to the wind, propelled under full sail by a moderate breeze. Hotham pursued with all sail on a port bearing. Sometime that evening, through negligence or injury, the *Sans Culotte* (120) left Martin's main body. The French also transferred responsibility for towing the *Ça Ira* to the *Censeur* (74), both of which fell astern and to leeward of their consorts.

At dawn on the fourteenth the French were sighted to windward on a port tack, about 20 miles southwest of Genoa. When the breeze changed direction to the northwest at 5:30 A.M., Hotham's ships were then to windward of the enemy, and an hour later the *Captain* and *Bedford* began to engage the *Censeur* and *Ça Ira*. The *Captain*, however, had to take punishment from both vessels for fifteen minutes before she received assistance from the *Bedford*, which increased sail to reach the scene quickly. After an hour and a half of fighting, the *Captain* was seriously damaged in her rigging, sails, hull, and boats. Both the *Captain* and the *Bedford* were towed to safety, both being heavily damaged.

In the meantime the *Illustrious* and *Courageux* had come to assist the *Captain* and *Bedford* and stood ahead and to leeward of Hotham's line. The French responded by wearing in succession (that is, the changing—one after another—of each ship's course by turning its stern to windward) and forming a line with the *Duquesne* (74) leading the van. Martin intended to pass to leeward of Hotham's line, which was sailing to windward of the vulnerable *Censeur* and *Ça Ira*. The *Duquesne* slowly came round, but a light breeze rendered almost all the contending ships incapable of much speed or maneuver. The *Duquesne* now was able to fire from a distance at the stern of the *Lowestoft*, whose captain ordered the deck cleared of everyone save the officers and the sailor at the wheel. This unusual measure prevented serious loss, and before more damage could be inflicted on the *Lowestoft's* sails and rigging, the *Duquesne* was distracted by the *Minerva*, a Neapolitan frigate. When the *Duquesne* finally came round she began, whether by accident or design, to lead the line to windward of Hotham's van instead of to leeward.

At 8:00 A.M. successive engagements began between the *Illustrious* and the *Duquesne* and the *Victoire*, which

were about a quarter of a mile from one another. HMS *Courageux* fought these vessels, as well as the French 80-gun *Tonnant*. An hour later, however, the foremast of the *Illustrious* came down, and fifteen minutes later her mainmast collapsed, taking the mizzenmast with it. She had by then also suffered considerable damage to her spars and hull. The *Courageux* was scarcely better off, having had her mainmast and mizzenmast shot away. Though rendered extremely vulnerable by such injuries, these vessels nevertheless were protected by the becalmed conditions, which meant their enemy could not bear down on them. When the three French vessels eventually drifted away, the stricken British were saved from probable capture.

Soon thereafter Martin decided to leave behind the disabled *Ça Ira* and *Censeur* and to take advantage of a fresh breeze to make full sail westward. Firing ceased around 2:00 P.M. and owing to the damage incurred by the ships of his van, Hotham decided against pursuit. He therefore took the heavily damaged *Ça Ira* and *Censeur*, both of which had fought tenaciously, as prizes. The two vessels had between them lost around 400 killed and wounded.

French losses are not known. The Neapolitans lost one killed and nine wounded. The British lost 73 killed and 275 wounded. Although Hotham took two line-of-battle ships, the victory was a minor one. The prizes and dismasted friendly ships were towed to Spezzia Bay, but the *Meleager* ran aground in Valence Bay and was wrecked. Moreover the *Illustrious* was beyond repair; her men and stores were removed to other ships and she was set on fire. On 26 March Hotham anchored near San Fiorenzo in order to refit. On 18 April, he sailed for Leghorn, which he reached on the twenty-seventh, having left the prizes behind.

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*See also* Blockade; Corsica; First Coalition, War of the; Ile de Groix, Action off

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## Gustavus IV, King (1778–1837)

King Gustavus IV of Sweden lost much of the once-mighty Swedish Empire, largely owing to his deranged policies based on his fanatical hatred of French Revolutionary ideals and Napoleon.

Gustavus was born in Stockholm on 24 June 1778 as the son of King Gustavus III and his wife, Queen Sophia Magdalena; rumor had it that his real father was stable master Adolph Munck. Gustavus was tutored under Nils

von Rosenstein. He was a serious and abnormally moral young boy. He was mentally unstable all of his life, although no one realized it until much later. As an adult he hid his instability under a cloak of extreme piety. He married Frederica Dorothea, a daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden, on 31 October 1797. They had five children.

Gustavus inherited the throne in 1792 upon his father's assassination. His uncle, the future Charles XIII, ruled as regent. Gustavus came of age in 1796, took over governing, and dismissed his uncle's talented ministers. He refused to be crowned until 3 April 1800. Gustavus adopted reactionary domestic and foreign policies aimed against the ideas of the French Revolution. His implacable revulsion to Napoleon obscured reasoned judgment. This was exacerbated during his presence at Karlsruhe, in Baden, during the abduction of the duc d'Enghien, who was murdered on 21 March 1804 on Napoleon's orders. Gustavus was outraged when his aide-de-camp went to Paris to protest but was dismissed. His violence and incompetence alienated the majority of Swedes, many of whom believed Gustavus was insane.

In the autumn of 1805 Gustavus joined the Third Coalition—consisting of Austria, Russia, and Britain—against France. He believed that Britain's importance to Sweden's foreign trade far outweighed Napoleon's displeasure. Instead, his catastrophic policies resulted in humiliation when he lost Swedish Pomerania to France and Stralsund to Denmark. In 1808 the Swedes were angered even further when they lost a war with Russia and were forced to sign a peace treaty at Fredrikshamn (now Hamina) on 17 September 1809. The treaty recognized the loss of Finland to the Russians, who in July had concluded their war with France by the Treaty of Tilsit. The various wars and treaties left Sweden defeated, vulnerable, isolated, and unable to fight Napoleon.

As a result, on 13 March 1809 Gustavus was overthrown by his officers in a coup d'état that had been legalized by a diet decree. The officers seized him from the palace and transported him to the chateau at Gripsholm. His family was permanently barred from succession to the throne. Gustavus's frail uncle, the senile Duke of Södermanland, who had no legitimate children, succeeded him as Charles XIII on 5 June. The new constitution that was promulgated specified that the Riksdag (the parliament) had equal power with any monarch.

As the last member of the three-century-old Vasa dynasty, Charles designated French marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte as his successor to the throne. In 1818 Bernadotte was crowned as Charles XIV John (Carl XIV Johan).

Gustavus was initially sent to Germany with his family, but he eventually went into exile in St. Gall, Switzer-

land, and was known as Colonel Gustafsson. Gustavus occupied himself by writing. His wife divorced him in 1812. He lived in abject poverty but had a son by one of his mistresses. He died of a stroke on 7 February 1837. Gustavus was interred in the Riddarholmskyrkan.

Annette E. Richardson

See also Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Denmark; Finland; Norway; Russo-Swedish War; Sweden; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of

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### Gyulai, Ignaz Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska (1763–1831)

From a distinguished noble military family from Siebenbürgen (Transylvania), Ignaz Gyulai led his *Freikorps* against the Turks and French during the 1790s. A successful advance guard and corps commander, he won several victories throughout the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. An able administrator, as ban (viceroy) of Croatia, he directed the implementation of the 1807 reforms of the Military Frontier.

Born in Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Gyulai joined *Infanterie Regiment* 32 as a cadet at age eighteen, rising to major with the 2nd Banal Grenz Regiment in 1788, which he commanded during Austria's war with Turkey (1788–1791). Promoted to *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant colonel) in 1790, he established the Gyulai Croat *Freikorps*, which he led at Cetin, where he climbed the walls at the head of his men. Under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Dagobert Graf Würmser in 1793, he led them in the assault on the Weissenburg lines in October, for which he won the Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa. He joined the Austrian corps under *Generalmajor* Friedrich Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen which was attached to General Gebhard von Blücher's victorious Prussians at Kaiserslautern in September 1794. Gyulai was promoted to *Oberst* (commanding colonel) of *Infanterie Regiment* (IR) 31 in 1795, although he retained command of his *Freikorps*. In Germany in 1796, he led *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Frolich's advance guard protecting the Tyrol. Following a reconnaissance to Menningen on 22 September, he held his position for eight hours, despite being outnumbered 5 to 1, before fighting in the siege of Kehl. Returning to IR 31, he commanded the Holy Roman Empire contingent in Germany in April 1797, following his promotion to *Generalmajor*.

In the War of the Second Coalition, he commanded an advance guard brigade under Archduke Charles, storming Ettinghosen village at Ostrach in March 1799. After a successful raid on the Breisach bridgehead on 22 April, he organized the Breisgau *Landsturm* (militia). In the following year he led a corps forming Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova's right wing, falling back on Donaueschingen to protect the main army's retreat after Kray was defeated. Victorious at Günzburg and Krumbach, he fought several rearguard actions against General Jean Moreau in June 1800, which won him promotion to *Feldmarschalleutnant*, before he fought at Hohenlinden in December. Appointed *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of IR 60 in 1801, he assisted Fürst Johannes Liechtenstein in the negotiations after Austerlitz and was appointed ban of Croatia, where he played a key role in reforming the Military Frontier.

In 1809 he commanded IX Korps in Italy, directing the crossing of the Tagliamento. On the retreat he defended Croatia and defeated General (soon to be Marshal) Auguste de Marmont's attempt to take Graz on 26 June. Promoted to *Feldzeugmeister* in 1813, he commanded the left wing at Dresden and formed the connection between *Feldmarschall*

Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and Blücher at Leipzig. At Brienne in 1814, he captured the village of Lesmont. Resuming his duties as ban, he was later *General Kommandant* of Bohemia and then Austria before appointment as president of the Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council) in 1830.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brienne, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Dresden, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Holy Roman Empire; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Leipzig, Battle of; Liechtenstein, Johannes Joseph Fürst zu; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Moreau, Jean Victor; Ostrach, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Second Coalition, War of the; Weissenburg, Battle of; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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# H

## Haiti

Haiti, known formally as the *partie française de l'île de Saint-Domingue* (St. Domingue) until 1804, was France's most valuable colony during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras, and the scene of an exceedingly bloody slave revolt.

### Geography, Economy, and Population

In colonial times, Haiti occupied the western third of the island of Hispaniola and corresponded to the borders of the present-day Republic of Haiti minus the central plateau around Hinche. The largest city was Cap Français on the northern coast; it also was commonly called "Le Cap" or "the Paris of the Antilles" and was renamed Cap Haïtien in 1804. The second-largest city was Port-au-Prince (known as Port-Républicain during the French Revolution) in the western province; it was the capital of the colony from 1751 on.

France officially obtained Haiti from Spain at the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), though French hunters, planters, and pirates had been occupying the territory *de facto* for half a century before that date. Haiti's sugar and coffee plantations grew in the eighteenth century because of a steady influx of African slave labor, particularly after the Treaty of Paris (1763) forced France to surrender most of its other colonies in the Americas. By the late 1780s, at the height of Haiti's prosperity, the island provided half of the tropical products consumed in Europe, and "rich as a Creole" had become a term for the suddenly wealthy. Le Cap was one of the busiest ports of all the French colonial possessions, and the Haitian trade alone employed 15,000 sailors and more than 1,000 ships. Trade diminished and became dominated by British and American merchants in the 1790s.

The population was composed of three major groups at the outset of the French Revolution. The 30,000 white Frenchmen were divided between rich planters (or *grands blancs*) and soldiers, vagrants, and small professionals (or

*petits blancs*). Locals also differentiated between Creoles born in Haiti and Frenchmen. As in France, being a member of a specific estate also had an impact on one's social status.

The 30,000 free-colored (Haitians of full or partial African ancestry who had been manumitted) formed a second group. Many were descendents of illegitimate unions between a French planter and a female black slave. Many owned slaves and coffee plantations and some were very rich. The Code Noir of 1685 specified that freed slaves were full-fledged citizens, but in the 1780s a series of local regulations discriminated against free-colored.

Haiti's 500,000 slaves formed the third and numerically largest group. They suffered from a low birthrate and an annual attrition rate of about 5 percent, but their numbers grew through continued slave imports. Slaves were divided according to their tasks, with skilled slaves, foremen, and servants ranked higher than field slaves. The former were often second-generation (or Creole) slaves, while the latter were frequently African-born slaves, called *Congos* (regardless of their country of origin) or *bossales*. Slavery was regulated by the 1685 Code Noir, though implementation of its more merciful clauses often fell victim to the arbitrariness of individual slave owners and judicial racism.

### History (1789–1804)

The white and free-colored minorities were the first to be affected by the French Revolution. The *petits blancs* and French-born whites were inspired by news of radical change in France. The rich planters generally favored the monarchist camp. Among the planters' demands were the abandonment of the mercantilist trade system (or *exclusif*), the preservation of slavery and racial inequality, an end to ministerial dictatorship, and self-government. Parisian Revolutionaries were divided on the colonial question. In Paris the Société des Amis des Noirs demanded an end to the slave trade and eventually to slavery itself, while the Club Massiac acted as a lobby for Creole planters. The Barnave Decree (March 1790) authorized the planter-dominated colonial assemblies to administer local affairs

and thus preserve slavery and racial discrimination. Vincent Ogé and Julien Raimond, both of them free mulattoes, demanded full citizenship rights, first from colonial assemblies in Haiti, then from the National Assembly in Paris, but failed in both cases. A subsequent revolt in Haiti led by Ogé resulted in a free-colored defeat and Ogé's execution (1791).

In August 1791 rebellious slaves led by Dutty Boukman, Jeannot, Georges Biassou, Cécile Fatiman, and Jean-François Papillon met in Bois Caïman in Haiti's north and, according to the oral tradition, in a nighttime voodoo ceremony sealed a pact to destroy slavery. Within a month, the slave revolt had enlisted 100,000 slaves and destroyed Haiti's rich northern plantations. The French National Assembly convinced the free-colored to join counterinsurgency efforts by granting them legal equality (4 April 1792), but the revolt was not yet fully subdued when a general European war resulted in a Spanish and British attack on Haiti (1793).

Faced with white monarchist opposition, internal slave revolt, and foreign invasion, French civil commissioner Félicité-Léger Sonthonax abolished slavery in Haiti on 27 August 1793 (the Convention ratified his decision and extended it to other French colonies on 4 February 1794). The abolition of slavery convinced several black generals, including Toussaint Louverture, to support the French and contributed to the ultimate withdrawal of Spanish (1795) and British (1798) troops.

A period of relative peace followed in 1798–1802 as Toussaint Louverture emerged as virtual dictator of Haiti. Most black slaves were forced to resume plantation labor as semifree serfs (called *cultivateurs*). Toussaint Louverture forced French agents Philippe Roume de Saint-Laurent, Sonthonax, and Gabriel Hédouville into exile and defeated rival mulatto general André Rigaud in the War of the South (1799). Toussaint Louverture also took over (Spanish) Santo Domingo (1800), the eastern side of the island, and implemented a new constitution (1801) that made him governor-general for life with the right to choose his successor.

Toussaint Louverture's unilateral moves convinced First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte that he might be readying Haiti for independence. Bonaparte, who might also have been motivated by racism and the influence of the planter lobby, ordered his brother-in-law General Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc to head an expedition to Haiti that would disarm black troops, jail or exile black officers, and prepare the ground for the restoration of slavery. French troops landed in February 1802, then defeated Toussaint Louverture's men at the battles of Fort Dauphin, Ravine à Coulevres, and Crête à Pierrot. Toussaint Louverture was captured and sent to France in May 1802 (he died in the Fort de Joux in April 1803). A series of setbacks

followed for the French troops. A yellow fever epidemic broke out that eventually accounted for 90 percent of the 50,000 Frenchmen who died during the expedition. A general uprising started in the summer of 1802 when a rumor spread that slavery would soon be restored. Most black and mulatto troops still loyal to France defected in November 1802, the same month Leclerc died of yellow fever. Britain blockaded French troops from July 1803 on and supplied black rebels. Finally, the French defeat at the Battle of Vertières near Le Cap forced the remnants of the French expeditionary force under General Donatien Rochambeau to leave Haiti (November 1803).

General Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared Haiti's independence on 1 January 1804 and ordered the remaining French civilians and soldiers to be exterminated (January–April 1804). France retained control of (Spanish) Santo Domingo until 1809 and continued to claim sovereignty over Haiti until 1825.

*Philippe R. Girard*

*See also* Convention, The; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Santo Domingo; Sickness and Disease; Slave Trade; Slavery; Toussaint Louverture, West Indies, Operations in the

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### Halle, Battle of (17 October 1806)

This engagement was fought during the War of the Fourth Coalition between French forces under Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte and Prussians under Prince Eugen of Württemberg, three days after the battles of Jena and Auerstädt. Bernadotte attacked across the bridges at Halle and inflicted a significant defeat on the Prussian forces.

Bernadotte's pride had been wounded by Napoleon's criticism of his absence from both Jena and Auerstädt, and he was determined to attack the Prussians at the first opportunity. Württemberg was in command of the Reserve Corps of the Prussian army, and after the defeats at Jena and Auerstädt he was prepared to hold Halle in order to allow the Prussian army to continue its retreat to the north. Each commander had approximately 13,000 men.

The town of Halle stood on the eastern bank of the river Saale and could only be reached by a causeway that crossed two bridges, across a braided section of the river. Although the town was surrounded by a wall, this offered little protection. In order to defend this position Württemberg placed a dragoon regiment to the west of the river near the village of Passendorf. The bridges were defended by infantry with their own battalion guns under the command of General Johann Freiherr von Hinrichs. Württemberg then deployed his main force outside of the town on the eastern bank. Bernadotte advanced to the attack at around 8:00 A.M., and his cavalry pushed the enemy dragoons out of Passendorf. Two hours later he ordered forward the 32nd Line to take the bridges across the Saale, led by General Pierre Dupont. These troops were supported by skirmishers from the 9e Légère (9th Light Infantry). The attack quickly pierced the Prussian center and Dupont took control of the bridges. Hinrichs's remaining force was now unable to retreat, being on the wrong side of the river, and surrendered.

Dupont now occupied Halle and attacked a battalion that Württemberg had sent forward at the Galgenthor gate. The French quickly deployed strong parties of skirmishers on the city wall and in the gardens near the gate. Dupont now awaited support to reach him before attacking the main Prussian force. The French skirmishers inflicted heavy casualties, and Württemberg decided to withdraw northward toward Dessau. However, this action exposed his flank to the French in Halle. Bernadotte had managed to get the whole of Dupont's division into Halle, and these troops now attacked through the two gates facing the Prussians. The French attack split the Prussian force, obliging some to retreat to the north toward Dessau, and the remainder to retreat toward Bitterfelde. These troops were not able to reunite for a full day, but they then retreated toward Magdeburg. Württemberg's corps had been effectively destroyed with the loss of over 5,000 killed, wounded, and captured. After resting for a day, Bernadotte continued his pursuit of the Prussian army, having lost around 700 men.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Jena, Battle of

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### **Hamburg, Defense of (1813–1814)**

This city on the river Elbe was defended by Marshal Louis Davout for almost a year against Allied troops following Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign. Davout conducted an aggressive defense, despite the fact that he was completely surrounded. After Napoleon abdicated, Davout continued to hold the city until he received a personal message from King Louis XVIII to surrender to the Allies.

At the start of the 1813 campaign Davout was given orders to capture Hamburg in late spring. He achieved this on 30 May. Until the armistice in June Davout spent his time reorganizing his command. Many of the troops of his XIII Corps were inexperienced or composed of foreign troops of dubious loyalty. When the campaign was renewed in August, Davout was ordered to support Marshal Nicolas Oudinot in his attempt to take Berlin. Davout was successful at an engagement at Lauenbourg, but after the French defeats at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, Davout withdrew back to Hamburg. There he worked tirelessly to improve the defenses of the city, and to ensure that as many supplies as possible were collected; he also occupied the bank in Hamburg. He conducted an active defense against the surrounding Allies, and it was not until 3 December that the city was completely invested. His garrison numbered around 34,000 troops. The blockading forces were commanded initially by the Russian general Levin Bennigsen and by the crown prince of Sweden, and former French marshal, Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte.

The harsh winter weather made conditions within the city very difficult. Davout sent 25,000 civilians out of the city to extend his supplies and was forced to melt ice in order to find enough water. The Allies wanted to take the city quickly, and there were a series of assaults made in February 1814. These attacks failed, primarily owing to Davout's skill in observing the movements of the enemy prior to their launch and the personal inspiration he showed in being present where crises arose. However, the strength of his garrison was being constantly drained by action and disease. Davout was nevertheless able to launch a well-planned sortie on 23 March in order to gain supplies from the Allied lines. This attack was launched from the fort of Haarburg and took the enemy by surprise. However, the campaign of 1814 was now reaching its end far to the west in France.

After Napoleon's abdication the Allies expected the immediate surrender of Hamburg. Davout, however, rejected

two demands by Bennigsen to surrender, arguing that he would only take instructions from Napoleon. Davout continued to conduct the defense of the city until 11 May, when General Maurice Etienne Gérard arrived as Louis's representative. He carried with him a personal note from the king ordering Davout's surrender. Even then Davout sought to delay capitulation, and it was not until 27 May that the remaining 26,000 troops of the garrison began to leave the fortifications. Davout was not ordered to return to Paris but was sent to Savigny-sur-Orge to await further instructions.

Ralph Baker

*See also* Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dennewitz, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Gérard, Maurice Etienne; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Russian Campaign

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### Hamilton, Emma, Lady (c. 1765–1815)

Emma Hamilton was the disgraced mistress of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, Britain's great naval hero. Her adulterous relationship with Nelson was condemned by British society and has overshadowed her contributions to the struggle against Napoleon.

She was born as Emily Lyon in Great Neston, in Cheshire. She was the daughter of a blacksmith, Henry Lyon, who died shortly after her birth; her mother was a maid. Emily was not educated and worked from the age of twelve in London as a maid and as a painter's model. Possessing great beauty and a sparkling personality, she was also mistress to a succession of men. In 1782 she had an illegitimate child, who was raised in Wales. She then changed her name to Emma Hart.

Emma was introduced to Sir William Hamilton, a noted archaeologist and the British ambassador to the Court of Naples, by his nephew, who had been her lover. The latter, unbeknownst to Emma, had asked Hamilton to pay his debts in exchange for her. To be received at the various courts, Hamilton and Emma married on 6 September 1791. Her pleasant personality made her popular in court circles. She learned Italian and became an intimate friend of Queen Maria Carolina of Naples, who was the sister of Marie Antoinette. On her travels through France, she couriered messages from the former to the latter.

In her capacity as British ambassadress, Emma met Nelson during his brief official visit to Naples in 1793 but did not see him again until 1798, when the Mediterranean Fleet arrived in port in the wake of its victory at the Battle of the Nile. A romantic relationship developed between

Emma and Nelson during the admiral's extended stay at the Hamiltons' house, where Emma nursed him back to health from exhaustion brought on by his six-month tour at sea and a head injury he had sustained at the Nile. Emma treated him as a hero, which appealed to his vain-glorious personality. He was soon besotted with her; they became lovers despite both being married. Nelson repudiated his wife in 1801 and deemed himself above the societal customs of his day. The couple flaunted their affair, which infuriated British high society.

Emma played an important role in the Napoleonic era because her court connections bound Naples and Britain, already allies, closer together and facilitated the supply of victuals and other provisions to Nelson's fleet, particularly prior to the Battle of the Nile. By effectively saving Naples from invasion, Nelson was decorated by King Ferdinand IV as Baron of the Nile, named Duke of Brönte on 13 August 1799, and given a huge payment for his service. Emma's behind-the-scenes contributions, however, were not acknowledged.

In 1800 Emma, Hamilton, and Nelson moved to England where they lived at Merton, in Surrey, as a threesome. Emma had two children with Nelson; only Horatia, who was born in January 1801, survived. Hamilton died on 6 April 1803. On 21 October 1805 Nelson was shot by a marksman during the Battle of Trafalgar, where he decisively defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet and broke Napoleon's maritime power, thus securing British naval supremacy. Nelson's dying request was that the nation look after Emma. However, she was reviled for her strong hold over Nelson and received no financial support from Parliament.

Although Emma was left with adequate financial resources by her late husband and by Nelson, she squandered her fortune. Horatia proudly acknowledged that Nelson was her father but never recognized Emma as her mother. Emma became indigent and was imprisoned for her debts. To escape creditors she moved to Calais, where she died on 15 January 1815. Her secret services to the British cause in the French Revolutionary Wars have scarcely been acknowledged.

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*See also* Ferdinand IV, King; Naples; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Sicily; Trafalgar, Battle of

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### Hanau, Battle of (30–31 October 1813)

The Battle of Hanau took place near the town of that name, situated on the river Main in Hesse, between an Austro-Bavarian army of 30,000 men under the Bavarian general Karl Freiherr von Wrede and Napoleon's Grande Armée, about 60,000 men strong, which was withdrawing after its defeat at Leipzig toward the Rhine. Wrede thought he was facing only part of Napoleon's forces and attempted to hinder their withdrawal to allow their pursuers to gain ground. Napoleon, however, brushed this force aside and continued his movement without significant delay.

Napoleon's army consisted of the Imperial Guard, II Corps (under Marshal Claude Victor), III and VI Corps (Marshal Auguste de Marmont), IV Corps (General Henri-Gatien Bertrand), V and XI Corps (Marshal Jacques Mac-

donald), VIII Corps (General Sierakowski), I Cavalry Corps (General Edouard Milhaud), II Cavalry Corps (General Horace François Sébastiani), and III Cavalry Corps (General Jean Arrighi de Casanova). The Allied army consisted of the Austrian divisions of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Graf Fresnel, *Generalmajor* Freiherr von Bach, and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Freiherr von Trautenberg and the cavalry division of Splény, a total of 13,000 men, plus the Bavarian divisions of Beckers and Lamotte and three cavalry brigades, a total of 17,000 men.

On 29 October, Sébastiani took control of the defile at Gelnhausen, securing Napoleon's line of retreat. Wrede believed that Napoleon was moving further to the north and that he was facing only an isolated corps. The forces at his disposal initially included the troops under Beckers, Lamotte, and Bach, as well as some cavalry and other formations. He drew them up to the northeast of Hanau and waited for the French. Macdonald led their column. The fighting began around daybreak on 30 October and continued into the afternoon, with the French making little headway. Wrede continued to believe he was facing a small French force until cries of "Vive l'empereur" indicated Napoleon's presence.



The Battle of Hanau. Grenadiers à Cheval of Napoleon's Imperial Guard, distinguished by their bearskin bonnets, cross swords with Bavarian cavalry. (Painting by Richard Knötel from *Die deutschen Befreiungskriege* by Hermann Müller-Bohn, 1913)

Once reinforcements arrived, about 4 P.M., Napoleon went over to the offensive. The French artillery gained the upper hand, and the Bavarians withdrew their guns when they ran out of ammunition. Wrede then committed part of his cavalry in an attempt to stabilize the situation. These troops penetrated the French artillery line, but French cavalry to the rear repelled them. The cavalry battle continued, with the Bavarians suffering heavy losses.

Part of the Old Guard was then committed to the battle, and Lamotte fell back. The French cavalry turned a retreat into a rout, with the broken Bavarians rushing for the safety of the walls of Hanau. More of the Old Guard was then committed, forcing Beckers to withdraw as well. The French advance stalled in the swampy terrain south of Hanau. The Bavarians counterattacked, securing the area between Hanau and the Lamboi Wood to the east.

That night, much of Napoleon's army continued its march toward Frankfurt, leaving Marmont behind with III, IV, and VI Corps to ensure that Wrede did not interfere with this movement.

Clashes continued throughout the night and into the next morning, with Cossacks and partisans harassing the French. Bertrand attacked Wrede on the morning of 31 October, but the fighting was inconclusive. That afternoon, Bertrand disengaged and withdrew. The French lost around 6,000 killed and wounded, and 4,000 captured. The Austrians lost 1,400 killed and 2,000 wounded. The Bavarians lost 300 killed, 1,200 wounded, and 1,400 missing. Napoleon continued his march to Frankfurt.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Bertrand, Henri-Gatien; Cossacks; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Leipzig, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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## Hanover

Hanover was formerly a German electorate and kingdom. It contributed the Royal House of Hanover to the British monarchy in 1714. Hanover had been governed by the dukes of Brunswick from 1137 to 1692, when it became an electorate. The Hanoverian rulers were descended from Henry the Lion (1129–1195), and they thus belonged to the Welf dynasty that competed for power with the Hohenstaufen dynasty. In geographical terms, Hanover had expanded considerably, in stages, since the Welf lands were partitioned in 1569. By 1602 it consisted of the principalities of Göttingen,

Calenberg, Lüneburg (Celle), and Grubenhagen. In 1636 Hanover replaced Calenberg as the capital city. The title Elector of Hanover was granted to the Duke of Hanover in 1692. Hanover expanded again, gaining the additional territories of Brunswick-Lüneberg, Celle, and Bremen in 1705 and Verden (from Sweden) in 1719. Protestantism had been practiced since the mid-sixteenth century.

The British Protestant queen Anne left no children, despite seventeen pregnancies, and thus the immediate Protestant line of the House of Stuart expired. Parliament applied the Act of Settlement of 1701. This barred Catholics from the throne and thus excluded claimants such as James Edward Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart. Since no Catholic could ascend the throne, the remedy was to find a suitable Protestant Stuart family member. One of the daughters of James I was Elizabeth Stuart. She had married King Frederick of Bohemia on 14 February 1613. Their daughter Sophia married the Protestant elector of Hanover Ernest Augustus. Sophia had one surviving son, George Louis, the second Elector of Hanover. He accepted the throne and created the personal and political union between Hanover and Britain and reigned as George I. He was unpopular, never learned to speak English, and brought all of his Hanoverian entourage with him. His son reigned as George II.

It was only during the reign of George III, who was born in England and who spoke English, that the House of Hanover enjoyed some popularity. The personal connection allowed Hanoverian troops to fight in the First Coalition against Revolutionary France. The Hanoverians were renowned for their superior military training, but for a variety of reasons in 1803 Napoleon succeeded in conquering Hanover, which he occupied until 1813.

In order to put George III on an equal basis with the king of Württemberg, Hanover was made into a kingdom in 1814 by the Congress of Vienna, thus enabling him to govern as king of two countries. George IV and William IV also served in this capacity. A new constitution was promulgated in 1819, although it was amended several times, in 1833, 1840, and 1848.

Under the succession legislation known as the Salic law, females are not allowed to govern. Until Victoria, granddaughter of George III, succeeded to the throne in 1837, this had not posed a problem, since all the previous successors had been male, but the restriction now became problematic. The thrones of Hanover and Britain were therefore separated. The Kingdom of Hanover was granted to a son of George III, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Hanover remained a kingdom until it was annexed as a province of Prussia in 1866. Hanover retained provincial status until 1946.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; George III, King; Hanoverian Army; Vienna, Congress of

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## Hanoverian Army

The Hanoverian Army fought from 1793 alongside the British Army until Hanover was occupied in 1803. Many of the soldiers in the army escaped to Britain, and the King's German Legion was formed. This formation established a fine reputation in the Peninsular War. In 1814 Hanover regained its sovereignty and provided a considerable part of the Duke of Wellington's forces in the Waterloo campaign.

As King George III was also the Elector of Hanover, the Hanoverian Army was closely modeled on the British Army, with its light infantry enjoying a high reputation. The Anglo-Hanoverian army was defeated at the Battle of Hondschoote. After this defeat, General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, who began his military career in the Hanoverian Army but who would later distinguish himself in Prussian service, suggested a number of reforms, the main one being an insistence on higher educational standards for the officer corps. However, his suggestions were rejected. In 1803 the Hanoverian forces were obliged to surrender to the French at Artlenberg. The Hanoverian Army was disbanded, and the French formed a Hanoverian Legion that was to fight in Spain. Nevertheless, a large number of Hanoverian troops were evacuated by the Royal Navy and made their way to England.

An infantry regiment was formed and given the title of the King's German Regiment, but the number of recruits were sufficient to enable British military authorities to form cavalry and artillery formations as well. Thus, on 19 December 1803, the King's German Legion was formed. From its inception 15,000 men were enrolled in the Legion, 75 percent of them from Hanover. The Legion first saw action in the British expedition to Hanover in November 1805. In June 1807 some units took part in the expedition to Swedish Pomerania, and in November of the same year the Legion distinguished itself in the attack on Copenhagen. In 1808 the unit began what would become an extended period of service in Spain. The Legion fought its

first major battle at Talavera, where its conduct ensured that it was accepted as an integral part of the British Army. For the next five years units of the Legion took part in all the major battles of the Peninsular War.

By early 1813 Hanover itself had been liberated from the French yoke, and a new army was formed. The recruits to these regiments were generally young and inexperienced. Until February 1814 these units were considered to be part of the British Army. The King's German Legion remained in existence throughout this period. During the Waterloo campaign, both Hanoverian units and the Legion formed part of the Anglo-Allied army under Wellington. These forces were engaged at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. The troops of the Legion fought with their customary bravery in both actions and were instrumental in holding the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte. However, the Hanoverian troops' performance was variable. The majority of units fought well, though the Duke of Cumberland's Hussars fled from the field without really having been engaged. In December 1815 the legion started to be disbanded.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* British Army; Copenhagen, Attack on; George III, King; Hanover; Hondschoote, Battle of; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Talavera, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von (1750–1822)

A statesman and leading German reformer from 1790, Prince Karl August von Hardenberg did much to modernize Prussia's administration. Following a successful career in the service of Hanover and Brunswick, Hardenberg joined the Prussian service to reorganize the administration of the Franconian principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth. During the French Revolutionary Wars, in which Prussia participated from 1792 to 1795, he negotiated the supply of Prussian troops from the imperial districts. His activities in foreign affairs continued when he unwillingly signed the Treaty of Basle with France in 1795, ending Prussia's participation in the War of the First Coalition. With Frederick William III's ascension to the throne in 1797, Hardenberg, now based in Berlin, started to play a

more active role in reforming Prussia. He became acting foreign minister in 1803 and was confirmed in this post a year later. He resigned from this position in 1806, after Prussia failed to join the Third Coalition.

In 1807 he became Prussia's leading minister for a short time, but Napoleon insisted on his dismissal with the signing of the Treaty of Tilsit. Nevertheless, Hardenberg continued to play an active role in the reforms of the now-truncated Prussian state, particularly with Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein. This program concerned itself with both economic and political affairs, including the constitution, the ending of the last vestiges of feudalism, free trade, and a modernization of taxation.

After the collapse of the administrations of Stein (1808) and Alexander von Dohna-Altenstein (1808–1810), Hardenberg became the state chancellor of Prussia in 1810. Continuing the reform process, he modernized both the educational system and economic policy, introducing legislation on taxation, agriculture, and the emancipation of the Jews. He faced considerable opposition from more conservative elements.

Forced into an alliance with France, Hardenberg also assisted with the secret preparations for war against Napoleon. The destruction of the Grande Armée in Russia in 1812 significantly changed the political landscape, and Prussia finally declared war against France in March 1813. After the first Peace of Paris in May 1814, Hardenberg represented Prussia at the Congress of Vienna along with Wilhelm von Humboldt, the great educational reformer. In addition to securing territorial gains for Prussia in Saxony, Poland, Westphalia, and the Rhineland, Hardenberg and Humboldt endeavored to introduce to the new German Confederation a constitution that favored Prussia's interests. They faced opposition from Austria and the smaller German states, which sought a looser union.

Hardenberg made another unsuccessful attempt to introduce constitutional monarchy to Prussia during the Hundred Days in 1815. He devoted much of his time after 1815 to the administrative and economic integration of the newly acquired provinces into Prussia. However, a number of his reforms were rolled back, and his influence was restricted. In 1821 he lost his office as chairman of the Constitutional Commission.

Once Prussia joined the Holy Alliance after the second Peace of Paris in November 1815, Hardenberg continued as a representative on the international stage. He participated in the congresses of Aachen (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822). He died in 1822 in Genoa, shortly after the congress there. With his death, the office of state chancellor was abolished.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Emancipation Edict; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Haugwitz, Christian August Heinrich Kurt Graf von; Holy Alliance; Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand Freiherr von; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Prussia; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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### **Harrowby, Dudley Ryder, First Earl of (1762–1847)**

Lord Harrowby (Dudley Ryder until 1803) was almost a permanent member of British governments from 1789 to 1827. All his offices save one were insignificant, but he was a good orator, his views were moderate, and he was widely respected by his colleagues. The diarist Charles Greville praised him as “the top of the second-rate men” (*Journal*, 1 January 1848), and there were important events in his career both in and after the wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

From 1789 he held minor posts in the government of his friend William Pitt and in 1801 was one of those persuaded by Pitt to remain in the government of Henry Addington. When Pitt returned as prime minister in May 1804, a year after the resumption of war with France, Harrowby was appointed foreign secretary. The most urgent issue was to find allies to attack France and protect Britain from invasion by Napoleon's army assembling at Boulogne. Before any significant progress had been made, Harrowby (who may have been epileptic) resigned in December after falling down a flight of stairs. He rejoined the cabinet six months later in the nominal office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Russia had by now joined the Third Coalition, and Austria and Sweden did so a month later. In November 1805 Harrowby was sent to try to persuade Prussia to enlist, but this overture, and indeed the coalition, was destroyed on 2 December by Napoleon's great victory over the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz.

In April 1815, by then Lord President of the council, Harrowby was sent on another delicate mission on behalf of Lord Liverpool's cabinet. He, William Wellesley-Pole (Master of the Mint and the Duke of Wellington's brother), and the commander in chief of the Army's secretary met the distrustful Wellington, who had just arrived in Brussels

from the Congress of Vienna to take command of the Anglo-Allied army, and assured him that the British government would do everything in its power to supply what became the Waterloo campaign. Six years later, in February 1821, Wellington was one of the cabinet ministers whom the Cato Street conspirators plotted to murder (but were betrayed) at dinner in Harrowby's house.

When Liverpool resigned following a stroke in 1827, Harrowby continued as lord president under George Canning, but he retired when Canning died in August. In 1831–1832 he made his last but major political contribution, working with Lord Wharncliffe, whose son was married to Harrowby's daughter, to persuade wavering opponents in the House of Lords to accept parliamentary reform in return for concessions from Lord Grey's government and to avoid diluting the peerage by creating new peers in order to pass the bill. One of the last survivors of his political generation, frail to the end, he outlived most of his more robust contemporaries.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Austerlitz, Battle of; Canning, George; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Pitt, William; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Haslach, Action at

*See* Third Coalition, War of the

## Haugwitz, Christian August Heinrich Kurt Graf von (1752–1832)

A key figure in the formulation and implementation of Prussian foreign policy, Christian Graf von Haugwitz played a significant role in international affairs from the early 1790s to the collapse of Prussian power after the Battle of Jena in October 1806. His policies included a range of approaches to the French threat against Prussia, from a diplomatic alliance with France to armed resistance. But French diplomacy and military power prevailed. Before the French assault on Prussia in the fall of 1806, Haugwitz saw his country isolated, repeatedly humiliated by Napoleon, and reduced to little more than a French satellite.

Haugwitz was born at Peuke bei Oels in the Prussian province of Silesia on 11 June 1752. He attended the universities of Halle and Göttingen, traveled widely, and then settled down to live on his country estates. At the start of the 1790s he was called to serve the Prussian court, first as envoy to Austria in 1791, then, starting in September 1792, as a member of the royal cabinet. He played a dominant role in directing Prussian foreign policy under King Frederick William II and after 1797 under Frederick William III.

The crucial problem for Haugwitz at the start of the nineteenth century was the overwhelming power of France under Napoleon. French inroads into German territory had begun during the previous decade, but Napoleon's occupation of Hanover in May 1803 put France on a collision course with Prussia. Nonetheless, the Prussian monarch opposed a course of action that might lead to war. Disagreeing with this policy, Haugwitz resigned from government service in August 1804.

Haugwitz remained a key unofficial adviser to Frederick William, and in October 1805 he returned to government, sharing the responsibilities of foreign minister with Karl August von Hardenberg. After Napoleon's triumph in capturing an Austrian army at Ulm, the French advance to Vienna and beyond seemingly put Napoleon in military difficulties. The situation, as Haugwitz saw it, gave Prussia a chance to pressure the French and secure northern Germany from French control. While trying to negotiate with Napoleon, Haugwitz found Prussia's hopes demolished by the French victory at Austerlitz in early December 1805. Later that month, the Prussian diplomat felt compelled to sign a humiliating alliance with France (the Treaty of Schönbrunn), and when he tried to get revisions the following February, Haugwitz had to accept an even more demeaning agreement with Napoleon (the Treaty of Paris).

As war with France approached in the fall of 1806, Haugwitz shifted his position to one of armed resistance. After Prussia's disastrous defeat at the Battle of Jena in October, he accompanied the royal family to East Prussia, then retired to private life. His deteriorating health forced him to move to Italy in 1820, and he died in Venice on 9 February 1832.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Frederick William II, King; Frederick William III, King; Hanover; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Jena, Battle of; Prussia; Ulm, Surrender at

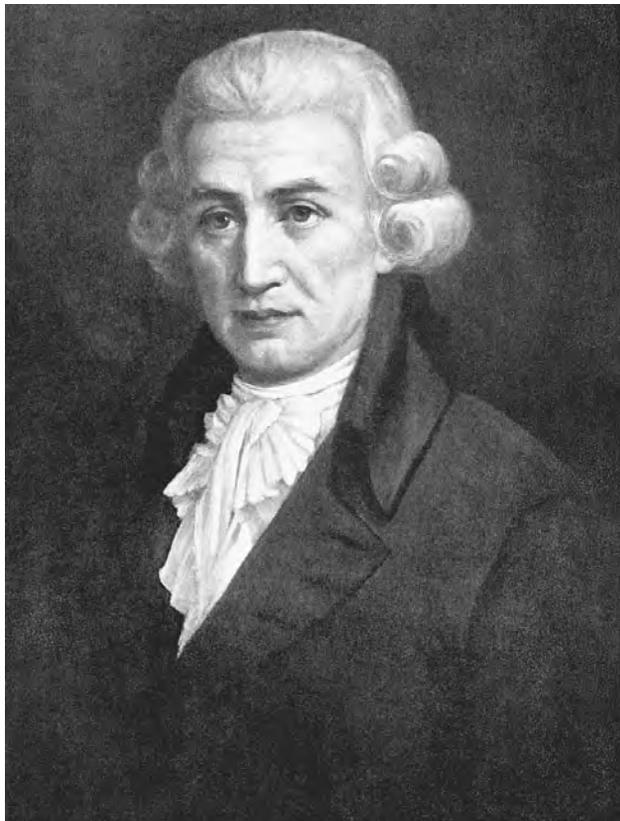
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**Haydn, Joseph (1732–1809)**

The old-fashioned, cozy, and conservative connotations of his nickname “Papa Haydn” notwithstanding, the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn was a cultural (albeit not political) revolutionary who shaped not just the musical genres—symphony, string quartet, sonata—but also the musical language that would predominate in the new century. He was moreover the first composer to attain true international celebrity in his lifetime, able to please both the connoisseurs and the new commercial audience. His fame led to two extended visits to England (January 1791–June 1792, and February 1794–August 1795), where he was feted as a hero and in turn acquired an appreciation for massed performance forces, the oratorio, and the “national” element in music. It would stand him in good stead during the final, Viennese phase of his long career, devoted in particular to vocal compositions. Henceforth the Revolution and war increasingly impinged on his music as well as on his life.

Echoes of the conflict already appear in the London Symphony 100 (*Military*) and Symphony 103 (*With the Drum Roll*). The strife figures explicitly in the *Mass in Time*



Joseph Haydn, a noted Austrian composer who influenced the conventional approach to classical symphonies and string quartets. (Library of Congress)

*of War* (1796), and perhaps implicitly in the even more innovative and ominous *Mass in Straitened Times* (1798), although the appellation *Nelson Mass* refers to the presence of the admiral at a later performance rather than to the date of composition. The political situation prevented Haydn from traveling to Paris to conduct his works in person, but they found enthusiastic local performers and audiences. French musicians and their organizations honored Haydn with medals and memberships. Indeed, it was on the way to the Paris premiere of *The Creation* on Christmas Eve 1800 that Bonaparte narrowly escaped assassination by a bomb. Although devoid of all chauvinistic sentiment, Haydn was a loyal Austrian subject. He allowed his works to be performed in concerts to benefit the war effort, and he composed a number of patriotic pieces: most notably, the popular song (*Volkslied*) “God Preserve Francis the Emperor” (1797)—better known in its later incarnation as the German national anthem—which served as an echo of the British and a reply to the French.

The shock occasioned by the French bombardment of Vienna (12–13 May 1809) is said to have hastened Haydn’s demise. The elderly composer, whose house was furnished with an honor guard at the orders of Napoleon, died on 31 May. Haydn is usually credited with a conventional piety, but his was a tolerant and reasonable faith, free of credulity or obscurantism. His oratorios (*The Seasons* and *The Creation*), in particular, emphasized his optimistic view of the human species, a rational universe, and the beauties of nature. Although banned from performance in churches, they therefore could appeal equally to Revolutionaries and enlightened believers in a more conservative order, and they thus entered the patrimony of the cultured European—regardless of social or national origin—in the nineteenth century.

*James Wald*

*See also* Beethoven, Ludwig van  
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**Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831)**

Idealist philosopher. Born in Stuttgart, Württemberg, Hegel was a student of Baruch Spinoza, Immanuel Kant, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. His theories are held by many to represent the summit of Germany’s nineteenth-century philosophical Idealism movement.

Born on 27 August 1770, Hegel was educated in theology at Tübingen. He was a private tutor at Berne and

Frankfurt and in 1805 became a professor at the University of Jena, where he observed Napoleon's October 1806 defeat of the Prussians at the battle fought there. "I saw the Emperor, that worldsoul" Hegel later wrote, "riding through the city to reconnoitre. It is in truth a strange feeling to see such an individual before one, who here, from one point, as he rides on his horse, is reaching over the world, and remoulding it" (Caird 1883, 66). Hegel considered the French Revolution an organic connection with the history of the world, noting that through its outward diffusion its principle gained access to almost all modern states, either through conquest or by express introduction into their political life.

During the Napoleonic occupation Hegel edited a newspaper, which he left to become rector (1808–1816) of a Nuremberg secondary school that prepared pupils for the university. He then returned to professorships at Heidelberg (1816–1818) and Berlin (1818–1831). A prolific writer, among his major works were *Science of Logic* (1812–1816); *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (1817), an outline of his whole philosophy; and *Philosophy of Right* (1821). He also wrote books on ethics, aesthetics, history, and religion. His interests were wide and were incorporated into his unified philosophy.

Hegel attempted, throughout his published writings as well as in his lectures, to elaborate a comprehensive and systematic ontology from a logical starting point. His approach, influenced by Kant, rejects the reality of finite and separate objects and minds in space and time and establishes an underlying, all-embracing unity that Hegel defines as an absolute. The quest for greater unity and truth is achieved by the famous dialectic, positing something (a thesis), denying it (an antithesis), and combining the two half-truths in a synthesis that contains a greater portion of truth in its complexity. His works exerted considerable influence on subsequent European and American philosophy. He died on 14 November 1831.

After Hegel's death, his followers divided into two major and opposing camps. The Right Hegelians were the direct disciples of Hegel at the University of Berlin and advocated evangelical orthodoxy and the political conservatism of the post-Napoleonic Restoration period. The Left became known as the Young Hegelians, and they interpreted Hegel in a revolutionary sense, leading to the advocacy of atheism in religion and liberal democracy in politics. Left Hegelians included Bruno Bauer, Ludwig Feuerbach, David Friedrich Strauss, Max Stirner, and Karl Marx. The multiple schisms in this faction eventually led to Stirner's anarchistic variety of egoism and Marx's version of communism. For most of the twentieth century, the logical side of Hegel's thought was largely forgotten, but his political and social philosophy continued to find

interest and support. However, since the 1970s a degree of more general philosophical interest in Hegel's systematic thought has also been revived.

Brett F. Woods

See also Fichte, Johann Gottlieb; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Jena, Battle of; Kant, Immanuel

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## Heilsberg, Battle of (10 June 1807)

Major battle between French and Prusso-Russian armies in the closing days of the War of the Fourth Coalition. After the bloodbath at Eylau on 7–8 February 1807, both the French and Russian armies spent several weeks regrouping and preparing for a new campaign. On 5 June, the Russian army under General Levin Bennigsen resumed its campaign by launching an offensive around Guttstädt. After a series of rearguard actions, Marshal Michel Ney's corps successfully withdrew across the Passarge River near Deppen, where Napoleon quickly concentrated the rest of his army. On 9 June, as Bennigsen ordered his army to retreat, Napoleon moved his forces across the river and pursued the retreating Russians. General Peter Bagration's skillful command of the Russian rear guard delayed the French advance and allowed the Russian army to retreat toward Heilsberg, where Bennigsen took up positions along both banks of the river Alle in front of the town. During the previous weeks, various fortifications had been constructed there, turning the surrounding area into a fortified camp. Bennigsen deployed his troops with the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, and 14th Divisions on the right flank and the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 8th Divisions, supported by some twenty-seven squadrons of Prussian cavalry, on the left flank between Heilsberg and Grossendorff. The Russian Imperial Guard was kept in reserve while Ataman Matvei Platov's Cossacks covered the extreme right flank. The rest of the cavalry was divided into two parts under General Fedor Uvarov on the right flank and General Dmitry Golitsyn in the center.

Bennigsen was unaware of the direction of the French offensive and had deployed two advance guards, General Mikhail Borozdin at Launau, some 6 miles from Heilsberg, and Bagration at Reichenberg.

Napoleon advanced from Guttstädt with Marshal Joachim Murat's reserve cavalry leading the way. Marshal Nicolas Soult's corps marched immediately behind the cavalry, followed by marshals Jean Lannes and Ney and the Imperial Guard. The French soon encountered Borozdin's detachment at Launau, where, early in the morning on 10 June, Murat's cavalry drove the Russians back to Bewernick. Bennigsen immediately reinforced Borozdin and ordered Bagration to proceed by forced marches from Reichenberg to Bewernick. Having crossed the Alle on the pontoon bridges at Amt-Heilsberg, Bagration joined Borozdin around 2:00 P.M. and rallied his forces in the valley between Bewernick and Langwiese, deploying them in a chess formation with the right wing extended to Langwiese and the left covered by the Alle. For the next couple of hours, Bagration's troops repulsed several French charges, forcing Murat to bring up Soult's infantry. Superior French artillery soon silenced the Russian guns and cleared the way for the infantry charge.

The French advanced around 3:00 P.M., with General Claude Legrand's division and General Anne Jean Savary's grenadiers on the left near Bewernick. In the center, General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's division was in the first line followed by General Louis St. Hilaire's division while Soult's cavalry covered the right flank. Bagration's troops initially halted St. Cyr's division, but St. Hilaire reinforced it and fighting continued in the valley. Seeing the French advance, Bennigsen dispatched Uvarov with twenty-five squadrons and three *Jäger* regiments to reinforce Bagration. Although a Russian charge was initially successful in driving the French back to Langwiese, the French soon counterattacked and swept away the exhausted Russian cavalymen.

By late afternoon Bagration was unable to hold his ground and began a gradual withdrawal to Heilsberg, where the Russian batteries protected him. With darkness approaching, Murat and Soult decided to attack the fortified Russian positions. St. Cyr and St. Hilaire marched against Redoubt Number 1, while Legrand's division advanced toward Redoubt Number 2. The French came under canister and musket fire and their casualties rapidly mounted. Nevertheless, the 26th Line carried Redoubt Number 2 and held out there for the next hour until overwhelming numbers of Russian infantry and Russo-Prussian cavalry virtually annihilated it. The 55th Line, sent to rescue the 26th, was also routed. The rest of the divisions of Legrand and Savary formed squares and repulsed the cavalry charges until the arrival of French cavalry. The fighting continued for over an hour before

Legrand and Savary slowly retreated back across the Spibach. However, their withdrawal exposed the left flank of St. Cyr and St. Hilaire, who were engaged around Redoubt Number 1. Finding themselves in a cross fire, they retired with heavy casualties.

It was already around 10:00 P.M., and the Allies considered the battle over and victory theirs. Yet shortly after ten, Lannes arrived on the battlefield, and carried by incredible impetuosity, he launched another attack on the Russian positions in complete darkness. The Russians were prepared for the assault, thanks to a deserter. As General Jean-Antoine Verdier's division, reinforced by the 75th Line of Legrand's division, approached Redoubt Number 2, it was met by canister fire and suffered appalling losses before fleeing in disorder.

The Battle of Heilsberg is often overshadowed by other Napoleonic battles, although it was a bloody fight and both sides suffered enormous casualties. Soult lost 8,286 men while Lannes's recklessness cost his troops 2,284 dead and wounded. In total, the French casualties were estimated at 12,000 men. Russian losses were equally severe, mostly from Bagration's advance guard. Russian casualties are often estimated at some 2,000–3,000 killed and over 5,000 wounded, including eight generals. The Russian commander in chief, Bennigsen, himself was so exhausted physically and mentally that he collapsed on the battlefield and only regained consciousness some time later.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Cossacks; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent; Imperial Guard (French); Lannes, Jean; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Savary, Anne Jean Marie René; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond; Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count

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## Heliopolis, Battle of (20 March 1800)

Site of a French victory in Egypt under General Jean-Baptiste Kléber against the Ottoman ruler, Selim III. By rat-

ifying the Convention of El Arish (24 January 1800), Kléber agreed to be repatriated to France. The French fell back on Alexandria, Aboukir, and Rosetta and were about to evacuate Cairo when, on 13 March, Kléber received a letter from the British admiral, Lord Keith, dated 8 January. It announced that the British government would not ratify the treaty and that instead Kléber was to surrender unconditionally and remain in Egypt until a prisoner exchange.

The situation was further complicated by the presence of a large Turkish army in Egypt. Selim had 48,000 troops at El-Hanka, with an advance guard of 6,000 elite Janissaries and sixteen guns at Mataria, two hours' march from Cairo. Kléber wrote to Selim asking if he would retire on Belbeis while a political solution was found with Britain. Believing the French too weak to resist his forces, the Ottoman ruler refused. Furious, Kléber decided to fight and issued a formal declaration of hostilities: "Prepare for battle" ended his rallying address to the French army.

At 3:00 A.M. on 20 March Kléber assembled 10,000 men and advanced on Mataria. The infantry formed four squares, with their angles reinforced with grenadiers and regimental artillery. The left wing was commanded by General Jean Reynier, the right by General Louis Friant. The French cavalry under General Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc was drawn up in the center interval, flanked by its artillery supported by soldiers of the dromedary regiment. Behind the left, in a second line, was a small, two-battalion square in reserve. The reserve artillery was in the center, supported by grenadiers and sappers, while skirmishers covered the whole front.

While Reynier marched head-on and Friant moved to cut off the Janissaries' line of retreat, the French cavalry engaged a body of Turkish infantry and cavalry, supported by Mamelukes. The Ottoman advance guard was soon defeated and its camp captured. The French advance continued to the ruins of ancient Heliopolis, where, led in person by Selim, the Turks launched themselves without regard for order or formation in a general attack. This was repelled by French artillery fire and the Ottoman army plunged into headlong retreat. A fruitless stand was made at El-Mark, before the Ottoman forces fell back on their camp at El-Hanka. As the French pushed their advantage, resistance collapsed, and the Turkish camp and baggage was abandoned. The fugitives were pursued through the night to Belbeis.

French casualties were very light, at 50 men, against an estimated 8,000 Turks. Once again, as at the Battle of the Pyramids, the French had stamped their military superiority on Egypt. As the shattered Ottoman army headed back into Syria, Kléber put down a second revolt in Cairo and was able to retake all the garrisons he had abandoned after signing the treaty.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Cairo, Uprising in; El Arish, Convention of; Friant, Louis, comte; Janissaries; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Ottoman Army; Pyramids, Battle of the; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer

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## Helvetic Republic

*See* Switzerland

## Hesse-Darmstadt

*See* Confederation of the Rhine

## Hill, Sir Rowland (1772–1842)

British general who fought mainly in the Peninsular War and was one of the Duke of Wellington's most reliable divisional commanders. He was well liked by his men, who nicknamed him "Daddy Hill."

Rowland Hill joined the 38th Foot in 1790. He then spent two years in the military school in Strasbourg. In 1793 he served at the siege of Toulon. His bravery was recognized by General Thomas Graham, who made him a major in the regiment the former had just formed—the 90th Foot. In 1794 Hill became colonel of the regiment and took part in the expedition to Egypt in 1801, where he was wounded at Alexandria. During 1805 he was part of the Hanover expedition and was promoted to major general. He then commanded a brigade in Portugal at Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley's (later the Duke of Wellington) victories at Roliça and Vimeiro in 1808. He took part in the Corunna campaign and fought in the operations around Oporto. At the Battle of Talavera he led the 2nd Division, holding the commanding position of the Cerro de Medellin. In 1810 he held an independent command defending the Portuguese frontier. He became ill in the winter and had to return home.

In May 1811 Hill took command of the British forces in Extremadura (Estremadura) who were protecting Wellington's forces besieging Badajoz. In August, while the British were besieging Ciudad Rodrigo, in a surprise attack at Arroyomolinos de Montánchez, Hill routed a French

force, taking 1,300 prisoners for the loss of only 71 casualties of his own. During early 1812 his troops formed part of the covering force in Extremadura, while Wellington completed the capture of Badajoz. In May Hill destroyed the bridge at Almaraz and the French forts that had been built to protect it. He then led his corps in protecting the advance of Wellington's forces toward France. At the Battle of Vitoria Hill's forces began the attack on the southern flank of the French. Later, when Marshal Soult tried to relieve Pamplona, Hill was defeated at Sorrauren. During the invasion of France he fought first at the Battle of the Nivelle. Later he fought Soult to a standstill at St. Pierre, despite the fact that he was considerably outnumbered. At Toulouse, Hill's troops were involved in house-to-house fighting in one of the last actions of the Peninsular War.

Upon Napoleon's return from Elba in 1814, Hill was sent to Brussels to supervise the Prince of Orange in raising his forces. In the Waterloo campaign he commanded the 2nd Corps, composed of Anglo-Allied forces. Hill's troops formed much of the center of Wellington's position on the ridge at Mont St. Jean during the Battle of Waterloo. Toward the end of the action Hill helped lead the counter-attack that broke the Imperial Guard. His horse was shot from under him, and he was severely concussed. Hill was second in command of the army of occupation in France until it was finally withdrawn in 1818.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Alexandria, Battle of; Arroyomolinos de Montánchez, Battle of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Graham, Sir Thomas; Imperial Guard (French); Middle East Campaign; Nivelle, Battle of the; Oporto, Battle of; Orange, William, Prince of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Roliça, Battle of; Sorrauren, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Pierre, Battle of; Talavera, Battle of; Toulouse, Battle of; Vimeiro, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Hoche, Louis Lazare (1768–1797)

Born 24 June 1768 in Montreuil, a suburb of Versailles, Louis Lazare Hoche went from very humble beginnings to become one of the premier generals of Revolutionary France. Though Hoche is little known outside of the study of the wars of the French Revolution, his rapid rise

through the ranks reflected the high esteem in which Revolutionary France held merit.

Hoche was educated by the brothers of Saint-Germain-en-Laye from 1773 until 1782. In his youth he also worked as a stable boy. At age sixteen he joined the army and was accepted in the Gardes Français in October 1784. After serving for a time in the depot battalion, he was made a fusilier in the colonel's company. On 25 November 1785 he was admitted into the grenadier company d'Artaignan. He remained with the Gardes Français through the early months of the Revolution. On 16 May 1789 Hoche was promoted to the rank of sergeant in the company of grenadiers d'Ancourt. On 31 August 1789 the Gardes Français were incorporated into the National Guard, then under the command of the marquis de Lafayette.

Later that year Hoche was promoted to sergeant by his comrades—this being the democratic method of promotion in use at the time—the elevation in rank becoming effective on 1 September. In many ways, Hoche's rise in rank is indicative of the opening of the paths to promotion that occurred during the early years of the Revolution. He was made adjutant underofficer of the 104th Line effective 1 January 1792. On 28 May he received the brevet rank of lieutenant in the 58th Line and was placed in charge of the 2nd Battalion, then garrisoned at Thionville. Shortly thereafter the town was blockaded by Austrian troops under the command of Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Kirschberg. During the siege, Hoche led a sortie that led to the capture of 600 prisoners. When the siege was lifted as a result of the Prussian retreat in the wake of Valmy, Hoche, along with his 2nd Battalion, was attached to the Army of the Ardennes.

In this capacity he and the troops under his command distantly followed the retreating Austrians through the winter of that year. One example of the daring that aided in his rise comes from this period. On the night of 23–24 November, Hoche led a detachment in a successful night attack to take Fort Camus which defended Namur, at the confluence of the rivers Sambre and Meuse.

In February 1793 Hoche was put in charge of provisioning a mixed unit of infantry and hussars. He succeeded in this staff work and was promoted to the post of aide-de-camp by General Jacques Le Veneur on 3 March. He was later sent to Paris to explain the recent reverses of the army. His honesty and patriotism won him the support of the government, and he was made *adjutant général*. He returned to the army in command of his former superior.

Next, Hoche participated in the attack on Dunkirk to retake the city from the insurrectionists and the British. Hoche recaptured the city and then invested the troops under the command of the Duke of York. On 30 October 1793 Hoche was promoted to the rank of general and given

command of the Army of the Moselle. Shortly thereafter he was defeated by the Duke of Brunswick in the three days of fighting at Kaiserslautern at the end of November. In the following month he joined forces with General Jean-Charles Pichegru and pushed back the Austrians. While these two commanders coordinated their efforts, there was no clear subordination of one to the other until Hoche was promoted over Pichegru on Christmas Day 1793. His troops went on to take the heights of Geisberg on 26 December.

On 18 March 1794 Hoche was dismissed and imprisoned, his command being taken over by General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan. Hoche was held in the Conciergerie in Paris and was only saved from the guillotine by the fall of Maximilien Robespierre on 9 Thermidor. Part of the reason for his imprisonment lay in his disregard for the orders of Lazare Carnot, the minister of war, at the start of the campaign. At this time, he was entrusted with the pacification of the rebels in the Vendée.

There Hoche took command of the Army of the Côtes de Cherbourg on 5 September 1794. In this capacity he played a number of roles, including military commander, diplomat, administrator, and politician. All of these were necessary in that his principal objective lay in the restoration of order to the region. In accomplishing this task, Hoche used small, mobile columns of roughly 200 men under an officer. These proved very effective at pursuing the insurgents through the difficult terrain.

While in the Vendée, on 17 February 1795 Hoche signed the Treaty of La Jaunaye with one of the insurgent leaders, François Athanase Charette. This agreement soon broke down, however, and through the rest of the year Hoche continued to restore order to the region. In order to defend against a royalist landing at Quiberon Bay, he was made commander of the Armée des Côtes de l'Océan when the landing came on 26 June. The rest of the year saw him hard at work concluding the pacification of the area.

As a result of these experiences, between January 1794 and March 1795 Hoche wrote *Instructions for Those Troops Employed in Fighting the Chouans*, a work describing the methods he utilized to bring the area under effective governmental control.

In 1796 he was placed in command of the invasion force destined to sail for Ireland. On leaving Brest on 16 December, his ship was separated from its consorts. Hoche never reestablished contact with any of the other vessels of the expedition, which was timed to coincide with an uprising in Ireland led by Wolfe Tone. Because of Hoche's separation from the rest of his troops, the French support never materialized in earnest, and the insurrection was suppressed.

In 1797 Hoche was named commander of the Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse. On 17 April he defeated the Austri-

ans at Neuwied. Hoche died of a blood infection on 18 September in the area around Wetzlar.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Chouans; Donegal, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Geisberg, Battle of the; Irish Rebellion; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; National Guard (French); Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Quiberon, Expedition to; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Thermidor Coup; Tone, Wolfe; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Höchstädt, Battle of (19 June 1800)

The encounter at Höchstädt, Bavaria, between 60,000 French troops under General Jean Victor Moreau and 70,000 Austrians under *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajowa marked the beginning of the end of Austrian power in the War of the Second Coalition. In 1800, as in 1796, the French attempted a knockout blow against Austria with simultaneous invasions of Italy and Germany. After successive defeats at the hands of Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Switzerland at Engen, Stockach, Mösskirch, and Biberach, Kray withdrew to the fortified supply city of Ulm on the left bank of the Danube (11 May). Moreau, realizing that he could neither prevent the reinforcement of Italy nor pursue the Rhine campaign as long as Kray remained secure there, decided to cross the Danube downstream in hopes of cutting him off from magazines at Donauworth and Ratisbon (Regensburg) and thus forcing him to fight or flee.

For several weeks the French methodically prepared for contingencies by securing themselves against attack from the south and then blocking routes of escape between the rivers Iller and Lech. The main battle commenced at 5:00 A.M. on 19 June with a bold French crossing at Blindheim and Gremheim; it lasted eighteen hours. The Austrians, though caught off guard, fought hard and stood their ground, even managing to bring in reserves. The French, however, defeated both the corps of Anton Graf Sztáray,

covering the Lower Danube, and two counterattacking forces sent by Kray from Ulm. Although Austrian losses were only some 1,000 casualties and perhaps 5,000 prisoners, Kray abandoned the city and garrison of 12,000 men, retreating with the bulk of his forces—eventually to the river Inn and the Austrian border—as Moreau pushed deeper into Bavaria and occupied Munich. In the meantime, Bonaparte had defeated the Austrians at Marengo. A truce took effect in the north in late July.

Capping a series of victories, Höchstädt was a personal and symbolic triumph for Moreau. Compensating for a somewhat uneven performance in Italy in 1799, it left him poised to attain the goals that had eluded him in 1796 and moreover offered the sweetness of historical revenge: recompense for the fateful French defeat there—known in English as the Battle of Blenheim—in 1704. Greater success lay ahead: Both sides took advantage of the truce to rebuild their forces, and soon after fighting recommenced, Moreau scored the greatest victory of his career at Hohenlinden (3 December), which in essence drove the Austrians back to the bargaining table and won the war but, by overshadowing Marengo, contributed to the worsening of his already tense relations with Bonaparte, the First Consul.

*James Wald*

*See also* Hohenlinden, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajoiva; Marengo, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, Second Battle of

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## Hofer, Andreas (1767–1810)

Leader of the Tyrolean revolt against Bavarian rule during the War of the Fifth Coalition.

Andreas Hofer was born in St. Leonhard (Passeiertal) in the Tyrol (now simply “Tyrol”) on 22 November 1767. He attended some years at the newly established school but had to take charge of the inherited Sandhof Inn very early. He married Anna Ladurner in 1789. Hofer’s main business was agriculture within the mountainous region of his home valley. His wife worked as a landlady of the inn, which was part of the farm. These different activities were not a sign of economic success; rather, they were necessary for a very modest income to feed a family with seven chil-

dren. For financial reasons Hofer engaged in trade with horses and wine, whereby he became acquainted with the region that is now part of Austria and northern Italy. His first contact with the French came in 1796, when he took part in the Austrian defense against Bonaparte’s campaign in Italy. There is some documentary evidence that Hofer became a small local army supplier, but what is known about the role Hofer played during the several Franco-Austrian conflicts in Italy of that time is very sketchy.

In 1805 Bavaria sided with France during the campaign against Austria. Under the terms of the Treaty of Pressburg Austria had to cede the Tyrol to Bavaria. The Bavarian administration of the Tyrol introduced all those administrative measures that were part of the modernization process of the imperial French model. This process received a hostile reception from the locals; it seems that Hofer was engaged in anti-Bavarian activities beginning in 1807. He participated in the secret meeting of Tyrolean peasants in November 1807 and was questioned by police a month later. The Austrian government prepared to revenge its 1805 defeat and secretly established contact with locals in the Tyrol who were willing to oppose Bavarian (and thereby French) rule. Hofer himself traveled to Vienna during that period.

In April 1809 Austria declared war on Bavaria and France. Austrian troops invaded the Tyrol, and Hofer served as part of a fifth column that aided the Austrian cause. Habsburg military victories with their irregular Tyrolean allies were short-lived; by mid-May Napoleon once again entered Vienna (as he had in 1805). Although the Battle of Aspern-Essling is often interpreted as an Austrian victory, the Habsburg war effort collapsed between the end of May and the Battle of Wagram on 5–6 July. On 21 May the Austrians had to leave the Tyrol to support their troops elsewhere, and Hofer assumed local command. The Tyroleans were successful in the fighting at Berg Isel at the end of May, which led to a tactical retreat by Franco-Bavarian forces. This and some more Pyrrhic victories were a recipe for disaster for the Tyrolean irregulars. When the Austrians asked for an armistice in mid-July, Hofer incited his fellow Tyroleans to continue further resistance. The Austrians, for their part, remained ambiguous: They still morally supported the Tyrolean resisters, but in the Treaty of Schönbrunn Austria reasserted Bavarian control over the Tyrol. The Austrian government informed Hofer about that decision, and the Tyrolean resisters were granted an amnesty by the Bavarians.

The Tyrolean resistance nevertheless continued, and for a while the fortunes of war changed from day to day. Hofer himself first accepted the peace treaty, but then reengaged in combat. Whether he actually incited this partisan activity or was forced to continue it is not clear. In any

event, Tyrolean resistance finally collapsed in November and December 1809, forcing Hofer to flee to a distant Alpine hut. On 28 January 1810 he was betrayed and arrested. Napoleon ordered his execution, and he was condemned by a French military court in Mantua. The Austrians tried to intervene by diplomatic means but probably did so only halfheartedly. Hofer was executed for his partisan activities on 20 February 1810. The Tyrol was restored to Austria after the defeat of Napoleon in 1814.

During the nineteenth century Hofer was transformed into a Tyrolean hero of mythic proportions. When large parts of the Tyrol became Italian after World War I, Hofer was seen as a symbol of resistance. Today a more rational view of Hofer is slowly emerging, but he is still an icon both for the local tourist industry and for extreme right-wing militants in Tyrol and Austria.

*Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Bavaria; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Guerrilla Warfare; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Pressburg, Treaty of; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Wagram, Battle of

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## Hohenlinden, Battle of (3 December 1800)

Fought in wooded terrain around the small Bavarian village of Hohenlinden, 50 miles east of Munich and just north of the river Inn, this decisive French victory over the Austrian army and its German allies ended the War of the Second Coalition. It was the last military success for the Republic, already under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul, but its importance has been overshadowed by Bonaparte's propaganda surrounding his victory at Marengo the previous June.

In late April 1800 the French Army of the Rhine under General Jean Moreau had crossed into Germany with 137,000 troops, many of whom were veterans of previous campaigns. The sheer size of this army had prompted Moreau to group his divisions into corps, each forming a component in the usual eighteenth-century arrangement: two wings, a main body, advance guard, and reserve. Moreau had quickly defeated the smaller Austrian army under *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajoiva in a series of engagements, including the second Battle of Stockach, and Höchstädt, before an armistice was signed on 15 July. Moreau took up position along the river Lech in eastern Bavaria. Across the autumn the Austrian army was reinforced, but morale remained low. After

Kray's resignation, command was nominally passed to 18-year-old *Feldzeugmeister* Archduke John, although in reality it was directed by his military adviser, 65-year-old engineer and *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Freiherr von Lauer, and his chief of staff, *Oberst* (Colonel) Franz Freiherr von Weyrother, to whom John was required to defer when making key decisions.

When the armistice ended on 28 November, both sides planned to take the offensive. Moreau's simple plan envisaged an advance by his 80,000 troops to the Inn and then down the Danube toward Vienna, in conjunction with the French army in Italy under General Guillaume Brune. The Austrian plan, devised by the optimistic Weyrother, was for a complicated flank march against the French line of communications. Sixty thousand men would march toward Landshut in just three days, cross the Inn, then wheel south around Moreau's left to cut his line of communications and force him to abandon the northern bank of the Danube. A second force comprising Bavarian, Württemberg, and French émigré troops (about 15,000 men) would guard the lines of communication. The march would have to be conducted in cold, rainy weather along forest roads.

Nevertheless, the initial Austrian advance caught the French by surprise and put the cautious Moreau on the defensive. However, the Austrians had little intelligence about French positions and, as the rain fell incessantly, turning the dirt roads into quagmires, the Austrian advance slowed to a crawl. Weyrother and Lauer now advised the archduke to abandon his sweep around the French left in favor of a direct advance on Munich, a move aided by better roads, which passed through Hohenlinden, some 18 miles from their present position. The village of Hohenlinden itself was a key strategic objective for both sides as it was the hub for the local roads, which would be required for the movement of artillery in the heavily wooded and hilly terrain. The local geography offered the French an important advantage as their veterans were skilled in fighting in such broken ground, while the Austrians were desperately trying to raise volunteer *Freikorps* to offset their chronic shortage of light infantry.

The armies made first contact on 1 December at the village of Ampfing, immediately to the east of Hohenlinden. The French advance guard, under the command of General Michel Ney, engaged about two-thirds of the archduke's army but after six hours was forced to withdraw 7 miles west, despite inflicting about 2,000 casualties on the Austrians. Buoyed by this initial success, John believed that the French were in full retreat, perhaps back west of Munich, although there was only a halfhearted pursuit of the French rear guard, as John wanted to rest his troops around Haag on the following day. The

Bavarian force under General Christian Zweibrücken was ordered forward and the plan envisaged joining *Generalmajor* Michael Freiherr von Kienmayer's brigade at Hohenlinden on 3 December.

Both armies were on the move on 2 December, the Austrians marching west to reach Haag and the French taking up their positions around Hohenlinden in a combination of rain, sleet, and snow. Kienmayer's column drove General Paul Grenier from Lengfeld toward Hohenlinden, but this limited engagement seemed to confirm the Austrians' belief that they only faced a rear guard. The plan drawn up at Haag that evening therefore called for a three-column advance starting at 5:00 A.M., led by *Generalmajor* Franz Löppert's advance guard, the left under *General der Kavallerie* Johann Graf Riesch, the center under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Kollowrat-Krakowsky, and the right under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet de Latour. All these formations were to join Kienmayer, who was marching south from the Isar River valley but failed to consider any possible sustained French resistance. There was moreover only one significant road and the general advance would entail the flank columns using poor sideroads, which also ran east-west and thus made cooperation between the columns difficult.

Having always intended to offer battle only with his main army concentrated, Moreau was at first assembling his troops back in their former armistice period encampments but quickly realized his opportunity. He ordered his units to abandon the higher, wooded ground immediately in front of Hohenlinden and take position on the lower, open ground to meet the Austrians as they debouched from the forest, which would force them to attempt to deploy under fire. The Austrian artillery would be toward the rear of the columns and so would be unlikely to become involved in the fighting. Grenier's corps on the French left flank—comprising the divisions of generals Claude Legrand, Louis Bastoul, and Ney, supported by those of Emmanuel de Grouchy and Jean d'Hautpoul, a total of 32,000 men—would hold the Austrian main advance, while a flank attack, comprising 20,000 troops under generals Antoine Richepanse and Charles Decaen, would assail the Austrian left wing through the towns of St. Christoph and Maitenbeth to cut the main and threaten their rear. The flank attack would involve considerable risk of delay in the adverse weather, as it would have to be conducted along side roads and woodland tracks leading to the main road.

The battle developed at four points: In the north between Harthofen and Forstern, the French under Grenier would engage Kienmayer. From Preisdorf through Kronacker and Hohenlinden, the divisions under Ney and Grouchy would take on the Austrians under Baillet and Löppert. While d'Hautpoul's reserve cavalry was kept at

Hohenlinden, the French division under Decaen plus two brigades from Richepanse's division would tackle Riesch's Austrians around St. Christoph, while around Maitenbach the rest of Richepanse's division faced Kollowrat's reserve column.

The difficult forest roads made a coordinated Austrian attack difficult as snow fell. Löppert, whose advance guard had no artillery, was soon some way ahead and would only have the support of the lead units of Kollowrat's column moving along the main road, as the opening phase of the battle began in the center against Grouchy. The other Austrian columns were meanwhile struggling to move along the treacherous side roads. As the fighting continued around the edge of the forest, Kollowrat threw in increasing numbers from his column but could make no progress. However, from 10:00 A.M. Kienmayer was making ground against Grenier around Isen in the north and together with Baillet (whose men stood between him and Kollowrat) he assaulted the line of hamlets guarding the approach to Hohenlinden. Baillet managed to reach Krocknacker, defended by Ney and just 1 mile from Hohenlinden, which took some pressure off Löppert and Kollowrat. His advance also forced Moreau to commit his reserve cavalry under d'Hautpoul between Legrand and Ney.

In the center, Moreau established by late morning that the Austrians were not pressing their attack and were becoming uncertain of the situation. The reason was that Kollowrat was becoming increasingly anxious about the nonappearance of Riesch and was obliged to send detachments back south-east to link up with him around Albaching. At the same time, Richepanse was making progress with his flank march and by 10:00 A.M. was engaging some of Kollowrat's detachments around St. Christoph. The Austrian left was now dangerously exposed, as Riesch was still struggling through the forest, far behind schedule. Richepanse was thus able to strike right into the gap between Kollowrat and Riesch, splitting the Austrian army in two and putting the Bavarian detachment to flight. At around 10.30 A.M. Riesch finally reached Albaching and decided to head directly to St. Christoph to outflank Richepanse, but the other French division under Decaen was able to switch its axis of advance to pin Riesch down before he reached his target, while Richepanse reached the main road at Maitenbeth. From there Richepanse attempted to engage the Austro-Bavarian reserve cavalry under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Fürst Johannes Liechtenstein and its supporting artillery. Quickly defeated, Richepanse turned his attention to Kollowrat's rear and marched his infantry up the main road toward Hohenlinden. As reports reached the Austrian headquarters of events in the rear, Weyrother rode off to observe the situation himself. Hastily assembling what troops he could,

he led the mainly Bavarian infantry in halting Richepanse's advance before being wounded.

By noon it was clear to Moreau that, despite having no direct reports from him, Richepanse must be getting into position, albeit several hours behind schedule. So the French commander in chief ordered a general advance. Ney, who had halted Baille's attack, would advance along the main road toward the entrance to the Haag Forest. Grouchy was to march toward the same point and increase the pressure on the Austrian center's left flank, where Kollowrat committed his last fresh infantry. The Austrian center attempted to mount a defense against Ney's advance in the narrow defile leading into the forest, but this resistance soon collapsed and within a short time, Ney had already captured 10 guns and 1,000 prisoners, as Kollowrat's command began to break up. Ney pressed on into the forest and the Austrian army, pressed from all sides now, fell into disorder.

On the snow-covered ground, individual fugitives sought protection amid the trees, but many were cut down as the melee swirled about them. Although Kienmayer was able to drive Legrand and d'Hauptoul back on Forstern, due north of Hohenlinden, the Austrian left and most of the center collapsed as Grouchy's men followed Ney. They fled north toward Baille's column and back down the main road toward the reserve cavalry under Liechtenstein, whose troopers did what they could without artillery support to halt the French advances in the forest. The retreat had dissolved into a rout, with much of the artillery and baggage being abandoned as troops fled or surrendered. General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, who had fended off Riesch with Decaen's help, now led his part of Richepanse's division toward Maitenbeth, forcing Archduke John to flee to avoid capture. The battle was over by 4 P.M. and only night-fall two hours later saved the Austrian army from complete destruction. Kienmayer could only withdraw to the north.

The Austro-German army had suffered 4,485 casualties and lost more than 7,000 prisoners, together with 50 guns, compared with French losses of approximately 3,000. After this decisive victory, Moreau continued his advance toward Vienna, forcing the Austrians to seek peace by signing the Armistice of Steyr on 25 December, and the war formally ended early in 1801 with the Treaty of Lunéville. Moreau, a committed republican and potential rival to the First Consul, would be forced into exile in 1804. Attempts by the Austrian command to blame the Bavarian contingent only worsened strained relations between the two states, and Bavaria would side with France in 1805.

*Lee W. Eysturlid*

*See also* Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Consulate, The; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Höchstädt, Battle of; John, Archduke; Kray,

Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Lunéville, Treaty of; Marengo, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Ney, Michel; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, Second Battle of.

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### **Hollabrunn, Action at (15–16 November 1805)**

A rearguard action between Russian and French forces on 15–16 November 1805. Despite their success at Dürnstein, the Austro-Russian army was still in a dangerous position since the fighting had delayed their march eastward. Meanwhile, Napoleon's forces had gathered on the southern side of the Danube and reached Vienna. Napoleon assumed that after the fighting at Dürnstein, General Mikhail Kutuzov would feel secure and rest his troops at Krems. Based on this assumption, Napoleon decided to move two French corps (under marshals Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte and Adolphe Mortier) across the river at Melk (southeast of Dürnstein) to pursue the Allies. Simultaneously, marshals Joachim Murat and Jean Lannes crossed the Danube over the Tabor Bridge that had been captured intact and cut the Russian army's line of retreat at Hollabrunn, where Napoleon intended to engage Kutuzov.

Surprised by the news of the capture of the Tabor Bridge, Kutuzov, in Vienna, immediately broke up his camp and marched eastward, instructing General Peter Bagration to cover the retreat. Bagration's detachment was some 7,500 men strong and included Austrian troops under Count Nostitz. After crossing the Hochfeld heights, Bagration arrived at Hollabrunn on 15 November. He found the terrain there disadvantageous and moved his troops 3 miles northward to a small village of Schöngrabern, where the terrain was better suited for defensive action. Two creeks cut across the ground, low heights overlooked the terrain, and a vast vineyard provided effective cover from enemy cavalry. Bagration arranged his main forces in defensive positions at Schöngrabern while Nostitz with his Austrian troops was moved to Hollabrunn as an advance guard.

Late on the afternoon of 15 November, Murat's advance guard of 1,200 men under General Horace François Sébastiani approached Hollabrunn. Later in the day, Murat himself arrived there with three cavalry divisions, while the divisions of IV Corps (under Marshal Nicolas Soult) and V Corps (under Marshal Jean Lannes) were en route. In total, Murat commanded approximately 30,000 men at Hollabrunn. As they encountered Austrian troops, the French declared to Nostitz that an armistice had been concluded between the French and Austrians, citing their unopposed crossing over the Tabor Bridge as proof. Nostitz believed the French and withdrew from Hollabrunn with his detachment. Bagration and later other Russian generals were furious at Nostitz's actions, which they believed exposed Allied positions.

Once within sight of Schöngrabern, Murat observed Bagration's troops, which he thought to be the entire Russian army. Therefore he decided to repeat his trick with the armistice that he had used in Vienna, and he sent his staff officer with an offer to the Russians to negotiate an armistice, claiming that the French and Austrians were already at peace. Bagration realized that the French proposal was a bluff and exploited this chance to gain time for the main Allied army. He agreed to the French offer and informed Kutuzov of the situation. Kutuzov was delighted by this news and immediately sent two aides-de-camp, general-adjutants Baron Ferdinand Winzregorode and Prince George Dolgoruky, with instructions to discuss the armistice and prolong the negotiations for as long as possible while the Allied army marched to Znaim. After brief negotiations, the armistice was concluded on condition that the Russians would leave Austrian territory, while the French would remain in Moravia. Both sides agreed to give four hours' notice before resuming hostilities. The agreement was to be sent to Napoleon and Kutuzov for ratification. Learning about the armistice, Napoleon was furious at Murat and severely reprimanded him, ordering him to immediately attack the enemy.

Murat received this letter on the afternoon of 16 November and informed Bagration that hostilities would soon resume. Around 4:00 P.M. the French artillery opened fire and bombarded the first line of the Russian positions. The Russian right flank was the first to receive the French assault, where General Karl Ulanus repulsed two French charges and then moved back to Guntersdorf. At the same time, Lannes's corps launched a formidable attack on Bagration's left flank. The Pavlograd Hussars and the Podolsk and Azov (infantry) Regiments were surrounded and suffered heavy casualties before they cut their way back to Russian positions. As evening approached, flames from the blazing village of Schöngrabern lit up the battlefield. Bagration directed part of his artillery against the

French batteries, while the rest engaged General Nicolas Oudinot's troops advancing in the center. Oudinot arranged his division in three checkerboard lines and charged through the vineyards against Major General Alexey Selikhov's troops. Selikhov had kept his troops under arms since the afternoon without any water rations, and before the attack he made the serious mistake of allowing the troops to run to the nearby stream for water. The soldiers broke ranks and were already in confusion when Oudinot's grenadiers attacked them. Simultaneously, General Louis Suchet's division continued its attack on Bagration's right flank. The Russians repulsed the initial assault and counterattacked, capturing the eagle and flag of the 40th Line.

Late in the evening, facing superior French forces, Bagration slowly began to withdraw with troops of the left flank. He made another stand at Grund, where he repulsed a series of French attacks and then personally led the counterattack, cutting his way toward Guntersdorf, where two battalions of the Novgorod and 6th *Jäger* Regiments covered his retreat. By midnight, after almost eight hours of savage fighting, Bagration finally disengaged and marched in the wake of the main Allied army. The French troops bivouacked on the battlefield and around Hollabrunn.

Although technically the action at Hollabrunn and Schöngrabern was a French victory, it was also a major Russian success since it gained precious time for the main Allied army to break off the French pursuit. Yet the Russians paid a heavy price for it. Bagration reported eight guns lost, 1,479 men killed or missing, and 931 wounded, with 737 of them left behind to the mercy of the French. The officer corps was hit particularly hard, with 30 killed, 24 missing, and 39 seriously wounded left on the battlefield. The French lost approximately 1,500 men, mostly from Oudinot's division. Bagration reported one French colonel, two officers, and fifty privates captured.

The news of Bagration's escape caused widespread celebration in the Allied army. The troops were welcomed as heroes while Bagration was venerated. As the Russians saw it, Bagration had successfully engaged the French army and had not only halted it but had defeated it, capturing prisoners and colors. Later it would be claimed that Napoleon himself had been present at the battlefield. Bagration was promoted from major general to lieutenant general and awarded the Order of St. George (2nd class) and the Commander Cross of the (Austrian) Order of Maria Theresa, the first of this kind to be given to a Russian officer. Tsar Alexander I also generously rewarded the Russian troops present, awarding the Pavlograd Hussars and Chernigov Dragoons with St. George standards, while the Kiev Grenadiers, Sysoev III's, and Khanzhikov I's Cossack Regiments received St. George colors. The 6th *Jäger* was the

first regiment in the Russian Army to be awarded the silver trumpets of St. George. In addition, 300 Orders of St. Anna were requested for men of the lower ranks who had distinguished themselves at Schöngrabern.

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*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Dürnstein, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Suchet, Louis Gabriel; Third Coalition, War of the; Winzgorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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## Holland, Republic of

*See* Netherlands, The

## Holy Alliance (26 September 1815)

Signed on 26 September 1815, the Holy Alliance was a treaty among the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia—Emperor Francis I, King Frederick William III, and Tsar Alexander I (who initiated it)—in which they agreed to employ Christian principles in administering their nations and guiding their relations with other states. They agreed to take as their political guides “the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of Princes, and guide all their steps” (Hurst 1972,

1:96). These tenets were to be followed in settling European affairs following the defeat of Napoleon in June 1815.

The three contracting monarchs joined in “bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity” (Hurst 1972, 1:97), pledging to work together to redraw the map of Europe and administer it justly. According to the terms of Article I, they promised to do so with a sense of “Religion, Peace, and Justice” rooted in Christianity and to “lend each other aid and assistance” (Hurst 1972, 1:97). They promised reciprocal service to each other, united as they were in one Christian world (Article II). Additional nations that ascribed to the tenets of the Christian faith in ruling their countries would be “received with ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance,” as provided in Article III.

The Holy Alliance was signed in triplicate in Paris and copies were given to each signatory. It was to complement the Quadruple Alliance of 1814 (later the Quintuple Alliance after the admission of France) as a statement of a policy of ruling righteously in the postwar period in order to preserve peace. Conservative in nature, it was intended to strengthen monarchical rule and rights through divine guidance. It reinforced the sovereign’s right to rule when he did so through Christian principles and was viewed as a necessary religious underpinning to government to counter the liberal and atheistic elements of the French Revolution.

This alliance led to cooperation between Austria, Prussia, and Russia at various postwar European conferences—Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822)—where European national boundaries were settled and trade agreements were signed. In practice, the Holy Alliance was reactionary and sought to maintain the authoritarian status quo of the victorious powers. Klemens Fürst von Metternich used the Holy Alliance to sanction the strong rule of Francis I and to underscore Habsburg privilege and policies. Britain, whose foreign policy was the responsibility of Lord Castlereagh, attempted to liberalize European policies and refused to sign the Protocol of Troppau, which would have supported Spain’s claim to its former colonies in the New World, preferring to develop free trade with the newly liberated nations of South America.

At a time when European politics were reactionary and turning the clock back on liberalism, the Holy Alliance attempted to humanize and legitimize monarchical governments without relinquishing any political powers. Austria used the Holy Alliance to strengthen Habsburg control over those parts of Italy that sought independence. All the ruling princes of Europe eventually signed the Holy Alliance except the Prince Regent (later George IV) of Britain, Pope Pius VII, and the sultan of Turkey, because of constitutional or religious constraints.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von; Paris, Second Treaty of; Pius VII, Pope; Quadruple Alliance; Vienna, Congress of

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## Holy Roman Empire

The term *Holy Roman Empire* was used to describe the territories of the German empire from the Middle Ages to 1806. This collection of territories and institutions evolved and developed over a period of centuries, but it proved unable to effectively resist the French invasions of the Revolutionary Wars and early years of the Napoleonic Wars and finally collapsed. It was in part replaced by the Confederation of the Rhine under Napoleon's domination.

When the Frankish king Charlemagne was crowned in 800, Pope Leo III regarded him as the successor to the Roman emperors. After the collapse of the Frankish empire, King Otto I established a German kingdom in 962. In 1157 this kingdom received the designation “holy,” and in 1254 the title “Holy Roman Empire” was first used. From the fifteenth century onward, the First Reich became known as the “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.” This empire was not a state but a group of central European organizations led by the emperor and the imperial estates that included a number of imperial institutions, such as an imperial court, council, and administration. There was no imperial government as such, but there was a legislature, an imperial army, and imperial taxes. The emperor's powers were restricted by the historic Peace of Westphalia of 1648, concluded at the end of the Thirty Years' War.

The emperor's position was not hereditary; rather, he was elected by the princes of a number of territories. Most of the emperors had come from the House of Habsburg, the rulers of Austria. In the eighteenth century, and particularly under Frederick the Great, Prussia had challenged Austria's hegemony. This rivalry continued throughout the French Revolutionary Wars and played a role in the col-

lapse of the First Reich. While Austria did much to lead a coalition of German forces to face the threat of the French Revolution, it was constantly looking over its shoulder, particularly toward Poland, where both Prussia and Russia had territorial ambitions. As the First Reich was unable to concentrate its resources against a France that was successfully mobilizing, its efforts to win this war were hampered.

Prussia's withdrawal from the war and the signing of a separate peace with France at Basle in 1795 effectively deprived the First Reich of the chance of defeating France. Europe would now be at war for another two decades. In March 1798 the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine were ceded to France, effectively giving France a say in German affairs. The Imperial Recess of February 1803 decided to indemnify the German princes who had lost their territory by providing them with secularized church lands, sweeping away the role of the prince-bishops. Fifty-one imperial cities were mediatized—that is, they lost their direct allegiance to the emperor and instead came under the control of a larger, secular ruler. The medium-sized states were augmented at the expense of the petty states, and a reordering of the electorates gave the Protestants a majority over the Catholics, further weakening the position of the Habsburgs.

Napoleon's victory over Austria and Russia at Austerlitz in December 1805 further weakened Austria's role, and in August 1806 Francis II abdicated as Holy Roman Emperor, becoming Emperor Francis I of Austria. This ended the thousand-year existence of the Holy Roman Empire.

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*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Basle, Treaties of; Bavaria; Confederation of the Rhine; Francis I, Emperor; Imperial Recess; Poland, Partitions of; Prussia

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## Hondschoote, Battle of (6–8 September 1793)

Hondschoote was the site of a decisive defeat inflicted on the forces of the First Coalition by the reformed army of the French Republic; it led to the lifting of the siege of Dunkirk and the retreat of the Allies.

Hondschoote, now in southwestern Belgium, is a village 20 kilometers from Dunkirk (which then lay on the French side of the border between France and the Austrian Netherlands). Seven foreign armies, among them

the British, the Austrians, and Hanoverians, were present on the northern French border to defend the Low Countries and to invade the French Republic to bring the Revolution to an end. The continental monarchies of the First Coalition—Austria, Prussia, and Spain—genuinely feared the loss of their thrones, while Britain was more concerned with excluding the French from the strategically important Channel coasts.

The broad objective of French military commanders was to stave off Allied invasion, so preserving the Republic's sovereignty and the Revolution from its enemies. While the French had achieved some initial victories during the early stages of the conflict, some humiliating military reversals had occurred in 1792 and 1793. Under General Charles François Dumouriez the French had won the Battle of Jemappes, near Mons, on 6 November 1792. He continued his successful invasion of the Austrian Netherlands but was forced to relinquish it after his defeat at the hands of the Austrians at the Battle of Neerwinden, which resulted in 4,000 French casualties. Disillusioned by events, and failing to convince his troops to join the enemy side, he defected to the Austrians. This defection was a major blow to the French. General Adam-Philippe de Custine, a veteran of the American Revolutionary War, had been minister of foreign affairs, and had signed the declaration of war against Austria on 20 April 1792. Custine was defeated at Mainz on 23 July and at the Battle of Valenciennes on 28 July, where his forces suffered 4,500 casualties. He also lost the Condé. He was executed for his failures on 28 August 1793.

With France devoid of competent commanders, these military reverses threatened the Republic, which badly needed a major victory. Because the army was in a disastrous state, the Committee of Public Safety, created on 6 April, instigated major reforms. The defense of France and the subsequent reorganization was made the responsibility of the demanding and uncompromising military genius Lazare Carnot. As minister of war this expert mathematician and strongly committed republican held responsibility for the formulation of strategy. Carnot expended considerable energy in rejuvenating the French Army. He removed a large number of commanders, many of them inept and incompetent leaders and poor strategists. Some veteran commanders refused to change their techniques and were dismissed. A number of generals were imprisoned. In their places Carnot brought in young and enthusiastic officers open to innovative strategies and tactics who were confident and willing to take the necessary risks to ensure victory.

Carnot mobilized France by skillfully manipulating patriotic ideals to ensure quotas through mass conscription. He used nearly every French citizen at his disposal to create

a Revolutionary military machine. He raised a million men in two general conscriptions: one on 23 February 1793, to be effective as of 7 March, and the other—famously known as the *levée en masse*—on 23 August, to be in place by October. Carnot called up able-bodied men aged between eighteen and twenty-five, with those twenty-five to thirty years old designated reserves. Middle-aged and married men were obliged to manufacture ammunition. He charged some women with the sewing of military materials such as uniforms. Other women were relegated to providing first-aid materials. Children were engaged in making medical supplies such as bandages. Recruitment became the responsibility of the elderly and disabled. Carnot's major military innovation was to order his commanders to use flanking techniques to overwhelm the enemy. He rightly earned the sobriquet "the Organizer of Victory."

In early August 1793 British forces laid siege to Dunkirk. The plan was to use it as a permanent supply base to support the expected conquests and occupations made by the First Coalition. The close proximity to the English coastline was a crucial factor in the decision to take Dunkirk. The powers of the First Coalition could then fight the Revolutionaries across the Continent without having to protect their lines of supply. The Anglo-Hanoverian forces were under the dissolute commander in chief of the army, General Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, son of King George III. Despite many years of military training in Hanover, he was inept and tactless, a disastrous commander, and neither a natural leader of men nor a good tactician; he was simply unfit for command. He achieved victories because of his capable subordinates.

York arrived outside the walls of Dunkirk on 23 August with 33,000 British, Hanoverian, Hessian, and Austrian troops at his command. He was fortunate to be supported by the exceptional Hanoverian general Heinrich Wilhelm von Freytag, stationed at Ost Capell, and by William V, the Prince of Orange, at Menin.

Since there were insufficient numbers of French troops to defeat York, the Committee of Public Safety ordered the troops at the Moselle River and at Metz to the Dunkirk area. By 6 September the 42,600 combined regular and volunteer French troops were ready to confront the Allies. The French, whose slogan was "attack and attack in mass," were under the command of General Jean Nicholas Houchard, a veteran of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Trained as an engineer, Houchard was appointed commander of the Army of the Rhine to replace Custine. However, to his credit, Houchard realized his leadership shortcomings and a proclivity to poor judgment that could lead to ruinous mistakes. He had extreme difficulty in maintaining discipline among his intractable troops.

Like York, Houchard was forced to rely heavily on his intelligent and competent staff officers. The raw recruits were ill disciplined, ill equipped, and untrained—completely new to the military experience. They did not use traditional drill-book tactics; rather, they used horde tactics, attacking a particular point in the enemy line and instigating hand-to-hand combat into which were drawn superior numbers of troops to effect a breakthrough. Some of the troops were trained as *tirailleurs*, who deployed in open order and sniped at the enemy individually. These troops soon became adept at shooting from behind such natural cover as trees, dykes, and hedges.

Realizing the magnitude of their task and the improbability of success, Houchard and his officers canceled their original plans to engage the Allies throughout Flanders. They had hoped to crush the forces under York and the Prince of Orange, but instead they chose to defend Dunkirk, which could only withstand a siege for a few days. A protracted siege was likely to result in an Allied invasion of France. Carnot placed a strong emphasis on the importance of Dunkirk, which took on great political symbolism for the French.

Meanwhile, York split his army into two parts, one under himself at Dunkirk and the other under Freytag, who was put in charge of ten divisions. York's troops proceeded to besiege Dunkirk while Freytag set up headquarters at Hondschoote to cover York.

On 6 September Houchard's five columns were led by the ill-tempered General Dominique Vandamme and the experienced war veteran General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan. The French advanced on Hondschoote and attacked York's regulars, who still deployed in traditional formations. Jourdan was severely restricted in his movements; many of his troops were poorly trained and inexperienced, and they possessed no supply train, no battering train, and no naval gunnery support.

French forces advanced in five columns, two of them led by Jourdan. Confused fighting by the green recruits occurred on the first day of the battle, resulting in a French retreat. Freytag was wounded on 6 September and was replaced by General Ludwig Georg Graf von Wallmoden-Gimborn, who commanded the 13,000 Hanoverians. Houchard's troops had spent their strength and ammunition and had depleted their food rations. Consequently, on 7 September the French command occupied itself in rectifying the situation. Houchard was eager to save Dunkirk and was not as involved with the battle as he should have been. He sent three divisions to various places, leaving him with 20,000 men.

However, on 8 September the French, now recovered, moved into flanking positions on both sides of Hondschoote, where the Allies were entrenched, with a morass

on their right and the village of Leysele on their left. This provided the French the opportunity to use Carnot's tactic of attacking in a mass. They fought ferociously, but general confusion regarding orders reigned due to Houchard's indecisiveness. Whereas many troops had left the French line and resorted to uncoordinated mass charges, the exceptionally well-trained Hanoverians used the ceremonial slow march and disciplined volleys against the French.

Houchard eventually ordered a retreat, but one of his officers assumed command and revoked the order. Jourdan, in command of the reserves, was wounded. A bayonet charge nearly halted the Hanoverians, who regrouped after Houchard arrived with 500 fresh troops and hurled his men into the fray. The French were reinvigorated upon realizing they might still achieve victory by employing horde tactics and covering fire. The Hanoverians, although steady and highly disciplined, proved no match for the numerically superior French, whose enthusiasm for victory led to a final, fanatical assault against the weakened points of the enemy's lines. After prolonged fighting, the French emerged victorious.

Shortly thereafter York had little choice but to raise the siege of Dunkirk and retreat, abandoning his siege guns in the process, but saving his army. The French had lost 2,500 men, as had the Anglo-Hanoverians.

Over the six-week period since his appointment, Houchard had showed himself an ineffective commander. His subordinates won the Battle of Hondschoote; he was merely a bystander. The main objective of destroying the Allied forces was not achieved. After Hondschoote, through defective reasoning and incorrect conclusions respecting Allied movements and intentions, Houchard lost the battles of Courtrai and of Menin, where his troops suffered severe losses. This left the roads leading to Paris unprotected, and the Allies could easily have threatened the French capital. As a result, Houchard was recalled to Paris, where his enemies, Carnot among them, colluded to put him on trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which charged him with military failure and treachery. After being accused of cowardice by the Tribunal, Houchard was unable to redeem his reputation and abandoned himself to his fate. Found guilty of military inefficiency on 15 November and succeeded by Jourdan as commander of the Armée du Nord, Houchard was guillotined the following day, a scapegoat for the mistakes of others. The Committee of Public Safety had certainly erred in appointing him, but a close investigation would have exposed wider political and military failings.

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*See also* Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Courtrai, Battle of; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders,

Campaigns in; Jemappes, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Levée en Masse; Mainz, Siege of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Public Safety, Committee of; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Hood, Alexander, First Viscount Bridport (1726–1814)

A British admiral who gained fame as second in command to Admiral Lord Howe at the Battle of the Glorious First of June in 1794, Alexander Hood later commanded the Channel Fleet during the blockade of France from 1797 to 1800. Although his father, Samuel Hood, was a vicar, several members of Hood's family became famous British naval officers. His older brother, Vice Admiral Samuel, Lord Hood, commanded the fleet at the siege of Toulon, and two of his cousins also gained fame while serving in the Royal Navy.

Alexander Hood was born on 2 December 1726 in Butleigh, Somerset. He joined the Royal Navy in 1741 as a midshipman. After six years he was promoted to lieutenant, a rank he held for ten years. He was given command of the 32-gun frigate *Minerva* in 1759. That same year, while in command of this ship, Hood fought at the Battle of Quiberon Bay (20 November) in a major victory that ended a planned French invasion of Britain. The young captain's frigate was part of the scouting squadron that discovered the French fleet as it set sail. Hood gained wide fame in 1761 when his ship recaptured the British vessel, the much larger and more powerful 60-gun *Exeter*, which had been taken by the French in the Mediterranean. Following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Hood served in a variety of posts in the Mediterranean and at the Admiralty in Whitehall.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775, Hood was appointed to command the 74-gun ship of the line *Robust* and participated in the inconclusive action off Ushant on 27 July 1778, in which the British and French fleets only fired at each other for a few minutes. After the battle, the British commander, Admiral Augustus,

Viscount Keppel, was charged with cowardice in what became known as the "Keppel Affair." Hood vigorously defended Keppel's conduct during the latter's court-martial, even though this proved unpopular with fellow officers. Keppel resigned as commander of the Channel Fleet in order to defend himself and his reputation, and he was acquitted. He later became First Lord of the Admiralty. Hence, Hood's actions did not adversely impact his career. In 1780 Hood was promoted to rear admiral. In 1782 he commanded a division of the fleet under Admiral Richard, Earl Howe during the relief of Gibraltar. In the interwar years Hood served briefly as a member of Parliament. While in the House of Commons, he became friends with many of the leading politicians of the day, including the prime minister, William Pitt. The admiral's political connections would greatly enhance his career over the next decade. In 1787 he was promoted to vice admiral, and a year later he was knighted by George III.

When war broke out with France in 1793, Hood was appointed as Howe's second in command. At the Battle of the Glorious First of June (1794), Howe divided his fleet into three divisions, with Hood commanding the rear group from his 100-gun flagship, the *Royal George*. Over several days, Howe's squadron was able to destroy one French ship and capture six others. The battle was not a great strategic victory (the British failed to exploit their success, allowed the enemy fleet to escape, and failed to prevent an important grain convoy from reaching France), but it did, however, mark the first major British naval triumph of the war and was met with popular acclaim. For his actions during the battle, Hood was granted a peerage and became Baron, and later Viscount, Bridport.

After the battle, Hood exercised great autonomy and essentially held an independent command. However, his actions off Ile de Groix on 23 June 1795 attracted significant criticism. Although the British were able to capture three French vessels, Hood's management of the action was called into question. After the battle he transferred his command ashore and helped direct British naval strategy, although he personally took command of the operations during the abortive French invasion of Ireland in 1796–1797. Hood's role was significant, since that winter was one of the coldest in memory and the Channel Fleet remained idle in port. Nonetheless, Hood was able to oversee the operations that led to the failure of the invasion plans.

He took command of the Channel Fleet at Spithead in March 1797, on the eve of the great mutiny in April of that year. The crews of sixteen ships of the line rebelled over pay, conditions, and the cruelty of some officers. Although Hood was initially able to suppress the mutiny aboard his flagship, the insurrection quickly spread throughout the fleet, and within a week he had lost control of both his

flagship and the other vessels. For a time Britain's main line of defense lay immobile in port. Howe's intervention brought a relatively peaceful conclusion to the mutiny. Sailors received their first pay rise since 1658 and were promised better food and rations. In addition, a royal pardon was issued. However, the mutiny at Spithead sparked another uprising among the ships at the Nore in the Thames Estuary, in which the crews called for even more ambitious terms. The action at the Nore resulted in several hangings.

After the mutiny, Hood spent his remaining years in service directing the naval blockade of the French coast. He centered the blockading forces off the port of Brest, and over a three-year period he tightened the blockade as successive Orders in Council restricted trade with France and its continental allies. One result was that Hood's ships increasingly stopped and captured neutral vessels as official definitions of contraband products were expanded.

Hood retired in 1800 after almost sixty years in uniform. In honor of his accomplishments and service, he was made a viscount. He spent his remaining years at his estate, Cricket St. Thomas, in Somerset. He died on 3 May 1814.

*Tom Lansford*

*See also* Blockade; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Ile de Groix, Action off; Nore, Mutiny at the; Orders in Council; Pitt, William; Spithead, Mutiny at; Toulon, Siege of  
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## Howe, Richard, Earl (1726–1799)

Richard, Earl Howe was commander of the British Fleet on the North American station during the American Revolution (1775–1783), after which he served as First Lord of the Admiralty for five years. He is remembered as one of Britain's most distinguished naval commanders, and he was responsible for key naval victories during the American and French Revolutionary Wars. His most famous triumph occurred against the French in 1794 in an engagement known (by the British) as the Battle of the Glorious First of June. Horace Walpole, the famed writer and youngest son of the prime minister, Robert Walpole, once described Howe as “undaunted as a rock, and as silent” (quoted in Jackson

1899, 321). This portrayal points to the paradoxical nature of Howe's personality. He has been lauded as a great leader and strategist (seamen called him “Black Dick” out of respect for his courage), but many contemporaries decried his lack of charisma and poor communication skills, which often led to political rows or enquiries into his professional fitness throughout his naval career.

Howe was born in London in 1726 to a socially prominent family. His grandfather had been an Irish peer, and his father was the royal governor of Barbados. His mother, a German aristocrat, was allegedly the illegitimate daughter of George I. Howe was educated at Westminster under the famed scholar John Nicholl and at Eton. He entered the navy in 1739 as a protégé of Commander George Anson, and his first major assignment was aboard the ship *Severn*. The *Severn* was slated to sail around the world, but the voyage ran into trouble when five of Anson's eight vessels were lost while trying to round Cape Horn at the tip of South America and Howe was forced to return home. Despite this disappointment, Howe's love of the sea was solidified. Just five years later, he achieved the rank of lieutenant and was given command of his first ship, the *Baltimore*. The young commander was seriously wounded in the head when two French privateers engaged the *Baltimore* in 1745 during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748). He nonetheless survived, and for his gallant conduct he was promoted to captain in 1746.

He was given command of the *Dunkirk* in 1755 and sent to North America to patrol the waters during a time of increasing tension with the French. While touring the St. Lawrence River, Howe's crew captured the French ship *Alcide*, marking the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). He commanded numerous ships, including the *Magnanime*, throughout the duration of the war, and for his valor during the conflict he was named a lord of the Admiralty in 1763. This honor came upon the heels of his elevation in the peerage to Viscount Howe, as a result of the death of his elder brother, George, who had been killed in action. He was promoted to Rear Admiral of the Blue in October 1770 in further recognition of his service during the war.

After the outbreak of revolution in the American colonies, Howe was appointed commander in chief of the fleet in North American waters in February 1776. He provided naval support to his brother, Sir William Howe, commander in chief of the army in the thirteen colonies (in distinction to Sir Guy Carleton, who commanded forces in Canada), and Parliament had empowered the brothers to make a final attempt jointly to negotiate peace with the colonies. However, those efforts failed, despite Howe's close relations with colonial leaders, including Benjamin Franklin. Hostilities therefore continued, lead-

ing to the eventual capture of New York City, Long Island, and Philadelphia during late 1776 and early 1777.

With the rebellion's fortunes waning, rebel forces sought the aid of the French government, and by March 1778 the French had formalized a defensive alliance against Britain. Howe quickly found his squadron confronted by a French fleet under Admiral Charles Hector, comte d'Estaing, with the two forces engaging in a test of wills over control of Rhode Island in the summer of 1778. The British eventually outmaneuvered the French through Howe's superior seamanship. Citing exhaustion, as well as possible resentment over failed promotions under Frederick, Lord North's ministry, Howe nonetheless resigned his commission in September 1778.

With the advent of Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham to power in 1782, Howe assumed command of the Channel Fleet, with the rank of Admiral of the Blue, as well as being granted an earldom. His first assignment was to bring some relief to the beleaguered British garrison on Gibraltar—a key strategic possession in the Mediterranean—which was under siege by a Franco-Spanish force. On a ship aptly named the *Victory* (Lord Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar more than twenty years later), Howe engineered the landing of provisions and supplies that enabled the British to successfully hold out against the besiegers. In recognition of his work Howe was made First Lord of the Admiralty in January 1783. He held this post for five years until parliamentary complaints over his fiscal frugality and questionable regulation of the promotion lists prompted his resignation in 1788.

Howe briefly returned to service in 1790, but a case of gout forced him into semiretirement. He resumed active duty in 1793 with the outbreak of war between Britain and Revolutionary France as commander of the Channel Fleet, in which capacity he directed numerous cruises around the Channel Islands through late 1793 and early 1794 in search of enemy ships. Little action was seen during these months, which generated criticism at home over the squandering of tax money, but by May 1794 Howe's fleet finally made contact with a sizable opponent. The French, under the direction of Admiral Louis Villaret-Joyeuse, engaged Howe's ships beginning on 29 May. Dense fog interrupted the fighting over the next two days, but it resumed on the morning of 1 June. In a battle remembered as the Battle of the Glorious First of June, Howe resoundingly defeated the French and returned to Britain a hero, with six captured enemy ships in tow.

Howe was made a full admiral in 1796. Plagued again by ill health, he officially retired in March 1797, though as recent commander of the Channel Fleet and a respected, paternalistic naval figure, he received the petitions of the Spithead mutineers for improved working and living con-

ditions. He ignored the first petitions but later visited various ships involved in the mutiny in an attempt to quell discontent. He and other delegates sent by the Admiralty managed to end the revolt through personal appeals, backed by parliamentary concessions to some of the mutineers' demands. He spent the remainder of his life perfecting the new naval signal system he had instituted while serving in the Admiralty. Howe's numeric signal code, which streamlined the number of pennants used, was designed to improve communication within the fleet. As evidenced by "the Glorious First," this system was invaluable. In fact, a revised version of the code became the basis of the Admiralty's 1790 *Signal Book for the Ships of War*, the guide used until 1799, the year of Howe's death, when signals and instructions were amalgamated to form the Admiralty's first official signal book, which served the Navy throughout the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812.

Rachel Finley-Bowman

*See also* Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Nore, Mutiny at the; Royal Navy; Spithead, Mutiny at; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas; War of 1812

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### Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand Freiherr von (1767–1835)

Prussian scholar, brother of naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, associated with the Weimar Classicists Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich von Schiller.

Wilhelm von Humboldt struggled to find a vocation and proper outlet for his formidable talents, but his greatest achievement lay in the totality of his interrelated endeavors. Although he deeply valued the contemplative life, he was anything but apolitical, and during some two decades in government service he worked tirelessly for liberal reforms. Indeed, the problem of human nature and the relation between the individual and the state was at the

heart of much of his literary and philosophical scholarship as well.

Beginning in 1810 he was ambassador to Vienna, taking part in most of the diplomacy that prepared and accompanied the defeat of Napoleon. In 1813 he persuaded Austria to join Prussia and Russia against France in the Sixth Coalition. At the Congress of Vienna he achieved only some of his goals and had to settle for a weaker and less liberal German Confederation—though he still viewed it as a foundation for greater unity and institutional growth. By contrast, his principled struggle for Jewish emancipation bore fruit. His attempt to introduce more representative institutions in Prussia was stymied first by his personal rival, Karl August von Hardenberg, and then by the wave of repression that came in 1819 with the Carlsbad Decrees following the assassination in Mannheim of the reactionary propagandist August von Kotzebue by a radical student. He retired to his estate, where he dedicated himself to scholarship in classical literature and his greatest work, on world linguistics.

Humboldt's most familiar legacy is his creation, from 1809–1810, during the era of Prussian reforms, of the modern German educational system. His innovations operated on two tripartite levels: first, in finance, universal access, and curriculum; and second, in primary, secondary, and tertiary schooling.

In Humboldt's system, education was financed by the state and open to all, allowing social mixing impossible in society as a whole. The key was the neohumanist concept of *Bildung*, or total cultivation of the individual, in a context of freedom: "Persons educated to be free individuals will ultimately be better citizens than men educated to be citizens, just as science left to its own devices will be more fruitful than science supervised by the state" (Sorkin 1983, 64).

In Humboldt's revision of the levels of education, elementary schooling inculcated fundamental skills. Secondary education taught pupils to apply those skills in independent intellectual activity. The humanistic *Gymnasium*, by emphasizing the supreme heritage of classical Greek and Latin, acquainted the individual with universal humanity. In the university, teachers and students constituted themselves as a community of scholars. The guiding principles of the university came to be principles now often taken for granted: academic freedom and the unity of research, teaching, and learning. The new University of Berlin (1810) has since 1945 borne Humboldt's name.

*James Wald*

*See also* Education (French); Germany, Campaign in; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Prussia; Schiller, Friedrich von; Vienna, Congress of

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## Hundred Days

*See* Waterloo Campaign

## Hungary

Collective name for the eastern territories of the Austrian (Habsburg) Empire, based on flat, open lands, surrounded by mountain ranges or, in the south, the Danube-Save river system. Composed of the Kingdom of Hungary (including the northern Banat), the Kingdom of Croatia (including Slavonia), and the Principality of Siebenburgen (Transylvania), it was protected to the south by the Military Frontier (*Grenz*). The agricultural economy was feudal and dominated by the great landowning magnates, who wielded considerable influence in the diets (noble assemblies). Hungary enjoyed greater autonomy than other provinces, dealing directly with the Habsburg monarch as its king. Vienna ruled these provinces through viceroys and maintained Hungarian and Siebenburgen chanceries as administrative offices, although the frontier was under direct rule through the Hofkriegsrat (Imperial War Council).

As king of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia, and at the same time grand prince of Siebenburgen, the Habsburg monarch ruled through a viceroy called the *palatine* in Hungary (Archduke Alexander until 1795, then Archduke Joseph) and the *ban* elsewhere (including the Banat), who was advised by a *gremium* (selected council). Although Hungary's official capital was Pressburg (now Bratislava), Buda was the seat of government, while Croatia was ruled from Agram (now Zagreb) and Siebenburgen from Kolozvar. Each had its own diet (noble assembly, called the Sabor in Croatia), but the Hungarian body enjoyed considerable autonomy since it both controlled financial and military manpower contributions and had the right of *ius resistendi* (the right to oppose regulations from Vienna considered to be in breach of the ancient Hungarian constitution). The provinces were composed of *comitate* (counties) with their own diets (*congregationes*), headed by a Crown representative, the *föispan*, who also sat in the national Diet.

Ninety percent of the economy was agricultural; industry was limited to mining and initial crop processing, and craftsmen were rare. The peasants bore the burden of taxation, as the nobles were exempt. The largest towns had

fewer than 30,000 inhabitants. The population was concentrated in the north and west: Hungary and the Banat totaled 6.5 million; Transylvania, 1.5 million; and Civil Croatia/Slavonia, 650,000, with 700,000 in the Military Frontier. Magyars (Hungarians) were dominant in Hungary, and there were large populations of Slovaks in the north and Germans in the western towns. Hungarians made up only 28 percent of Transylvania's population, which was primarily Romanian, while Croats constituted 73 percent of Croatia's population, which also had a large Serb component. The 135,000 gypsies and 90,000 Jews were spread across all areas (Macartney 1969, 81).

The Military Frontier was divided into six districts, subdivided into administrative regiments. The first five made up the regulated frontier, guarding the Adriatic coast and Danube-Save river system. It was mostly inhabited by large households (*zadruga*), Croats to the west, Serbs in the center, and a mix of German settlers with Wallach-Romanians in the east. The unregulated district (where Military Frontier laws were not implemented) protected Siebenburgen's Carpathian Mountains and was populated by Szekels, Wallachs, and German settlers.

David Hollins

*See also* Austria; Francis I, Emperor

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## Hyères, Action off (13 July 1795)

Second naval encounter between the British and French Mediterranean fleets in 1795. While lying at anchor in San Fiorenzo Bay in Corsica, Admiral William Hotham, commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean, detached a squadron under Commodore Horatio Nelson on 4 July 1795 to cruise along the coast west of Genoa. While off Cape del Melle on the seventh Nelson sighted the Toulon fleet under Vice Admiral Pierre Martin at a distance of about 15 miles. This force consisted of seventeen ships of the line, six frigates, and three smaller vessels. The French gave chase and nearly caught Nelson's rearmost vessel, but on the morning of the eighth Nelson was able to warn Hotham of Martin's approach. The French ceased their pursuit on sighting Hotham's fleet in the bay. Hotham had twenty-three ships of the line, three frigates, and five smaller vessels. The following day Hotham's fleet weighed anchor and proceeded westward in search of the French. The French were sighted at dawn on the thirteenth off the

Hyères Islands, east of Toulon, and by 8:00 A.M., when it was clear the French were trying to avoid contact, Hotham ordered a general chase. In the course of the morning the winds shifted in direction and strength, so that both fleets became widely scattered and the British center and rear fell behind.

At 12:30 P.M. the three rearmost French ships opened starboard broadsides on the leading ships of the British van, consisting of the *Victory* (100 guns), *Culloden* (74), and *Cumberland* (74). Soon a French 74, the *Alcide*, was severely damaged, and by 1:30 the *Culloden* had lost her main-topmast. Around 2:00 P.M. the *Alcide* surrendered to the *Cumberland*, but the latter ship, instead of sending aboard a prize crew, proceeded to engage the second ship from the French rear. The French attempted to tow the *Alcide* to safety but were driven off. About this time several more vessels from Hotham's fleet joined the fight: the *Agamemnon* (64), *Blenheim* (90), *Captain* (74), and *Defence* (74). But around 3:00 P.M., just as the *Cumberland* was engaging yet another vessel in the opposing rear column, Hotham, for fear of being blown ashore, signaled the fleet to disengage. So astonished were the officers and crews of the van, and so reluctant were they to obey it—the officers on board the *Cumberland* in particular—that the flagship had to repeat the command.

It was true that as a result of shifting winds the French were outdistancing the British center and rear, whose progress was delayed by becalmed conditions, but later that evening the winds shifted again, and Martin made slow progress in his flight to Fréjus Bay. It appears that if Hotham had continued to pursue the French along the same course, he might have at least prevented them from reaching land and might possibly have sunk or captured much of Martin's numerically inferior force. Thus, a precious opportunity was irresponsibly lost. British losses aboard the six vessels actually engaged amounted to eleven killed and twenty-eight wounded. French losses are not known, but the *Alcide*, shortly after striking her colors, caught fire and blew up at 3:45 P.M., losing over half her crew in the process. Martin returned to Toulon, while Hotham made first for San Fiorenzo and then Leghorn (Livorno).

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Gulf of Genoa, Battle of the

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# I

## **Iashvili (Yashvili), Leo Mikhailovich, Prince (1768–1836)**

Russian general and artillery commander, born to a prominent Georgian noble family and the brother of Major General Vladimir Iashvili, one of the conspirators in the murder of Tsar Paul I. Leo Iashvili studied in the Artillery and Engineer Cadet Corps and was appointed as *shtyk junker* (roughly speaking, an officer candidate) in the Bombardier Regiment on 23 May 1786. He was promoted to sub-lieutenant for Ochakov in December 1788 and participated in the Russo-Turkish War from 1788 to 1791, fighting at Akkerman, Bender, and Ismail. In 1792–1794 he served in Poland and distinguished himself at Warsaw and Praga. Promoted to lieutenant in July 1794, he joined the 4th Horse Artillery Company on 29 December, rising to captain three years later. He transferred to the Life Guard Artillery Battalion in April 1799 and was promoted to colonel of Bogdanov's horse artillery battalion in May 1800, which was transformed into the 8th Artillery Regiment that September.

In 1801 he took part in the conspiracy against Tsar Paul I. Under Alexander I, Iashvili was transferred to the Life Guard Artillery Battalion in April 1801 and to the 1st Horse Artillery Battalion in June 1803. He participated in the 1805 campaign, distinguishing himself in rearguard actions in the action at Wischau and at the Battle of Austerlitz. In 1806–1807, Iashvili served with the 4th Artillery Brigade in Poland and took part in the battles of Pultusk, Eylau, Guttstädt, and Friedland. For his actions he was promoted to major general in March 1808. In April 1809 he became commander of the artillery brigade of the 4th Division.

In 1812 Iashvili commanded the 1st Reserve Artillery Brigade of General Peter Graf Wittgenstein's corps, fighting at Dunaburg, Jakubovo, Klyastitsy, Golovchin, Smolyani, and Borisov. For his actions he was promoted to lieutenant general in October 1812. He distinguished himself in both battles at Polotsk in August and October 1812,

and he also took part in the pursuit of the French forces fighting at Borisov and on the Berezina. In 1813–1814 he served as head of artillery in the main Russian army and participated in most of the major battles in Germany and France. In 1816 he became commander of artillery of the 1st Army and was promoted to general of artillery three years later. He served as artillery commander of the 1st Army from 1816 to 1833 and took part in the suppression of the Polish uprising in 1830–1831.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austerlitz, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Paul I, Tsar; Polotsk, Battle of; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Third Coalition, War of the; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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## **Ibrahim Bey, Al Kabir Al-Muhammadi (17?–March 1816)**

Prominent Mameluke statesman and military commander, also known as al-Kabir (the Great). Ibrahim Bey was born as Abram Shinjikashvili to a priest's family in the village of Martkopi near Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. He was kidnapped at an early age and was raised as a Mameluke of Muhammad Bey Abu l'Dhahab. In 1768–1769 he became bey, serving as *amir al-hadjdj* (official in charge of issues relating to pilgrimage) in 1772–1773 and *daftardat* (record-keeper or registrar) in 1773–1774. In March 1775 he was appointed *shaykh al-balad* (the official holding supreme authority in the country), and after the death of his patron Abu l'Dhahab Ibrahim became co-ruler (with

Murad Bey) of Egypt. He and Murad Bey were forced to flee to Upper Egypt during a brief civil war, but they returned to power in February 1778, when Ibrahim Bey assumed position of *shaykh al-balad*. However, the conflict between numerous Mameluke factions continued, leading to a rupture between Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey. The two rulers soon reconciled, and Ibrahim was restored as *shaykh al-balad* in February 1785. Nevertheless, another civil war led to the disruption of pilgrimages to the Muslim holy places and to a decline in agriculture.

In late 1785 Ibrahim and Murad received Ottoman demands for tribute but refused to comply. On 18 July 1786 Murad Bey failed to contain an Ottoman expeditionary force sent as a result, and the Turks installed a new government in Cairo in August 1786. Ibrahim Bey withdrew to Upper Egypt, where he fought the Ottoman-backed administration in Cairo for the next five years. In July 1791 Ibrahim Bey finally seized power in Cairo and ruled with Murad Bey for the next seven years. He kept close contact with his family in Georgia and, despite having converted to Islam, contributed significant sums of money to the construction of the Christian church and fortifications at his native village of Martkopi. He even invited members of his family to visit him and had close relations with King Erekle II of Kartli-Kakheti (Eastern Georgia).

On 2 July 1798 Ibrahim Bey faced the invasion of a French expeditionary force under Bonaparte. Within the next three weeks, as Murad Bey's Mameluke forces were defeated at Shubra Khit (10–13 July) and Inbaba (Embaba) (21 July), Ibrahim Bey fled to Syria. Although he continued to mount resistance against the French, Ibrahim Bey never fully regained his authority, and his forces were depleted. After Muhammad Ali became viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim remained in Upper Egypt, distrustful of Muhammad Ali. Thus, he declined an invitation to visit Cairo in early 1811 and survived the massacre of the Mamelukes of 1 March 1811. The same year, Ibrahim Bey left the country and settled at Dongola in Sudan, where he died five years later.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Egypt; Middle East Campaign; Murad Bey; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Empire; Shubra Khit, Battle of  
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## Idéologues

The Idéologues were a group of French intellectuals who had scientific and political influence during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. The origins of this group go back to the pre-1789 *ancien régime*, when the salon of Madame Anne-Catherine Helvétius (née de Ligniville) may be seen as the birthplace of the Idéologues as a scientific movement. The core representatives of the Idéologues consisted of such intellectuals as Jean d'Alembert, André-Marie Ampère, François Andrieux, Pierre Cabanis, Sébastien Chamfort, André-Marie de Chénier, Etienne de Condillac, the marquis de Condorcet, Pierre Daunou, Joseph Marie Degérando, Antoine Destutt de Tracy, François Droz, Claude Fauriel, Benjamin Franklin, Dominique-Joseph Garat, Pierre-Louis Ginguené, Paul d'Holbach, Pierre Laromiguière, Maine de Biran, Chrétien de Malesherbes, Alessandro Manzoni, André Morellet, Emmanuel Sieyès, François Thurot, Anne-Robert-Jacques de Turgot, and the comte de Volney. This group is usually identified with Sensualism, which was a French philosophical answer to the philosophical schools of Rationalism and Empiricism. Because the careers and the activities of members of the Idéologues extended from the peak of the Enlightenment period in the mid-eighteenth century to the end of the Napoleonic era in 1814–1815 (and sometimes even beyond that), the term as a label for a philosophical movement cannot be regarded as very precise.

However, the term *Idéologues* as a name for a politically active group becomes more readily applicable during the Revolutionary period (1789–1799) and the early stages of Napoleonic rule (1799–1804). The Idéologues were not confined to a special Revolutionary party, but they did hold important offices during the 1790s. They were responsible for many of the constitutional changes and organizational matters during the institution-building period of the emerging First (French) Republic (from 1792). The Idéologues symbolized the new self-confidence of science and scientists created during the Enlightenment, which tried to apply scientific methods to government and to the state. The Idéologues are not as famous as the Jacobins, the Hébertists, or other political factions, but they probably exerted much more influence on the creation of the political and scientific institutions of modern France than these better-known groups.

Bonaparte had shown his interest in modern science during his campaign in Egypt in 1798–1799, when he took a whole contingent of scientists, known as Savants, with

him to study this ancient land. When he came to power as a result of the coup of Brumaire in November 1799, many of the Idéologues were behind him. They constituted the scientific element of those Bonapartist supporters who were labeled “Brumaireans” or the “elite of Brumaire.” The state organization and the institutions that ran the state during the period of the Consulate (1799–1804) all suited the mutual interests of Bonaparte and of the surviving Idéologues. Relations cooled, however, when Bonaparte proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon I and established the First Empire in December 1804.

Both the scientific and the political views of the Idéologues remain vague, as they were not organized as a coherent group or party with a clearly defined membership. Nevertheless, the term *Idéologues* is a good label for those French scientists and intellectuals who became involved in politics for the purpose of creating a government and state based on scientific knowledge and the employment of scientific methods. This was only possible in a post-absolutism environment, when the principle of the divine right of kings as a means of legitimizing the government or state had vanished.

*Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle*

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins; Middle East Campaign; Savants

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## Ile de Groix, Action off (23 June 1795)

Minor Anglo-French naval action off Brittany, fought in the wake of the royalist landings at Quiberon Bay. The Channel Fleet, under the temporary command of Admiral Alexander Hood, Lord Bridport, while Admiral Richard, Earl Howe, was ill, left Spithead on 12 June to escort an expedition to Quiberon Bay. They encountered a French fleet bound for Brest under Admiral Louis Villaret-Joyeuse. However, a violent storm dispersed their ships and obliged Villaret-Joyeuse to seek protection off Belle Isle. Meanwhile, the British expedition left its escort on the nineteenth, also near Belle Isle, at which time Bridport then sought to protect the landings and subsequent operations

by watching for ships out of Brest, for Bridport was unaware that Villaret-Joyeuse was not in fact there. However, he was soon informed of the French presence by Sir John Warren, commander of the *Pomone* (40 guns), and on the twentieth Bridport ordered Warren to send him reinforcements in the shape of three of his ships of the line: the *Robust* (74), *Thunderer* (74), and *Standard* (64).

Bridport himself had fourteen ships of the line already, and he kept them between Warren and Villaret-Joyeuse while he awaited the reinforcements. Bridport sighted the French on the twenty-second, and by 6:45 A.M. he had signaled his whole force to give chase. By noon they had come within 12 miles, though the winds were then very calm. At 7:25 P.M. Bridport ordered his ships to engage the French as they came into range. By nightfall the British were nearly upon them until the winds calmed. At 3:00 A.M. the following day, however, the wind picked up, and by dawn the French were clearly in view, with all but three or four ships clustered together. The British, less than 3 miles from the enemy yet scattered about, were lead by the *Irresistible* (74), with the *Queen Charlotte* (100) on her starboard quarter and the remainder of the ships proceeding astern. Following the *Queen Charlotte* were the *Orion* (74), *Sans Pareil* (80), *Colossus* (74), and *Russell* (74).

Around 5:00 A.M. the rearmost French vessel, the *Alexandre* (74), which, formerly named the *Alexander*, had been captured from the British the year before, was found to be lagging behind and was taken in tow by one of the French frigates. An hour later this vessel and several others nearby opened fire on the *Irresistible*, which returned fire against the *Alexandre* (24), obliging the frigate towing her to leave her behind. At about 6:15 A.M. the *Queen Charlotte* (100) and the *Formidable* (74) exchanged fire, an exchange in which the *Sans Pareil* took part, and it was not long before the *Formidable* caught fire. The flames spread rapidly and caused such considerable damage that the ship was forced to fall astern. When, finally, her mizzenmast was lost, the *Formidable* surrendered.

Meanwhile, the bulk of the opposing vessels had joined the engagement, with the exception of the 74-gun French ships *Zélé*, *Fougueux*, *Jean Bart*, and *Droits de l'Homme*, which were well outside the scene of action and could therefore take no part in the fighting. On the British side the *Royal George* (100), *Prince of Wales* (98), *Prince* (98), *Barfleur* (98), *Prince George* (98), *Valiant* (74), *Colossus* (74), and a number of frigates were too far astern to join the fight. In the course of the action the *Queen Charlotte* suffered so much damage to her rigging that she could hardly maneuver, though just after 7:00 A.M. she still managed to fire a broadside into the stricken *Alexandre*, which thereupon struck her colors. To this prize was added the *Tigre* (74), which, having already fought with the *Queen*

*Charlotte* and *Sans Pareil*, succumbed after the *Queen Charlotte* and *London* (98) began to add their own fire. Shortly after 8:00 A.M. the British flagship, the *Royal George*, with Lord Bridport aboard, finally came into action, overtaking the *Queen Charlotte*, then in the process of making repairs to her sails and rigging.

Yet at 8:15, although Bridport was in a position to sink, seize, or drive ashore his opponent's vessels, he squandered the opportunity and signaled to the *Colossus*, and soon thereafter the *Sans Pareil*, to cease firing. The *Royal George* fired her broadsides into the massive 120-gun *Peuple* and the *Tigre*, unaware that the latter had already surrendered. She then disengaged from the French fleet, followed by the remainder of Bridport's ships. The *Prince*, *Barfleur*, and *Prince George* took the prizes in tow, and Bridport's fleet bore away to the southwest. The French, taking advantage of this narrow escape, made for the channel between Ile de Groix and the port of Lorient. Later that evening, advised by his captains that the British might attack his anchorage, Villaret-Joyeuse withdrew into the safety of Lorient itself.

Damage to Bridport's ships was generally slight, and his losses amounted to 31 killed and 113 wounded. French casualties are unknown, but the figures known for the three prizes—*Tigre*, *Alexandre*, and *Formidable*—alone totaled 670 killed and wounded. All three ships were commissioned into the Royal Navy. While this action was a British victory, it was not as complete as it might have been. Bridport's excessive caution denied him the chance to capture or destroy Villaret-Joyeuse's entire fleet. Thus, although the French were obliged to remain in port for the winter, eventually they all managed to slip past the blockade and reach Brest or other ports.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Hood, Alexander, First Viscount Bridport; Howe, Richard, Earl; Quiberon, Expedition to; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas

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## Ilovaysky (Ilovaysky XII), Vasily Dmitryevich (1788–1860)

Russian general and cavalry leader. Vasily Ilovaysky was the son of General of Cavalry Ataman Dmitry Ilovaysky and

was enlisted in the Ataman Cossack Regiment in 1792. Ilovaysky then studied in the Artillery and Engineer Cadet Corps in 1798–1801 and served in the Ataman Cossack Regiment in 1801 before joining Ilovaysky II's Cossack Regiment in October 1802. In 1806–1807 Ilovaysky and his six brothers served in Poland. He commanded Cossack detachments at Pultusk, Jankovo, Eylau, Guttstädt, Heilsberg, and Friedland.

In 1808–1810, during the Russo-Turkish War, Ilovaysky served with Ilovaysky II's Cossack Regiment in the Army of Moldavia, fighting at Braila, Macin, Babadag, and Girsov, in two combats at Rassevat, Silistra (where he commanded a Cossack regiment), Tataritsa, Bazardjik (where he was promoted to a lieutenant colonel), Shumla, Batin (where he was promoted to a colonel on 7 December 1810), and Nikopol. In 1811 he distinguished himself at Ruse, where General Mikhail Kutuzov surrounded the entire Turkish army.

During the 1812 campaign Ilovaysky initially commanded a Cossack regiment in the 2nd Western Army, serving at Romanovo and Smolensk. In August–September Ilovaysky led Cossack detachments at Velizh, Porechye, Surazh, and Khimki (where he was promoted to a major general on 28 September 1812). He was one of the first to enter Moscow after the French abandoned the city. During the French retreat Ilovaysky distinguished himself at Dukhovshina, Orsha, and Kovno. In the spring of 1813 he commanded Cossack detachments in General Ferdinand Winzgorode's corps, fighting at Nordhausen, Naumburg, Weissenfels, Lützen, Königswartha, Bautzen, and Görlitz. In June 1813 he took command of all reserve Cossack regiments in the main Russian army. During the autumn phase of the campaign he distinguished himself at Kulm, and later served at Pegau, Leipzig, and Hanau.

During the 1814 campaign Ilovaysky took part in the actions at Vassy, Nogent, Bar-sur-Aube, Labrusselle, Troyes, Arcis-sur-Aube, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre. Returning to Russia, Ilovaysky was appointed ataman of the Don Cossack regiments in the Caucasus in 1823 and rose to lieutenant general on 7 September 1826. During the Russo-Persian War in 1827, he commanded Cossack detachments in General Ivan Paskevich's corps, fighting at Shulaveri, Abbas-Abad, Djavan-Bulah, Echmiadzin, and Sardar-Abad, where he became seriously ill and returned to the Don Host. Ilovaysky spent another thirteen years in the service before retiring on 6 April 1840.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Cossacks; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Hanau, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Jankovo, Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; La-

Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Moscow, Occupation of; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Turkish War; Smolensk, Battle of

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## Imola, Battle of

See Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

## Imperial Guard (French)

The Imperial Guard was the backbone of Napoleon's army and an elite fighting force whose mere presence could bolster French morale on the battlefield.

The genesis of the Imperial Guard can be traced back to the turmoil of the Revolution and to several units in particular: the Garde du Corps Legislatif, the Garde du Directoire executif, and sections of the Guides d'Etat-major de l'Armée de l'Orient. These guides and bodyguards of the legislature and the Directory were united to form the cornerstone of the Consular Guard, or the Garde des Consuls, in 1799 (although the consular decree was dated 3 January 1800). After Bonaparte was elevated to Emperor as Napoleon I in 1804, the Consular Guard became the legendary Imperial Guard.

During this period, the Imperial Guard grew at a tremendous rate. In 1804 it numbered approximately 8,000 men, but by 1812 and the Russian campaign there were 56,169 Imperial Guardsmen. By 1814, as Napoleon's career neared its apogee, some 112,482 soldiers were part of the Imperial corps d'elite. However, these numbers could not be reestablished in the brief period known as the Hundred Days in 1815, when just 25,870 men could claim membership in the Guard (Chandler 1995, 338).

The Guard was a heterogeneous mix of different types of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and the organization of this "army within an army" was quite complex, since it was divided into three sections: the Old Guard, the Middle Guard, and the Young Guard.

Foot grenadiers (the famed *grogards*, or grumblers), chasseurs, horse grenadiers, *chasseurs à cheval*, dragoons, lancers, Mamelukes, engineers, a detachment of gunners, military police, and Marines of the Guard made up the Old Guard. In 1806 two fusilier regiments formed the nucleus of the Middle Guard. Two regiments of sharpshooters

(flankers) were added in 1812–1813. By 1809 the Young Guard had been established, consisting of light infantry and skirmishers.

Velite (cadet or trainee officer) squadrons acted as a training school for young men who served with the Imperial Guard cavalry at their parents' expense with a view to becoming an officer. Entry requirements for the Consular Guard were stringent and remained largely unchanged for its imperial successor. Men had to be at least twenty-five years old and between 5 feet, 6 inches and 6 feet tall. They were required to have at least ten years' service and to have fought in a minimum of three campaigns; they had to be literate and had to have displayed exemplary bravery, discipline, and devotion to *la patrie*. As years of war took their toll and the shortage of manpower became acute, some of the requirements were dropped or amended.

As well as prestige, membership of the Imperial Guard had a number of benefits. These included higher rates of pay, as officers and men of the Guard could receive almost double the wages of equivalent ranks in the ordinary regiments of the line. Their uniforms, rations, and even weapons were usually superior to those issued to the rest of the army. Other factors separated members of the Guard from their comrades, including a system of ranks that did not exist in other units. As colonels general of the Guard (*colonels généraux de la Garde*), four marshals headed the various arms: Louis Davout, the foot grenadiers; Nicolas Soult, the *chasseurs à pied*; Jean-Baptiste Bessières, the cavalry; and Adolphe Mortier, the artillery and sailors.

Although the Imperial Guard was never far from Napoleon, it was seldom committed to battle. Until 1809 the Emperor was extremely protective of what Henry Lachouque has called his "gilded phalanx" (Lachouque 1997, 177). Indeed, at Jena in 1806 soldiers of the Guard grumbled at the Emperor's refusal to place them in the thick of the action, prompting the following retort from Napoleon: "Only a beardless youth would presume to judge in advance what I should do. Let him wait until he has commanded in thirty pitched battles before he dares to give me advice" (quoted in Chandler 1995, 486). Napoleon's reluctance to commit the Guard has been heavily criticized, although it was more than just favoritism toward an elite corps. The Guard could be kept in reserve to administer a much-needed coup de grâce as a battle reached its denouement.

The actions in which the Imperial Guard were involved, such as at Somosierra in 1808, have become part of military mythology. A case in point was the Battle of Austerlitz, where the cavalry of the French Imperial Guard decimated the pride of the Russian Imperial Guard. As Napoleon's personal escort, the Guard on occasion had to save the Emperor's life. At Eylau in 1807 their courageous



Wearing their distinctive bearskin caps, Napoleon's Imperial Guard was the most famous of many elite military formations of the day. (Print after Hippolyte Bellangé, ca. 1900)

intervention ensured that Napoleon lived to fight another day, despite some 6,000 Russian infantry coming too close for comfort.

The Imperial Guard has been criticized for having drawn good troops away from the line regiments and for possibly having created a sense of resentment among the rank and file. However, it could also be argued that the Guard gave line soldiers something to which to aspire and created a greater esprit de corps within the army as a whole.

One thing is certain: In the annals of military history few units have as prestigious a reputation as the Imperial Guard. As Lachouque wrote: "The Old Guard breathed its spirit into the Young Guard, and both breathed it into the Line, until the spirit of the Guard animated the whole Imperial army and continued to inspire those that came after it in 1854, 1870 and 1914" (Lachouque 1997, 505).

Stephen Stewart

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Jena, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Russian Campaign; Somosierra, Action at; Waterloo, Battle of

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### Imperial Recess (1803)

The Imperial Recess (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) was a fundamental and far-reaching restructuring of the map of Germany under Napoleonic auspices. Made necessary by French territorial expansion to the Rhine and carried out in order to satisfy France's promise to indemnify German princes who had incurred losses on the left bank of that river with territory on its right bank, the Recess also served Bonaparte's broader purpose of establishing French hegemony over Germany. The indemnification took place through the processes of secularization and mediatisation, that is, the assimilation by the larger German states of, respectively, ecclesiastical and secular principalities (the latter primarily imperial free cities). In conjunction with the further restructuring of Germany under the Confederation of the Rhine (1806), following the Peace of Pressburg (1805), the Recess reduced the number of sovereign principalities in Germany from over 1,000 to 39. In the short term these two events, taken together, prepared the way for the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, finalized by the forced abdication of the Holy Roman Emperor (Francis II, who became Francis I of Austria) on 6 August 1806, after a Napoleonic ultimatum. In the long term they determined the geopolitical map of Germany until 1866–1871, during the Wars of Unification, and indeed until 1945.

The French conquest of territory on the left bank of the Rhine had been formally ratified with Prussia in the Peace of Basle of 5 April 1795 and with Austria in the Peace of Campo Formio (18 October 1797). According to Article VII of the Peace of Lunéville (signed with the Holy Roman Empire on 9 February 1801), those princes who had incurred losses during this expansion would be compensated. The Imperial Diet therefore decided, on 2 October 1801, to appoint a committee to elaborate plans for such compensation. Composed of representatives of Mainz, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister* (master of the German order), this deputation formally rubber-stamped decisions already taken by France and Russia on 3 June 1802, after consultation with the key interested parties. These negotiations had taken place in Paris between Bonaparte as First Consul and Foreign Minister Talleyrand on the one hand, and Austria, Prussia, and the German middle states on the other, resulting in a series of bilateral agreements. Bonaparte wanted to weaken the Habsburgs both territorially in Germany and politically within the

Holy Roman Empire, and as a counterweight to Austria he wanted to create a group of middle-sized German states that would be strong but dependent on France. The aim of the Russian tsar, Alexander I, was to territorially enhance Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, all of whom were dynastically linked to the House of Romanov. France and Russia imposed their plan quite effortlessly through the exploitation of Austro-Prussian rivalry and that among the medium-sized German states, which were maneuvering for territorial expansion at the expense of the weaker. The end result was a Franco-Russian draft based on these agreements and accepted by the deputation on 23 November 1802—in spite of the Holy Roman Emperor's protest. The draft was finalized on 25 February 1803, ratified by the Imperial Diet on 24 March, and by the Holy Roman Emperor on 27 April.

The Recess, which eliminated 112 sovereign estates—including 66 ecclesiastical principalities and 41 free cities—and caused 3 million German subjects to change allegiance, has frequently been termed a *territorial revolution*. The main winners were Bavaria (which gained a third more than it had lost), Württemberg (which gained 4 times what it had lost), Prussia (which gained 5 times what it had lost, mainly in the northwest), Baden (which gained 7.5 times what it had lost), and (to a much more limited extent) Austria.

The consequences of the Recess for Germany and the Holy Roman Empire were enormous. Because of the departure of the secularized archbishops of Cologne and Trier, both of whom had sat on the Imperial Electoral College, and the arrival of the new electors of Württemberg, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg, six Protestants now opposed four Catholics, which meant the next Holy Roman Emperor could very well be a Protestant. Yet secularization meant not only the end of the political independence of ecclesiastical principalities but also the outright confiscation of church property by the beneficiary. In total the German Catholic Church lost 95,000 square kilometers of territory. This had not only major economic consequences but also significant social consequences, for example, in the areas of education and welfare, traditionally almost exclusively the responsibility of the church. Drove of previously ecclesiastical peasants became state peasants, especially in Bavaria. Much church land was also acquired by private individuals, ranging from peasant smallholders to wealthy urban burghers. Secularization clearly had a positive impact through the enabling of de-feudalization and general administrative modernization. Its cultural impact, however, was perhaps less fortunate, since many Catholic universities disappeared, as did important centers of scholarship in the abolished abbeys and monasteries.

Mediatization, in contrast, did not mean the confiscation of the property of the mediatized territory, just loss of sovereignty (and, of course, loss of the income that had resulted from the exercise of sovereign rights, for example, collection of taxes). After the Recess, the only imperial free cities left were Lübeck, Frankfurt, Bremen, Hamburg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg—the only towns with enough funds to bribe Bonaparte. Of these, Frankfurt and Nuremberg did not survive the next wave of mediatization of yet another seventy estates, by the Confederation of the Rhine.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austria; Basle, Treaties of; Bavaria; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Confederation of the Rhine; Francis I, Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Lunéville, Treaty of; Pressburg, Treaty of; Prussia; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Württemberg

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## India

South Asian subcontinent forming a peninsula between the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, bordered to the north by the Himalayas and Afghanistan. Indian history between 1789 and 1815 is most notable for the internal collapse of the Mogul Empire and British expansion in the subcontinent under a succession of governors-general: Charles Cornwallis, first Marquis Cornwallis (1786–1793 and 1805); Sir John Shore (1793–1797); Richard Wellesley, second Earl of Mornington (also known from 1799 as Marquis or Marquess Wellesley, his title in the Irish peerage) (1797–1805); Sir George Barlow (1805–1807); Gilbert Elliot, first Baron Minto (1807–1813); and Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquis of Hastings (1813–1823).

Since the mid-seventeenth century the British East India Company had been established in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Until the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) the company's main European rival for trade with India was

France. After the Treaty of Paris (1763) French influence was mainly limited to its trading post at Pondicherry and the East India Company was able to achieve its ambition of a trade monopoly.

The most noted opponent to Britain was Tipu Sultan (ruled 1782–1799), the ruler of Mysore. He appealed to France for aid in 1788, but the Revolution the following year overtook any commitment for assistance. Cornwallis began the Third Mysore War in 1789, forcing Tipu to terms on 22 March 1792. Cornwallis annexed half of Tipu's kingdom and imposed a large indemnity against which his two sons were taken hostage. Tipu remained hostile, repaying the indemnity while quietly rebuilding his army. Embracing revolutionary principles, Tipu opened a Jacobin Club and intensified his contacts with the French, the Turks, and the Afghans.

As Bonaparte invaded Egypt (1798), Tipu's correspondence with the French was discovered. Thinking more of empire building than of trade monopolies, the governor-general, Marquis Wellesley, wasted no time in launching a Fourth Mysore War (1798–1799), which was notable for the early campaigns of his brother Arthur, the future Duke of Wellington. It culminated in the storming of Seringapatam (4 May 1799), where Tipu was killed, leaving the British in control of all southern India.

The next phase of British expansion came in the Second Maratha War (1803–1805), which, although waged ostensibly in support of the ousted Peshwar of Pune, was seen by the governor-general as a means to expand into northern and central India. While General Gerard Lake captured Delhi on 14 September 1803, Arthur Wellesley triumphed against the Marathas at Assaye (23 September) and Argaum (29 November 1803). A year later, Holkar of Indore defeated a British force under Colonel William Monson as it retired to Agra (24–31 August 1804). Holkar then went on to lay siege to Delhi, a siege that was not relieved by Lake until 15 October 1804. The protracted conflict finally ended with a treaty favorable to Holkar (24 December 1805), restoring to him his territories.

It was not until Hastings opened the Third Maratha War (1817–1819) that the Hindu Marathas were finally defeated and Pune was annexed. Raids from the Gurkhas of Nepal also troubled the British. It took an eighteen-month campaign (1814–1816) in the Nepalese mountains to convince the Gurkhas to abandon their incursions into British territory. Most of Nepal was left as an independent state, with the Gurkhas remaining allied to Britain ever since.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Jacobins; Middle East Campaign; Wellesley, First Marquis, Richard Colley Wellesley; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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**Infantry**

In 1793 the French Revolution brought about a much-needed social and constitutional change in France, and with it was born the modern nation-state, in which allegiance was to the state itself rather than to a king, president, or prime minister. In the other countries of Europe this caused alarm, even fear that similar changes might occur if the virus from France were to spread. The French Revolution made many royal houses, which considered kings supreme, insecure. The military of every nation had hitherto been subject to the command of the head of state, although actual command was normally delegated to the generals. Armies consisted of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and services, of which cavalry and artillery regarded themselves as superior to infantry by virtue of the equipment they fought with: horses and guns.

Infantry were very much the poor relations in these armies, sometimes badly equipped, subject to draconian systems of discipline, and forced to fight in line, where casualties could be frightful. There was little provision for medical treatment in the field, and soldiers who were discharged wounded had no hope of a pensioned retirement. Maneuver for the infantry was a simple matter: They marched to the place of battle in column and then formed into line, where they stood to fire and be fired upon. Advance or retreat depended on the state of the fighting and morale, and retreating troops were often cut to pieces by cavalry.

Following the Revolution there was no immediate reformation either of the French Army or of its tactics. The old Royal Army was broken up, but no replacement was created. Of the officers, some two-thirds were discharged (of a total of 10,000 in 1789). Regional National Guard

units did not collectively constitute an army in any sense of the word, but they were the first of the national conscripts raised by France, initially for internal police duties. The decree of February 1790 laid down that all Frenchmen were entitled to any rank and employment in the new army and that their oath was to be to France and the constitution, not to the king. Initial moves were made toward forming a small, professional army, but with the reaction from the rest of Europe to the fall of the French monarchy, it was felt necessary to raise a much larger army. No fewer than 100,000 men were called for in the summer of 1791, and by 1792 the number had risen to 300,000. Between 1800 and 1812 Napoleon raised 1,100,000 men, and he fielded in addition a number of foreign units.

French infantry consisted of the regiments of the line (there were seventy-nine French and twenty-three foreign regiments in 1793), light infantry (twelve battalions in 1791), and the infantry of the Imperial Guard (formed from the Consular Guard, and so named in 1804). Originally line infantry regiments were organized with two battalions, each having five companies, of which four were fusilier companies and one was a grenadier or chasseur company. In 1791 the battalions were reorganized to have eight fusilier companies and one grenadier company. Lazare Carnot, the minister for war during the Revolution, was responsible for the reorganization of the French Army, and he soon realized that despite the enormous increase in numbers the new army would have little skill. To alleviate the problem he allied one old battalion with two new ones, which was known as the *amalgame*. There were 110 of these formations, known as *demi-brigades de bataille*, in March 1796.

A further reorganization took place in 1808, in which each regiment had one depot battalion of four companies and four *bataillons de guerre*, in which were four fusilier, one grenadier, and one *voltigeur* (light infantry) company. Recruitment was by conscription for the simple reason that far too few Frenchmen volunteered, and those who did failed to renew their contracts when they expired. In general Frenchmen between the ages of twenty and twenty-five were liable to serve for a period of five years. Napoleon kept these rules in force, but he only called up men as they were needed, in view of the costs of maintaining large standing armies. Only in the last years of Napoleon's reign were all the men of a class called up, such as the class of 1815, which was called up in 1813 to replace losses incurred in the campaign in Russia.

The Prussian Army, in contrast, benefited from the social and political reforms instituted after the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807) in that conscription was introduced, which increased manpower on a regular basis. However, King Frederick William III saw conscription as a threat to

the efficiency of a professional army, and in 1808 Napoleon imposed a limit of 42,000 men on the Prussian Army. By 1813, however, the minister of war, General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, had established an army that could be quickly mobilized. In 1813 universal conscription was applied to all of Prussia for men aged eighteen to forty-five. By the end of 1813 the Prussian Army had a strength of 300,000 men. Surprisingly, from 1808 onward officers were chosen by merit, not by background.

In Russia Tsar Alexander I succeeded to the throne in 1801. The Russian Army that faced the French invasion in 1812 was well armed and equipped and the troops were very like Prussian troops in their bearing and manner. However, deplorably bad supplies and services and a total disregard for the well-being of the individual soldier had a degrading effect on effectiveness. Russian infantry, when Alexander came to power, consisted of musketeers, grenadiers, and light infantry (known by the German term *Jäger*). The regiments consisted originally of two battalions but were soon increased to three (two ordinary and one grenadier battalion). Each battalion had three musketeer (fusilier) companies and one grenadier company. Regimental strength was 1,128 musketeers and 564 grenadiers, and in 1805 there were seventy-seven musketeer regiments, thirteen grenadier regiments, and twenty *Jäger* regiments. By 1811 reforms had grouped the regiments into divisions (of two musketeer brigades and one *Jäger* brigade, each brigade having two regiments). Further, the musketeers were renamed “infantry,” and the grenadier companies consisted of grenadiers and *tirailleurs*, or light infantry. The Russian infantry did not really distinguish between ordinary infantry, grenadiers, and *tirailleurs*, however, and were never skilled in skirmish tactics, unlike the French. Traditionally Russian infantry attacked en masse with the bayonet, a habit perpetuated until World War II. Nevertheless, the *Jäger* regiments were increased; by 1811 there were fifty, and further small increases were made in 1813.

The British Army had a general staff of sorts, headed by Lord Amherst from 1793 to 1795 and then by the Duke of York—a poor field commander yet a very able administrator—until 1827. York was in control except for the years 1809–1811, when Sir David Dundas took over while a scandal over York’s mistress and her influence over the granting of commissions was resolved. The army was administered by Horse Guards (named for the building the headquarters occupied), which controlled everything except the artillery and engineers, who were supervised by the Board of Ordnance. Officers could purchase their commissions or could be granted one. Promotion, however, did depend upon a vacancy and money.

The rank and file of the infantry were divided into Foot Guards and the regiments of the line. The Foot

Guards held themselves aloof from the rest of the infantry by virtue of the aristocratic background of almost all their officers and their rigid discipline. Organizationally, however, although Foot Guard battalions and regiments were numerically stronger, there was little difference between them and the line regiments. There were normally two battalions per regiment (although some regiments did raise third and even fourth battalions), and each battalion had ten companies (including one company each of grenadiers and light infantry). Although rarely up to strength, the companies consisted of approximately 100 rank and file. One battalion was the “service” battalion, drawing replacements and reinforcements from the “home” battalion, which was also responsible for recruiting and training.

As the war against Napoleon went on, some battalions in the field fell well below nominal strength (and battalions were never withdrawn because of low numbers), so that the 2nd battalion of the 38th Foot (later the 1st battalion, South Staffordshire Regiment) could muster only 263 officers and men for active service in 1811 (compared to over 900 at full strength). Light infantry regiments appeared in 1803, sometimes named fusiliers. The Rifle Corps itself had been formed in 1797, and eventually the 95th Foot emerged as the first light infantry line regiment, serving with distinction in the Peninsular War. Other units were formed, superior in marksmanship to the line regiments but still capable when necessary of fighting in the line rather than skirmishing. The King’s German Legion, formed in 1803 from George III’s exiled Hanoverian subjects, enjoyed a fine reputation among the many foreign units of the British Army and eventually served with ten line battalions and two light (rifle) battalions. Some of the other foreign units were not as well regarded. At home there were numerous militia and fencible battalions, none of which was obliged to serve with the operational army. Militia men could provide a substitute for themselves if called for service, but fencibles were not to be called. All of these home units were manned by volunteers and were used most often to assist in the suppression of unrest within Britain.

In all, some seventeen countries were involved in the Napoleonic Wars, and apart from those mentioned above, Austria, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Baden, Bavaria, Hesse, Naples, the north German states, Saxony, Venice, Württemberg, Denmark, and Sweden were involved, some always against Napoleon, some at times against and at times for the Emperor. All had armies organized in a fashion similar to the armies of France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, or Britain, but these latter countries—but above all France and Austria—bore the brunt of the conventional fighting.

Every army was equipped mainly with the musket, a long-barreled, single-shot, muzzle-loading weapon that

was not very accurate. The rate of fire was slow (perhaps one round per minute), so fire was by ranks. This meant that discipline in line had to be severe. Companies were lined up lengthwise in two or three ranks, and the front rank (half the company) fired. In the two-rank system, as practiced in the British Army, the rear rank then advanced through the front rank to replace them in front, where they then fired, while the men previously in the front rank reloaded. This was repeated as often as necessary. In withdrawal the front rank fired, then withdrew behind the rear rank to reload. This resulted in a very slow rate of advance or withdrawal, with fire covering every movement. The range at which the infantry engaged the enemy was short, for the simple reason that musket fire had an effective range against a massed enemy of no more than 100 yards. Further, individual fire was a complete waste of time because the muskets were so inaccurate that no man could aim at another at 100 yards' distance and hope to hit him except by chance. The result was that infantry were forced to stay in close-knit masses to allow their fire to be effective—meaning in turn that the receiving troops stood in great danger from the massed fire brought against them.

The answer to the problem of massed troops was the recently invented military (as opposed to the lighter, less durable hunting) rifle. Even though loading this weapon was a slow process, the gun's increased accuracy meant that individual soldiers could pick their targets and hit them at up to 200 yards. The British Army had had the opportunity of acquiring Colonel Patrick Ferguson's rifle (first tested in 1776), but thanks to lack of vision the chance was lost. The Ferguson was a breech-loading rifle that could be used in the prone position, and had British troops been so armed their enemies would have been cut to pieces as they advanced in their lines. The Baker rifle, with which the light infantry were equipped, was good for the first two or three shots but thereafter it fouled in the barrel, which meant that it could only be reloaded with the aid of a heavy mallet, used to force the ramrod and ball into the barrel.

The other armament of the infantry was the bayonet, which was fixed to the muzzle of the musket. These weapons were long blades that transformed the musket into what was in essence a pike. As infantry advanced they could only fire two or three rounds before they came into close contact with the enemy, when the bayonet became the close-fighting weapon. Reloading on the move was impossible, even for the best-trained troops, and so the bayonet became the final weapon of a charge, leading to European reliance on the bayonet right up to World War II.

In the Napoleonic period there was no substitute for the bayonet in close-quarter fighting. Even decades later, when rifles had become standard issue, the conservatism of armies and particularly of the generals led them to re-

fuse to acknowledge that soldiers could kill without coming belt buckle to belt buckle. Tactics had begun to change as soon as firearms were invented, but they were unable to develop quickly because firearms were slow to load and inaccurate. For this reason massed infantry were still needed to ensure that sufficient firepower was delivered to the enemy to be effective. The invention of the rifle was to change this, albeit slowly, but the rifles of the Napoleonic period took longer to reload than muskets and were far too expensive for general issue. With the mass of the infantry using smooth-bore, single-shot muskets, they were confined to the maneuvers and battle formations of archers, yet they had none of the rapidity or weight of firepower that archers had been able to provide 300 years previously.

The firearm had brought one change that was manifest during the Napoleonic period: the ability to arm large national armies and field them after a relatively short period of training. Napoleon did not change tactics, but he brought rapid maneuver to a high art, moving troops so fast across country that he was able to achieve surprise and attack enemies when they were unprepared. In battle light infantry were used as protection for the slower-moving line infantry while they formed. French skirmishers (light infantry) paved the way in this field, and in 1793 all infantry acted as skirmishers; but the line formations made their return by 1795, protected by a forward screen of the more independent light infantrymen. When equipped with a rifle, these men were able to disrupt the enemy preparations for battle and could often operate independently behind the lines.

The main body of infantry remained, however, in the line. The British (like the Prussians and the Russians, for example) relied upon this formation in battle to give steadfastness and to deliver a heavy weight of fire on an advancing enemy. The French Army, on the other hand, was initially composed largely of poorly trained masses, and tactics involving the frequent use of the column began to be developed by Carnot, later to be perfected by Napoleon, though this formation had been employed regularly in the wars of the eighteenth century. The column could bring men into the line of battle to attack an enemy, already demoralized by artillery and skirmisher fire. The column then burst through the rigid lines and swept around enemy troops to encircle them or drive them to flight. The French column lacked firepower, however, and the British evolved tactics to defeat it.

The British Army formed up behind cover whenever possible and then arrayed itself in only two ranks. The fire from these two ranks was devastating and, because of incessant drills, extremely rapid for the period. The Duke of Wellington also increased the number of light infantry

available to him, and they proved to be effective against all French troops. For defense against cavalry the British square was nearly unbreakable, and on one occasion infantry advanced against cavalry and drove it from the field. Whenever possible, the British Army used volley fire—in which companies would discharge their weapons in succession, pouring continuous musket fire on the target—partly to ensure continuity of fire and partly to sufficiently weaken the enemy's resolve so as to render effective the bayonet charge which invariably followed the fusillade. When a French column advanced on a British line it was fired on from the front and from the flanks, which made it a costly tactic for the attacker. The drills of all line units in all the armies concentrated on forcing the men to stand their ground and to load and fire their muskets in an orderly manner. Untrained troops frequently forgot that they had reloaded and not fired, leading to multiple loadings of muskets, which was still a problem fifty years later during the American Civil War.

Infantry were organized in companies, battalions, and regiments, but as the Napoleonic Wars progressed the French divisional system became universal. Carnot improved the existing divisional system, which combined elements of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Napoleon then trained his divisions to move quickly, and he improved logistics so that his troops were always supplied in the field. The British adopted the division in 1807 but were still using brigade formations in the Peninsula in 1809. Wellington's divisions did not include the light infantry, however; they were commanded independently, as was his cavalry. His regular line battalions did have skirmishers organic to them, as an answer to the French skirmishers, but these men were part of the battalion or regiment, not part of the light infantry division.

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars infantry were essentially present in battle to hold a line. The opposing armies formed up facing each other, and the infantry of one side would advance against the enemy line. Artillery would prepare the attack for the infantry (or cavalry) or defend the line, while the skirmishers attempted to interfere with enemy maneuver and to shoot officers and senior ranks. Cavalry was often held on the flanks to exploit any weakness at the ends of the enemy infantry line. The French column, advancing almost at the run, was often able to break enemy infantry lines, after which the bayonet, as a hand-to-hand weapon, came into play. British infantry, however, being formed of well-trained volunteers, was a match for the French. The training, albeit quite brutal, ensured that the British infantry line had the discipline and morale to withstand a frontal assault even by Napoleon's best infantry or cavalry, and to defeat that attack by controlled and effective firepower.

The real lesson for the infantry was that training was paramount, that no matter how many men were put into battle, unless they were well drilled and trained (which led in itself to higher morale), they were useless against a well-disciplined army that had practiced its musketry until firing and reloading became automatic. Unfortunately, not all the participants in the Napoleonic Wars learned this lesson well.

David Westwood

*See also* Artillery (Land); Austrian Army; Bavarian Army; British Army; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Cavalry; Dutch Forces; French Army; Hanoverian Army; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Army; Musket; National Guard (French); Neapolitan Army; Ottoman Army; Peninsular War; Polish Forces; Portuguese Army; Prussian Army; Rifle; Russian Army; Russian Campaign; Saxon Army; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Spanish Army; Swedish Army; Swiss Forces; Tilsit, Treaties of; United States Army; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Inkovo, Action at (8 August 1812)

A minor action near the village of Inkovo in the province of Smolensk, also referred to as the Battle of Molevo Boloto. After a council of war of 7 August, the Russian army began its offensive from Smolensk to Rudnya. Ataman Matvei Platov's Cossack corps was deployed in the advance guard of the 1st Western Army. The advance guard

of the Cossack corps under Major General Vasily Denisov attacked the French outposts near the village of Loshnya. Early on the morning of 8 August, Platov arrived with the rest of his corps and engaged the French, including troops under General Horace Sébastiani from II Cavalry Corps under General Louis Montbrun. The French brought in reinforcements and the 5th Hussars were able to drive back the Cossacks. However, as they approached the village of Molevo Boloto, the French encountered Platov's main forces (six regiments with twelve guns), and Montbrun ordered a retreat. Platov reinforced his advance guard with the 2nd Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel T. Grekov and 200 Bashkirs under Lieutenant Zhilin. The French 8th Brigade under General André Burthe withdrew from Molevo Boloto for 2 miles and was reinforced by the 7th Brigade, which soon engaged the Bashkirs.

Platov now decided to make flanking attacks and dispatched General Dmitri Kuteynikov's brigade to the right and General Nikolay Ilovaysky's brigade to the left, while he personally led the remaining forces in the center. The fighting continued for over an hour, in the course of which the Cossacks were able to capture a company of *voltigeurs* of the 4th Battalion of the 24th Légère. The 24th Légère repulsed several charges of the Cossacks led by Lieutenant Colonel Melnikov, who was killed in action. Kharitonov's Cossack regiment pursued the 3rd Württemberg Chasseurs and captured its colonel. However, the French 16th Brigade arrived in time to halt the Russian success on the left flank. Around noon, General Peter Pahlen arrived with three hussar regiments, and, supported by the 2nd Horse Artillery Company, they took part in the pursuit of the French forces toward Inkovo. The French called for reinforcements, including General Ernest Beurman's 14th Light Cavalry Brigade of III Corps, and succeeded in containing the Russian pursuit. Action ended near the village of Zalozye (3 miles from Rudnya) around 3:00 P.M.

The French moved across the Berezina River and Pahlen's forces withdrew to Loshnya. The French lost some 600 men, including 11 officers and 300 other ranks captured. Platov reported: "The enemy did not surrender so the raging Cossacks slaughtered them" (*Donskoe kazachestvo* 1942, 16–17). Russian losses were light, though no accurate information is available.

The action at Inkovo demonstrated that the French command was unaware of the Russian offensive and was caught off guard. While searching Sébastiani's headquarters at Molevo Boloto, the Russians found a message from Marshal Joachim Murat with information on the Russian offensive, which was believed to have been provided by a spy in Russian headquarters. This discovery revived the deep-seated aversion between the Russians and "foreign-

ers" at headquarters. Later it became known that Polish Prince Lubomirski, one of the adjutants at the Russian headquarters, had accidentally overheard generals discussing Russian offensive plans and had sent a message to his mother urging her to flee the coming bloodshed. Murat, who was billeted at Lubomirski's house, had intercepted this letter. Nevertheless, based on the captured documents, General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly mistakenly believed that the enemy was aware of the Russian offensive and erroneously predicted that the French would march from the direction of Porechye to cut the vital Smolensk-Moscow route. Thus, instead of attempting to exploit this initial success by mounting a major attack toward Rudnya as the council of war had planned, Barclay de Tolly remained idle on the Porechye route for the next three days.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Cossacks; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Murat, Joachim; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Russian Campaign

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## Ionian Islands

The seven islands off the western coast of Greece have always been of great strategic importance. Corfu, the northernmost and largest, with its great harbor, commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. The islands to the south were known to the British as Paxo (now Paxos), Santa Maura (Levkás), Ithaca, Cephalonia, Zanta (Zákynthos), and Cerigo (Kíthira) off the southern tip of the Peloponnese, well separated from the others. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, these former possessions became valuable outposts of Venice. Although the law and the language and culture of the elite became Italian in the next four centuries, the Ionians continued to regard themselves as the pure descendants of the classical Greeks.

In 1797, after he had conquered northern Italy for the Directory, Bonaparte insisted that the islands be ceded to

France, regarding them as a stepping stone to an empire in the east. The French imposed new taxes and were contemptuous of Orthodox Christianity, leading the self-styled liberators, as elsewhere, to be regarded as exploiters. In 1798–1799 the islands were captured in a combined operation by the British, Russians, and Turks and formed into the Septinsular Republic under the management of Russia. In 1807 they were returned to Napoleon by the Treaty of Tilsit. In response to the appeal of the inhabitants, the Royal Navy in 1809 recaptured all the islands save Corfu and Paxos; the latter fell in February 1814, but Corfu held out until ordered to surrender by the restored French king, Louis XVIII, a few months later.

The British secretary of state for war and the colonies, Lord Bathurst, was eager to retain control of the islands and was much gratified when the Congress of Vienna, in order to prevent them from becoming a Mediterranean base for Russia, assigned them as a protectorate to Britain. Despite an elaborate constitutional arrangement for the United States of the Ionian Islands, which was ratified by the Prince Regent in 1817, the protectorate was in practice administered as a crown colony with the high commissioner being in effect the governor. The British concepts of efficient government and impartial justice were regarded as alien intrusions by the islanders, who were accustomed to being able to influence both.

In the Greek revolt against the Turks that began in 1821 the British government further antagonized the inhabitants, and liberals in Britain proclaimed the neutrality of the Ionian Islands in the hope of preventing the uprising from escalating into an international war by the intervention of Russia on the side of its fellow Orthodox Christians. This impartiality, however, was compromised by allowing Greeks fleeing the Turks to find refuge in the islands, as they had for centuries past. In 1864 Britain transferred the islands to Greece, which had become independent in 1830. The Order of St. Michael and St. George, devised originally as an honor for local service, continues to use the symbols of the Ionian Islands.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Bathurst, Henry, Third Earl of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Directory, The; Louis XVIII, King; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Ionkovo, Battle of

*See* Jankovo, Battle of

## Ireland

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars radicalized and reshaped Irish politics. The French, following a long tradition of Britain's continental enemies, saw Ireland as Britain's weak point, while Catholic and Protestant Irish people opposed to British rule looked to French support. Irish Catholics outnumbered Protestants by about five to one, but they were disarmed and were barred from political participation. In the Protestant community, there was disaffection between the ruling gentry, mostly members of the established Church of Ireland who supported the British government, and the Presbyterian Dissenters in the north. Presbyterians and Catholics, along with some disaffected members of the Church of Ireland, came together in 1791 in a radical secret society, the United Irishmen, led by the Dublin Protestant lawyer Wolfe Tone. The United Irishmen agitated for an independent republic free from English control and published dozens of newspapers and hundreds of pamphlets.

Lack of unity contributed to the failure of the United Irishmen. The gap between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland was widening with the formation of militant sectarian groups, the Catholic Defenders and the Protestant Orange Order. Alliances that the United Irishmen formed with France and with the Defenders were rejected by many Protestants, and by the later part of the decade few Protestants were involved in the group. Nor were all Catholics supporters. Many Catholic prelates preferred Protestant rule to domination by anticlerical and republican France, even going so far as to excommunicate Catholic members of the United Irishmen and the Defenders. A French invasion under General Louis Lazare Hoche in 1796 was prevented by bad weather, and the rising of 1798, despite the landing of a small French force, was defeated by the British, who captured Tone. Tone committed suicide in jail.

Before 1798 William Pitt's government sought to base British-Irish relations on violent repression of revolution and a conservative alliance between the Protestant rulers and the leading and wealthiest Irish Catholics. Pitt encouraged the Irish Parliament to pass a Catholic Relief Act in 1793 that gave Catholics the right to vote on the same economic basis as Protestants and to hold office in the civil

and military administration of Ireland but not the right to stand for Parliament or to serve at the very top level, such as lord lieutenant of Ireland or general in the army. The rising of 1798 convinced Pitt that the Irish Protestants could no longer control the island in the English interest and that the best solution was to unite Britain and Ireland politically. The Act of Union in 1801 created the United Kingdom with one Parliament sitting at Westminster. (George III, citing his coronation oath to defend Protestantism, refused to allow Pitt's plan to complete the policy of union by allowing Catholics to stand for Parliament to pass.) The Union aroused widespread resentment, and there was a brief violent rising under the young Robert Emmet in Dublin on 23 July 1803. Emmet was executed. Emmet's rising, however, was much smaller and less broad-based than the revolts of the late eighteenth century. The Union also broadened the opportunities the British Empire and the British political system offered to Irish people. British recruiting in Ireland accelerated after the Union; thousands of Irishmen served in the British Army during the wars.

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- See also* British Army; Catholic Emancipation; George III, King; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Irish Rebellion; Lough Swilly Expedition; Pitt, William; Tone, Wolfe; Union, Act of
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## **Irish Rebellion (1798)**

A rebellion led by the United Irishmen against British rule. Despite some early success and the landing of a small French force, the rebels were defeated within a month.

The rebellion was organized by the Society of United Irishmen, which had been formed in 1791 by Wolfe Tone, who was inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution. The British government under William Pitt outlawed the organization in 1794 and by 1798 believed that it was no longer a threat. However, a rising had been planned for 24 May 1798. The rebels at first came from the area around Dublin, but the rebellion quickly spread to Wexford. Here there had been a number of examples of brutality carried out by the local loyalist militia, including the execution of prisoners. In an engagement at Oulart 100 men of the militia were defeated. On 29 May the United Irishmen stormed the town of Enniscorthy. The rebels were now led by a priest named Father John Murphy. They succeeded in taking the county town of Wexford but were then pushed back in three skirmishes to Enniscorthy.

In the north, news of the rebellion had spread. On 7 June in Antrim a new rebel force began to assemble under the leadership of Henry McCracken. McCracken almost managed to capture Antrim, but his men began to disperse immediately after this failure. In County Down on 10 June a rebel force formed under the leadership of Henry Monro. This event became known as "Pike Sunday." However, two days later this force was defeated at Ballynahinch, near Belfast, by government forces led by Lieutenant General Gerard Lake. Both McCracken and Monro were captured and executed without proper trial. Lake now moved his forces toward the camp of the Wexford rebels at Vinegar Hill. On 21 June Lake attacked, and in a short but hard fight he routed the United Irishmen, mainly due to the effect of his artillery. There now followed a period of retribution in which many prisoners on both sides were killed or tortured. Murphy was caught and executed, and his body was burned in a barrel.

The rebellion seemed at an end until on 22 August a French army landed at Killala, led by General Jean Joseph Humbert. This force was formed mainly because of the influence of Tone, who had long campaigned for French help. The French won a surprising victory over Lake at Castlebar, and this encouraged many Irishmen to renew resistance. Humbert was now hoping for further reinforcements, but these did not arrive owing to poor weather at Brest. British troops led by Lord Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, now closed in on Humbert, and he was forced to surrender at Ballinamuck after a brief engagement. The defeat of Humbert marked the end of the rebellion that had led to the death of around 20,000 Irishmen and had dashed the hopes for independence from British rule.

*Ralph Baker*

- See also* Ireland; Lough Swilly Expedition; Pitt, William; Tone, Wolfe

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**Irun, Battle of (25 July–1 August 1813)**

Irun is a small coastal town that sits astride the Franco-Spanish border in the Basque country in the Valle de Bajo Bidasoa. The population is primarily Basque, and the town falls under the jurisdiction of the district of San Sebastian. The Battle of Irun is one of the three battles fought in the summer of 1813 that are usually referred to collectively as the Battle of the Pyrenees.

As the Marquis (later Duke) of Wellington advanced in his campaign in the Pyrenees that was quickly bringing the Peninsular War to a close, he reached the Franco-Spanish border in three locations where he could cross into France: Roncesvalles, Maya, and Irun. The full brunt of the Allied offensive, however, had been delayed by the strong French resistance offered at San Sebastian and Pamplona, to which, in both cases, Wellington was forced to lay siege.

The far left of Wellington's line was anchored at Irun, which was held by Spanish troops, including guerrillas, and he had gathered the bulk of his forces there, since it was one of the few places passable by the guns and artillery trains. The French had been fighting a rearguard action under the command of Marshal Nicolas Soult (who had recently replaced the Emperor's brother Joseph Bonaparte), but when the border was reached, Soult, suspecting Wellington had overextended his line, turned and launched a counteroffensive through the Pyrenees in a last ditch effort to save France from invasion. Soult's estimation was correct: With troops detached for siege duty, Wellington's forces were spread thin, with 60,000 troops along a 50-mile front.

Wellington expected Soult to attack to relieve San Sebastian, but Soult had another strategy in mind. He intended to break through Wellington's forces at Roncesvalles and Maya and relieve Pamplona, before turning to attack Wellington's forces around San Sebastian.

Soult launched his attack on the morning of 25 July, catching the British at Roncesvalles and Maya by surprise. A light diversionary assault was undertaken at Irun to hold in place Wellington's forces located there. The 115th Line under General René-Joseph Dupeyroux and Colonel Pros-

per Poret made a feint in front of Irun as part of Soult's overall plan. The Spanish troops easily held, as the attack on Irun was largely diversionary and was conducted without any real support.

Soult's main attacks at Maya and Roncesvalles met with initial success but were ultimately repulsed after four days of bitter fighting. It was in this series of battles that the 400 men of the 92nd Foot (the Gordon Highlanders) took a legendary stand against an attacking French division of some 7,000 men. The Highlanders were forced to give way grudgingly only after almost a full day's combat. On the thirty-first the only real fighting to take place at Irun occurred as part of a rearguard action fought to cover the retreat of Soult's right.

Soult's offensive failed to achieve its objectives, as a result of which French troops all along the front, including those at Irun, were obliged to pull back. Wellington's inexorable advance into France thus continued.

*Kenneth Vosburgh*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Maya, Battle of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Roncesvalles, Battle of; San Sebastian, Siege of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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**Italian Army**

At the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars, Italy was not a national state: A great part of northeastern Italy belonged to the Austrian Empire, and the rest of the peninsula was divided into several small and medium-sized states (among them, Sardinia, Venice, Naples, and the Papal States). Italian soldiers could, therefore, be found in a number of different military establishments, including, after the annexation of some territories in 1802, the French Army.

The term *Italian Army*, however, conventionally refers to the armies of the Cisalpine Republic (1797–1799 and 1800–1801), the Italian Republic (1802–1805), and the Kingdom of Italy (1805–1814), the political entity that developed from the former republics in northern and part of central Italy. Basically organized along French patterns and since 1798 based on compulsory conscription, these armies took part in most Napoleonic campaigns, not only in Italy itself, but throughout Europe (1798, 1799, 1800,

1805, 1806–1807, 1809, 1812, 1813–1814) and in the Peninsular War, 1807–1814, and they were to become the incubators of Italian nationalism. Though plagued—like any other Napoleonic army—with high rates of desertion and failure to report for military service, in the field they on average showed a remarkable degree of professionalism, courage, and steadiness, and Napoleon often publicly acknowledged the military skills and reliability of the soldiers serving the Republic, and later Kingdom, of Italy—in sharp contrast to their counterparts to the south in the army of the Kingdom of Naples.

During his first Italian campaign in 1796–1797, Bonaparte had encouraged the formation of a few Italian volunteer units, which took part in the final stages of the campaign in northern and central Italy. After the formal institution of the Cisalpine Republic in the summer of 1797, the Directory asked the government in Milan to provide a military establishment of around 40,000 men (34,000 Cisalpine troops and 6,000 auxiliary Poles), based on eight infantry legions (on paper, larger than French demibrigades), one autonomous light infantry battalion, one cavalry regiment, and one artillery battalion. The structure and organization of this Cisalpine army changed several times, however, in those chaotic months, more regular units often being intermixed with rather ephemeral bodies of troops.

Compulsory conscription was introduced in the autumn of 1798 with a first levy of 9,000 men (2.5 percent of the population), which immediately aroused widespread discontent among the people. Cisalpine troops took part in the 1799 campaign in northern Italy as well as in General Jean-Etienne Championnet's campaign of 1798–1799 against the Neapolitans. The Austro-Russian victory in northern Italy and the fall of the Republic forced hundreds of Cisalpine soldiers to repair to France, where they were reorganized in the Italian Legion, which, under General Giuseppe Lechi, fought gallantly in the campaign of 1800. The military establishment of the second Cisalpine (and later Italian) Republic in 1800 provided for a smaller army (around 15,000 men), including four (later five) line infantry demi-brigades, two (later four) light infantry battalions, one (later three) light cavalry regiments, and two foot and one horse artillery companies (later a regiment). The Italian Guard (two battalions) was formed in 1803. To give a stronger military identity to the new army, Bonaparte in his capacity as First Consul deliberately fostered the spreading of Italian nationalism, especially among the officers. Most of them were veterans of the first Revolutionary legions and represented all Italian regions.

On 15 March 1805 the Italian Republic became the Kingdom of Italy. Napoleon was the sovereign, but the state was actually ruled by his stepson, Viceroy Eugène de

Beauharnais. The institutions of the Italian military administration, created in 1802 and directed by the minister of war, were now expanded in order to run an enlarged army and thus meet Napoleon's incessant demand for manpower. From a strength of about 20,000 men in 1805, the army of the Kingdom of Italy rose over the years to 80,000 in 1812. New infantry, cavalry, and artillery units were formed by conscription, and the number of battalions per infantry regiment increased to five. At the outbreak of the Russian campaign, it comprised seven line and four light infantry regiments, two dragoon (Napoleone and Regina) and four light cavalry regiments, and three foot and one horse artillery regiments. The Italian Royal Guard was also considerably expanded along the patterns of its imperial counterpart.

Throughout the years, the Italian Army's internal organization followed the development of the French model. Its basic uniform color was green, later white. The military record of the army of the Kingdom of Italy is remarkable. Though several units did constitute a permanent part of the Armée d'Italie, significant bodies of Italian troops were to be found in the other major formations of the French Army. Italian regiments particularly distinguished themselves in the 1805 and 1809 campaigns in Italy and Austria (such as at the battles of Piave, Raab, and Wagram) and in the 1806–1807 campaign in Poland. Thousands of Italians served in the Peninsular War against both regular Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish armies and the guerrillas, most of them serving in Catalonia up to 1813. In 1812 the army of the Kingdom of Italy contributed a contingent of about 27,000 men to the campaign in Russia, gallantly fighting at Borodino and Maloyaroslavets. Fewer than 2,000 survived the disaster. In the spring of 1813, the gaps were partially filled by a new influx of conscripts that allowed the Italian regiments, though often severely understrength, to take part in the ensuing campaign in Germany and Italy. After Napoleon's abdication and the fall of the Kingdom of Italy in April 1814, the army was dissolved and most units were pushed into Austrian service. Though several officers agreed to keep their rank in the Habsburg army, many others were to form the bulk of the leaders involved in the patriotic movements that gave rise to the political and military struggle for Italian independence known as the Risorgimento.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Borodino, Battle of; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier; Cisalpine Republic; Directory, The; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); Italy, Kingdom of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Naples; Neapolitan Campaign; Papal States; Peninsular War; Raab,

Battle of; Russian Campaign; Sardinia; Third Coalition, War of the; Venetian Republic; Wagram, Battle of

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### Italian Campaign (1805)

See Third Coalition, War of the

### Italian Campaign (1809)

See Fifth Coalition, War of the

### Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

The campaigns in Italy between France and members of the First Coalition from 1792 to 1797 were initially regarded as occurring in a secondary theater of operations to the campaigns fought along France's borders with the Low Countries and Germany. However, in March 1796 a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was placed in command of a dispirited French army along the Riviera and began a one-year campaign that forced Piedmont-Sardinia out of the war and obliged Austria to accept peace, ending the War of the First Coalition in France's favor.

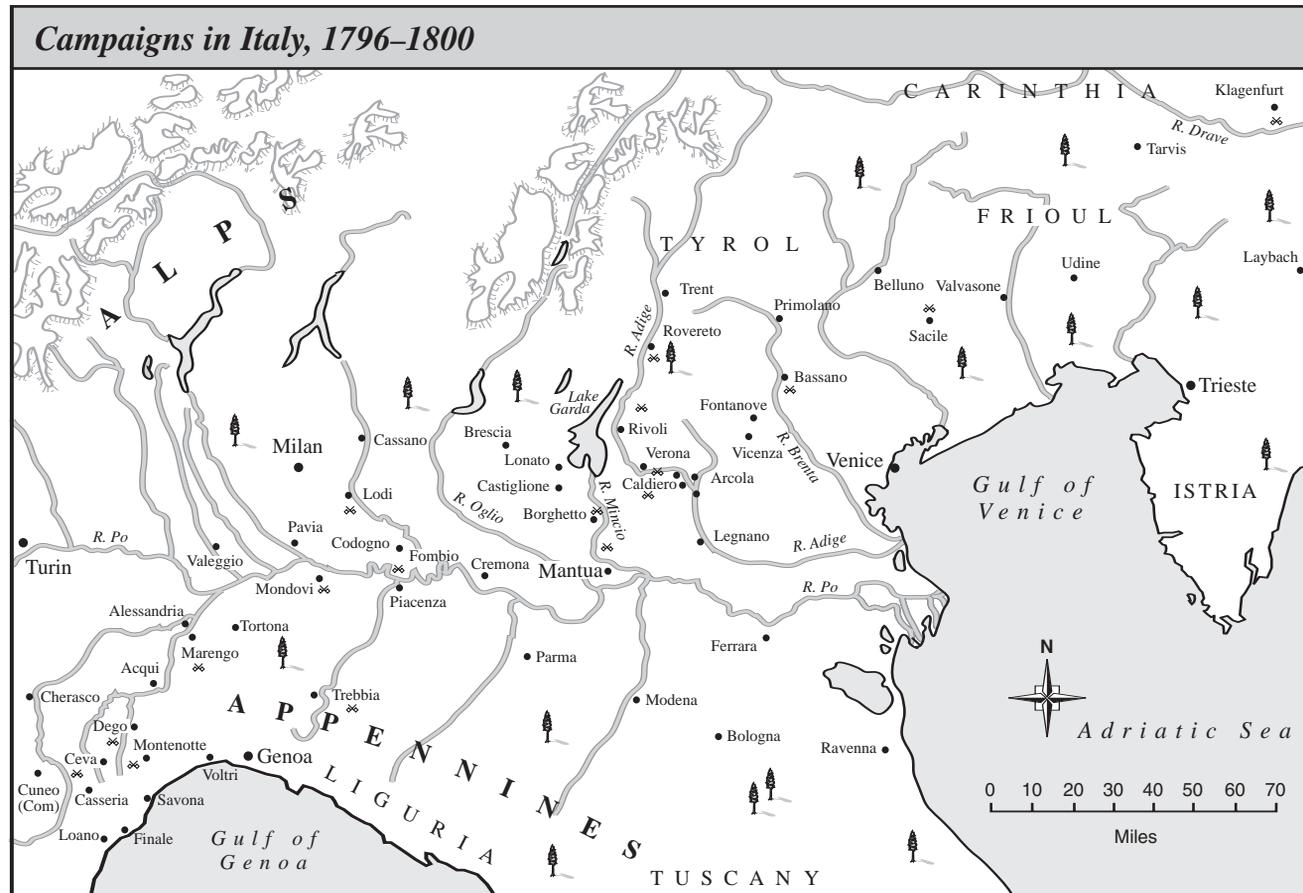
French troops opened the Italian campaign by annexing Nice and Savoy in the autumn of 1792. The next year those troops had to be withdrawn to help put down an internal revolt in France, and Piedmontese forces recovered this region. However, the Piedmontese army of about 18,000 retreated after a smaller French army of 12,000, commanded by General François Kellermann "the Elder," defeated them in mid-September at Argentines and in early October at St. Maurice.

Before the French could enjoy these small successes, Austrian and Neapolitan troops combined with these Piedmontese forces to drive the French from Savoy. British

warships also blockaded the Italian Riviera. Yet the French army, now commanded by General Pierre Dumerbion, surprised its opponents. Dumerbion, on the verge of retirement when he accepted the appointment, listened to his young artillery commander, Bonaparte, who recommended an aggressive campaign that relied on overwhelming the separate contingents of this Allied army. After victory at Saorgio in April 1794, the French moved along the coast, avoiding the Piedmontese forces operating in nearby mountains. While the Piedmontese believed they had the French pinned along the coast, the main French advance proceeded north through an unguarded pass, moving around and behind the Piedmontese forces and cutting their lines of retreat and communications. The Piedmontese army lost its will to fight and surrendered rather than seeking to hold out until relief forces could arrive. Bonaparte recommended a follow-up campaign, but the French government showed caution: There had been serious outbreaks of resistance in the Vendée, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, and the government wished to keep this army closer to France should it be needed to help suppress any remaining royalist revolts at home.

The Austrians used the French pause to re-form and renew their drive into the Savoy region around Savona. Once again Dumerbion followed a plan of Bonaparte's, and the army moved up the banks of the Bormida River in mid-September 1794, separating the Austrians advancing on Savona from their Piedmontese allies. The Austrians were surprised and fell back on Dego, where on 21 September they were defeated and retreated overnight. Meanwhile, Dumerbion overruled Bonaparte, ended this brief and minor offensive, and withdrew to defend Savona.

In 1795 the Franco-Italian front was rather quiet until the Austrians attacked again in late June, forcing the French, now commanded by Kellermann since Dumerbion's retirement, to retreat toward France. General Barthélemy Schérer's victory at Loano over Austrian troops under *Feldzeugmeister* Josef Freiherr de Vins in late November stabilized the front, and both sides went into winter quarters. In what was intended to be a diversion to draw Austrian troops from Germany, the Directory on 27 March appointed Bonaparte commander of the ill-supplied and dispirited (French) Army of Italy, with orders to advance into Piedmont. Bonaparte soon transformed this army into an effective fighting machine and began the remarkable campaigns of 1796 and 1797, bringing to bear his useful experience in artillery and innate understanding of the key principles of war, combined with an emphasis on rapid and audacious movements. His army would move along multiple axes of advance, but all would be diversionary feints aside from the main force, which would then concentrate quickly to achieve mass and firepower at the main point of



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 58–59.

attack, to achieve victory on the battlefield by having local superiority over the enemy. Expanding on Schérer's original system, Bonaparte expanded his espionage activities led by the Piedmontese spies, Angelo Pico and Francesco Toli, which were supported by the Bureau Secrète under *chef de brigade* Landrieux, whose agents stirred up pro-French agitation in Austrian and Venetian cities.

Bonaparte quickly drove Piedmont-Sardinia out of the war. Leaving Nice, he began his offensive on 10 April, again marching into the Bormida valley with an army nominally 45,000 men strong, but in reality having 34,000 fit for duty. He faced the Piedmontese-Sardinian army of 25,000 under the Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli on one side and an Austrian army of 35,000 commanded by *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu on the other. These Allied armies had divided themselves to block all the valley routes leading north. Bonaparte sought to concentrate his forces against each formation in turn, in order to overwhelm first one and then the other.

Bonaparte first attacked the Austrians and won his first victory by defeating a small Austrian force under *Gen-*

*eralmajor* Eugene, comte d'Argenteau at Montenotte on 12 April. Despite an initial defeat at Dego for General André Masséna's troops against *Oberst* (Colonel) Joseph Vukassovich's Austrian advance guard two days later, Bonaparte reinforced Masséna to drive the Austrians away to the east on 15 April and separate them from Colli. He could then shift the focus of his attack to the northwest to defeat Colli's Piedmont-Sardinian army at the Battle of Mondovi over 21–22 April. Piedmont-Sardinia signed an armistice at Cherasco on 28 April, which was confirmed with a formal peace in May.

The next stage of Bonaparte's plan was to take Milan, capital of Austrian Lombardy, and then its key fortress of Mantua, to secure French control of northern Italy. After a siege lasting 8 months and the defeat of four Austrian attempts to relieve it, Mantua fell in February 1797, following which Bonaparte defeated the newly arrived Austrian commander, Archduke Charles, and forced Austria to seek an armistice at Leoben in April 1797.

In Lombardy the Austrian commander Beaulieu concentrated his 25,000 men at Valenza on the upper Po River, where he expected Bonaparte to attempt to cross. However,

Bonaparte simply marched along the southern bank to Piacenza, 50 miles downstream, where he actually crossed. This surprise move threatened Beaulieu's communications and forced him to make a hasty retreat across the Adda River, leaving Milan open. After a morale-boosting but strategically unnecessary victory at Lodi over Beaulieu's rear guard on 10 May, the French entered Milan on 15 May, although the Austrian defenders in the citadel held out until 29 June.

Beaulieu retreated and organized his defense along the Mincio River from Lake Garda in the north to Mantua in the south, leaving 15,000 men to defend the latter key fortress. Bonaparte concentrated his troops and broke through Beaulieu's line at Borghetto on 30 May, forcing the Austrian field army to retreat into the Tyrol while Bonaparte laid siege to Mantua.

Bonaparte faced the difficult task of maintaining the siege while controlling the civilian population—who were becoming increasingly restless as French troops looted the nearby towns—and defending a line along the Adige River to defeat Austrian relief forces. The first two Austrian attempts were led by *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser, each attempting to advance down several narrow Alpine valleys, while another force would come in from the east to tackle the French siege troops. Bonaparte would attempt to maintain a central position to move his forces to the key point. In July 1796 Würmser advanced in several parallel columns on either side of Lake Garda, with a third, smaller column moving through the Brenta valley. Bonaparte deployed a small force to block Würmser's advance on the east side of the lake, while he concentrated on the Austrian force moving down the west side. He shattered this force at Lonato on 3 August. Two days later Bonaparte moved against Würmser's forces, turned both his flanks near Castiglione and forced the Austrians to retreat.

In September Würmser tried again, moving down the Brenta valley around Lake Garda to divert Bonaparte's attention. Bonaparte was informed by his key spies that the Austrian forces had divided, so that Masséna could defeat *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich at Rovereto on the eastern shore of Lake Garda on 4 September, while Bonaparte hastily marched farther east to concentrate against Würmser, to defeat him at Bassano in the Brenta River valley on 8 September. Although Bonaparte was able to turn the Austrian flanks, Würmser with much of his cavalry was able to break through to Mantua, increasing the strength of the defenders to 28,000, although the siege could not be lifted.

The Austrians continued their efforts to break the siege with two more attempts led by *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberek, but they would again be defeated in succession. In November 1796 the first

attempt involved a diversion down the eastern shore of Lake Garda under Davidovich, while Alvinczy came in from the east, but the main Austrian advance was halted as it attempted to cross the Adige at Arcola over 15–17 November. The final attempt, in very poor weather, came in January 1797, with the main advance coming over Monte Baldo to head south for Mantua, while a diversion came in from the east. A very complicated plan, devised by chief of staff *Oberst* Franz Weyrother, involved an advance in six columns to fix General Barthélemy Joubert's troops in position, send flanking columns around the French wings, and push a final column deep behind them to block their line of retreat.

Warned by local agents on 10 January of the Austrian advance, Bonaparte massed his main force around Verona, while Joubert was ordered to hold his positions in the north. As Joubert was attacked on 13 January, Napoleon's chief spy, Toli, brought him a copy of the Austrian plan, enabling the French to concentrate their forces to the north to defeat Alvinczy in a two-day engagement at Rivoli on the fourteenth and fifteenth. Bonaparte then hurried to Mantua to help the French besiegers, and together they defeated the Austrian relief column, under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Giovanni, Marquis di Provera, marching from the east. Würmser surrendered Mantua and its starving garrison on 2 February. Bonaparte now decided to take his army into the Tyrolean Alps and head for Vienna, while Landrieux's agents got to work raising supposedly pro-French rebellions in the Venetian cities of Bergamo and Brescia.

Facing a broken Austrian army whose command had devolved to Archduke Charles, the French quickly penetrated the first line of defense on the river Tagliamento and by mid-March had crossed the Alps to reach the Semmering Pass in early April, just 70 miles from Vienna. The Austrian government hastily sought peace, and armistice preliminaries were signed at Leoben on 18 April, followed by a formal peace agreed at Campo Formio on 17 October. In the meantime, Bonaparte's own efforts to organize a supposed revolt in Venetian-owned Verona ended in the Verona Massacre of 17 April, which gave Bonaparte the excuse to take over Venice completely and use it as an exchange for Belgium in the peace treaty.

*Charles M. Dobbs*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Arcola, Battle of; Bassano, Battle of; Borghetto, Battle of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Castiglione, Battle of; Ceva, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cherasco, Armistice at; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Loano, Battle of; Lodi, Battle of; Lonato, Battles of; Lyons, Siege of; Mantua, Sieges of; Mondovi, Battle of; Montenotte, Battle

of; Rivoli, Battle of; Rovereto, Battle of; Sardinia; Toulon, Siege of; Würmsers, Dagobert Sigismund Graf; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Italian Campaigns (1799–1800)

The War of the First Coalition had hardly ended by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 when the struggle for control of northern Italy resumed. In 1798 the French Revolutionaries seized control of Rome, Piedmont, and Switzerland, establishing puppet republics, while Bonaparte captured Malta and invaded Ottoman-held Egypt. Britain was still at war with France and was joined by Russia, the two nations then being joined by Ottoman Turkey, Austria, and Naples in the Second Coalition. The French invaded Naples but were later driven out by Anglo-Neapolitan forces; in the north, meanwhile, Austro-Russian forces evicted the French until Bonaparte's campaign of 1800 restored the status quo; and after a brief autumn campaign, France recovered control of northern Italy at the Peace of Lunéville in 1801.

Despite the Treaty of Campo Formio, fighting soon resumed in Italy. General Louis-Alexandre Berthier captured Rome in February 1798, dethroning Pope Pius VI. In November, General Barthélemy Joubert occupied Piedmont and declared a republic. Although the Second Coalition was formed in December, the Neapolitans—whose army was commanded by the Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich—opened hostilities before their allies could assist. Mack took Rome but was defeated by General Jean-Etienne Championnet, whose

French troops captured Naples in January 1799 and established the Parthenopean Republic.

In spring 1799 the French commander in the north, General Barthélemy Schérer, wanted to attack the small Austrian army commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova before a much larger Austro-Russian army commanded by 70-year-old Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov could arrive. However, it was Kray who emerged victorious after crushing Schérer at Magnano, south of Verona, on 5 April. As Schérer retreated westward with 35,000 troops, Suvorov arrived on 14 April, swelling Allied numbers to 70,000 men, although Kray was detached to besiege the key fortress of Mantua. At Cassano d'Adda the combined Austro-Russian army forced its way across the Adda River on 27 April, defeating the new French commander, General Jean Moreau; two days later, Suvorov entered Milan.

The defeat at Magnano had already prompted the French government on 14 April to order the commander of the (French) Army of Naples, General Jacques Macdonald, to return north to help Moreau. By mid-May Macdonald was in Rome, but his departure allowed Anglo-Neapolitan forces to recapture Naples and restore King Ferdinand IV in June. Suvorov was unconcerned about Macdonald and had seen Moreau withdraw to Genoa. The Allies entered Turin unopposed on 26 May, but the first cracks appeared in the coalition when Suvorov proclaimed the restoration of King Victor Emmanuel IV. This led to a sharp rebuke from the Austrian foreign minister, Johann Freiherr von Thugut, warning him not to become involved in politics; but that only made the Russian government anxious about Austrian war objectives.

Meanwhile, Allied troops continued the sieges of various French garrisons in northern Italy. Macdonald reached the theater of operations in early June and attacked Austrian troop detachments guarding the Allied southern flank around Modena on 12 June. Although Moreau only detached a small force to aid Macdonald, Suvorov realized the danger of a combined French attack and moved his main forces quickly south, defeating Macdonald in three days of bloody fighting at the Trebbia over 17–19 June. The following day, Moreau attacked the Austrian flank force under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde at San Giuliano, but both French armies then withdrew into Genoa.

The French launched a renewed attack under their new commander, Joubert, who marched north from Genoa to engage Suvorov at Novi on 15 August. However, the fall of the fortress at Mantua and the surrender of the French garrison there on 30 July released Kray with 17,000 troops to reinforce the Allied army, which numbered 51,000 against Joubert's 35,000. Kray led the key assault by

the Allied right, while the rest of the army stormed the hills to shatter the French army, leaving Joubert and four divisional commanders dead.

Thugut now arranged for Suvorov and the Russians to march north to secure Switzerland, while the Austrian forces under *General der Kavallerie* Michael Freiherr von Melas dealt with the last French army—the Army of the Alps, commanded by Championnet, based in Nice. The French advanced across the Col di Tenda, attempting to relieve their garrison at Cuneo. However, forewarned by his spies, Melas massed his army to launch a successful surprise attack to defeat Championnet at Genola on 4 November to complete the eviction of the French from all of Italy except for Genoa.

Meanwhile Bonaparte had returned from Egypt and seized power as First Consul in the coup of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). However, he needed a military victory to secure his political position. His campaign strategy, agreed with Moreau, was for two advances from eastern Switzerland: north into Germany by Moreau's Army of the Rhine (120,000 men based in northern Switzerland), and south into Italy by Berthier's Army of the Reserve (60,000 men massing north of Lake Geneva), each severing the communications of the respective Austrian army in those theaters with Vienna.

Initially Bonaparte focused on Germany and intended to direct operations there, but in late March 1800 he opted to command in Italy, although he ordered Moreau to dispatch reinforcements to him once Moreau was north of the Rhine valley. The Austrians struck first, marching in early April to lay siege to Genoa. While *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Ott Freiherr von Bartokez besieged General André Masséna in the city from 19 April, Melas drove the rest of the French troops, under General Louis Suchet, back to the Var River by 11 May. Wrongfooted, Bonaparte decided to take the most direct route into Italy and headed for Turin. In snowy weather, the Army of the Reserve crossed the Great St. Bernard Pass from 14 May onward, although the artillery went over the Little St. Bernard and a diversionary attack was made on the Mont Cenis Pass.

Austrian intelligence had warned Melas of Bonaparte's advance but was uncertain of its main axis of advance. On 26 May the French advance guard under General Jean Lannes was able to overwhelm *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Hadik Graf von Futak at the Chiusella. However, the return of Bonaparte's spy, Francesco Toli, had revealed to the First Consul that Milan was only lightly defended by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Freiherr von Vukassovich. Moreau had defeated Kray at the second Battle of Stockach, so he had dispatched 15,000 men under General Bon de Moncey over the St. Gotthard Pass. Abandoning Masséna to pin down Austrian forces at Genoa, Bonaparte

and Moncey launched a two-pronged attack on Milan, which fell on 2 June. Meanwhile, Suchet began an advance from the Var.

As the Austrians hastily concentrated at Turin, Bonaparte then turned south and his advance troops, led by generals Joachim Murat and Lannes, crossed the great river Po to take Piacenza on 7 June. Bonaparte thereby achieved his original objective of placing his army across Melas's line of communication with Vienna. Although the starving French garrison of Genoa had finally surrendered on 4 June, Masséna had been able to march out to join Suchet for an advance from the south, while General Louis-Marie Turreau advanced on Turin, effectively surrounding the Austrian army. The French advance guard under Lannes turned west from Piacenza but was surprised to encounter an Austrian force under Ott, which had hastily marched up from Genoa. Reinforced by General Claude Victor, Lannes attacked at Casteggio-Montebello on 9 June, defeating Ott and forcing him to withdraw on Alessandria, whence Melas was moving his army.

The Austrians used the double agent Toli to mislead Bonaparte into believing that they would try to break out north across the Po, while the Austrian garrison of Genoa marched north. Partially misled, Bonaparte spread his forces out and attempted to catch the supposed Austrian rear guard as it left Alessandria. On 14 June Bonaparte actually engaged Melas's entire army at Marengo, where the French army was saved by the last-minute return of General Louis Desaix's troops. Reinvigorated, the French turned a near defeat into a rout, forcing Melas to sign an armistice on the following day and withdraw to the river Mincio. Bonaparte had recovered his conquests of 1796–1797 and thereby secured his grip on power.

Moreau's victorious campaign in Germany had ended with the Armistice of Parsdorf in July, but the cessation of hostilities only lasted until mid-November. Although the autumn campaign was decided by Moreau's victory at Hohenlinden on 2 December, General Guillaume Brune had been given command in Italy. At the end of that month, he forced the line of the Mincio, defeating Bellegarde at Pozzolo and Valeggio over 25–26 December. After reaching Verona on 2 January 1801, Brune crossed the river Adige and in a series of small actions reached the river Piave before agreeing to the armistice of Treviso on the sixteenth. The formal Treaty of Lunéville of 9 February 1801 returned Italy to its position in 1798, with the French in firm control of the center and north of the peninsula through a belt of satellite states.

*Charles M. Dobbs*

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Brumaire, Coup of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cassano, Battle of; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier;

Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Directory, The; Ferdinand IV, King; Genoa, Siege of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajoval; Lannes, Jean; Lunéville, Treaty of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Magnano, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Middle East Campaign; Moncey, Bon Adrien Jannot de; Montebello, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Neapolitan Campaign; Novi, Battle of; Pius VI, Pope; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); San Giuliano, Battle of; Sardinia; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Second Coalition, War of the; St. Gotthard Pass, Action at the; Stockach, Second Battle of; Suchet, Louis Gabriel; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Trebbia, Battle of the; Verona, Battle of; Victor, Claude Perrin

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## Italian Campaigns (1813–1814)

From September 1813 to April 1814, while Napoleon was facing the Allied armies in Germany and France, the Armée d'Italie, under Napoleon's stepson and Viceroy of Italy Eugène de Beauharnais, fought a delaying campaign in northern Italy against overwhelming Austrian and Neapolitan forces. Never seriously defeated, Eugène was eventually forced to surrender as a result of Napoleon's abdication.

After the Russian campaign the Armée d'Italie was reformed in the spring of 1813 by summoning new levies and pushing depot units into active service. Its mission was to defend the Illyrian Provinces (now Slovenia) and the Kingdom of Italy. Throughout the closing months of 1813, Eugène led his French and Italian conscript army in a

fighting retreat over the plains north of the Po River, from the Illyrian Provinces up to the Mincio River. In January 1814 things grew worse, as the King of Naples, Joachim Murat, passed over to the Allied camp and opened a new front south of the Po, invading Emilia with an Austro-Neapolitan army. British landings on the upper Tyrrhenian coast also threatened the French territory in northern Italy. After Napoleon's abdication, on 6 April Eugène signed the military convention of Schiarino-Rizzino, which required the French evacuation of Italy. A few days later an uprising in Milan convinced him to abdicate. The French troops returned home, and the Kingdom of Italy was dissolved and most of its army incorporated into Austrian service. With the end of the campaign and the restoration of pre-Revolutionary states, the emerging spirit of Italian nationalism was not to result in a unified Italian state until after midcentury.

The 1813–1814 Italian campaigns can be divided into four stages:

**September–October 1813.** Eugène deployed his army along the Drava (in Styria) and the Sava (in Slovenia) valleys. On 6 September the French under General Paul, comte Grenier won the first notable engagement, at Feistritz on the Drava, in the vicinity of Klagenfurt. Other minor actions took place in mid-September around Laibach (now Ljubljana). By mid-October, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Hiller's pressure from the east as well as the pending threat of another column advancing southward from Tyrol (the action at Bassano on 31 October, where Grenier defeated *Generalmajor* Freiherr von Eckhardt) forced Eugène to retreat to northeastern Italy.

**Early November 1813–early February 1814.** For three months Beauharnais easily maintained a defensive position behind the Adige River, since bad weather and Hiller's lethargy prevented the Austrians from making further progress. After the landing in the Po delta of a small Austro-British force under *Generalmajor* Laval Nugent on 15 November, minor actions took place around Ferrara and Rovigo.

**February 1814.** Eugène, realizing that Murat's army was threatening his lines of communication south of the Po, withdrew behind the Mincio to shorten his front and maintain a central position between *Feldmarschall* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde (who had replaced Hiller as Austrian theater commander) and Murat. On 8 February the main battle of the campaign was fought along the Mincio River. Tactically a draw, it was a French victory at the strategic level, as the Austrians failed to force the Mincio line.

**March–April 1814.** The Franco-Italian corps in Emilia slowly retreated before a hesitating Murat (the actions at Parma and Reggio Emilia, 2 and 7 March). Meanwhile Venice came under siege, and Lord William Bentinck's

British expeditionary force, after landing in Leghorn (Livorno) on 9 March, reached Genoa in mid-April. With the military convention of Schiarino-Rizzino, the war in Italy was over.

Marco Gioannini

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Italy, Kingdom of; Mincio River, Battle of the; Murat, Joachim

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### "Italian Independence," War of (1815)

In the spring of 1815 the King of Naples, Joachim Murat, waged a short campaign against Austria in central and northern Italy in the hope of keeping his throne. Sometimes misleadingly called the "First War of Italian Independence," the campaign ended with Murat's defeat and abdication.

In the autumn of 1813, after the Battle of Leipzig, Murat reopened diplomatic negotiations with the Allies, trying to escape Napoleon's fate. On 11 January 1814 a treaty of alliance between Naples and Austria was signed, whereby the Habsburg emperor committed himself—with British approval—to recognizing Murat as the legitimate king. The Bourbons were to keep Sicily and would obtain an adequate reward for their territorial losses in continental Italy. A secret article also guaranteed an expansion of the Kingdom of Naples, with the incorporation of 400,000 subjects from the Papal States. Murat's flimsy military contribution to the Allied cause in 1814, however, disappointed both Austria and Britain. By the end of 1814 Murat had given up any hope of increasing his territory and had failed to obtain Pope Pius VII's support.

Napoleon's return from Elba, as well as rumors that the Allied powers were moving in favor of restoring the Bourbons to the Neapolitan throne, prompted Murat to break the alliance and declare war against Austria on 15 March 1815. Two weeks later he decided to play an even more ambitious game by proclaiming himself the liberator of Italy and summoning from Rimini all Italian patriots to join in the fight for national unity and independence.

Recently expanded to approximately 40,000 men, the Neapolitan army was of dubious quality, with mostly green troops and officers of little experience. Murat hoped, however, to ignite patriotic insurrections in central and northern Italy and to rally national militias to his standard, with

the support of those Italian generals who had fought under Napoleon. The Austrians retired before the Neapolitan advance, and the first phase of the war ended in mid-April, with Murat in control of central Italy, Emilia, and Tuscany. By that time, Pius VII had left Rome.

As Murat's plea for an insurrection went unheeded, the Austrians started their counteroffensive. After a failed attempt at forcing the line of the Po at Occhiobello, Murat decided to slowly retreat down the Adriatic coast to Ancona in the Marche. An Austrian column of 11,000 men under *Generalmajor* Adam Adalbert Neipperg pursued the Neapolitan army. Meanwhile, another column (13,000 men) under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Freiherr von Bianchi took a more westwardly route under the cover of the Apennines in an attempt to outflank Murat. By the end of April this column debouched from the mountains and made for Tolentino in the Chienti River valley. Relying on his overwhelming numerical superiority and probably planning to defeat the two enemy columns while they were still separated, on 2 May Murat turned to confront Bianchi. Moving from Macerata, his army advanced up the Chienti valley. The outcome of the Battle of Tolentino (2–3 May) saw a discouraged Murat in full retreat to his borders. A treaty was signed at Casalanza on 20 May whereby Murat abdicated, thus paving the way to a Bourbon restoration in Naples.

Murat made a last desperate attempt to regain his throne, landing at Pizzo Calabro in October 1815. He was arrested and shot on 13 October.

Marco Gioannini

*See also* Leipzig, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Papal States; Pius VII, Pope; Sicily; Tolentino, Battle of

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### Italy, Kingdom of

In January 1802 Bonaparte established the Republic of Italy and was elected as its president by an assembly of Italian notables who gathered in the city of Lyons. In March 1805, after becoming Emperor, Napoleon transformed the Republic into the Kingdom of Italy with himself as its king. He appointed his faithful stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, as his viceroy in Milan. The kingdom lasted until April 1814, when it fell shortly after Napoleon's abdication. Initially it comprised Lombardy, the Novarese, and Emilia-Romagna. In the Treaty of Pressburg (December 1805) the Austrians ceded Venetia to the Kingdom of Italy. The

Marche and South Tyrol were added in 1808 and 1810, respectively. At its peak, the kingdom covered an area of 35,000 square miles and had 6.7 million inhabitants, about one-third of the peninsula's population. As a Napoleonic satellite state, the kingdom paid for the upkeep of French troops, provided Napoleon with tens of thousands of soldiers, and had to adhere to the Continental System.

The Napoleonic government transformed the Kingdom of Italy more profoundly than any other part of the peninsula, possibly even than any other part of Europe. The relatively long duration of French domination in northern Italy, the cooperation of the local elite, and the Habsburg reforms in pre-Napoleonic Lombardy contributed to a successful reform policy. Northern Italy experienced a successful *amalgame* between the old nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie, which created a new elite that would remain in power throughout the nineteenth century. Napoleon succeeded in unifying the diverse regions, formerly belonging to five different states, into a centralized state, with uniform legal, administrative, and financial structures modeled on the French system. The constitution created a powerful executive and a weak legislature. Napoleon, who tolerated no opposition, had the final say on internal policy, nominated state administrators, and ran foreign policy. The viceroy and seven ministers were responsible to the Emperor and ran the government's daily business.

The kingdom was divided into twenty-four departments with a uniform bureaucracy. Prefects ran the departments, vice prefects managed the smaller districts, and mayors governed the cities. Greater centralization made the administration more effective and reliable. A growing number of officials were selected on the basis of competence and were gaining in experience and professionalism. Most of them originated from the ranks of property owners, both nobles and bourgeoisie. The authorities instituted a regular police force and introduced the French legal system, most notably the Napoleonic Code, which reaffirmed legal equality and property rights.

The authorities also set up centralized and uniform education modeled on the French system. The minister of the interior controlled public education. The language of instruction was Italian. Every community was ordered to have an elementary school. The number of elementary schools increased, but many suffered from a shortage of resources and qualified teachers. The government laid the foundation of a modern secular secondary school (*licei*) system. It established a uniform curriculum, assigned books, and appointed teachers. Three universities operated, in Pavia, Bologna, and Padua.

Fiscal policies increased the state's revenues. Over 50 percent of the state's budget was spent on the military,

while the rest paid for the construction of roads and waterways, public debt, and administrative costs. Giuseppe Prina, the loyal and efficient finance minister, augmented taxes and improved tax collection. In 1807 he launched a property survey designed to erase differences among taxpayers. These new policies, along with an increase in the number of taxpayers, nearly doubled state revenues. Yet the increasing efficiency of the tax system meant a rising fiscal burden, particularly on the lower classes.

In August 1802 the government proclaimed an annual military conscription. Men between the ages of twenty and twenty-five were drafted for four years. Conscription aroused widespread opposition. Desertion and draft dodging were rife. The government tightened the draft machinery, dispatched the *gendarmerie* to arrest deserters, and proclaimed harsher penalties. Despite popular resistance, the government drafted 155,000 men between 1802 and 1814. Italians fought in Spain, Germany, and Russia, suffering high casualties.

In September 1803 the authorities of the Republic of Italy signed a Concordat with the pope. It recognized Catholicism as the state religion, confirmed freedom of religion, and authorized the republic to nominate bishops and the pope to consecrate them. It also ratified the new owners of church land. The government continued to confiscate and sell church land, reorganized parishes, and introduced civil marriage and divorce.

Economically the government formed a national market by eliminating internal tariffs and promulgating a uniform commercial code and a single currency (the lira). Highways and canals were improved and extended. Wishing to control the kingdom economically, Napoleon ordered it to export raw silk exclusively to France and forbade the import of foreign products, other than French ones, into the kingdom. Naturally the kingdom had to join the Continental System, which had adverse effects on its economy. The ban on trade with Britain nearly paralyzed the ports of Venice and Ancona and caused shortages of colonial raw material. Opposition to Napoleonic rule in northern Italy was mostly limited to resistance to conscription and to brigandage, which disrupted law and order but posed no threat to French domination. In 1809 a new milling tax provoked revolts in rural communities in the Veneto and in Emilia-Romagna. They were, however, fairly quickly suppressed.

During the campaigns of 1805 and 1809 the Kingdom of Italy constituted a secondary theater in the war, whose principal fronts were in Germany and Austria. In November 1805 Marshal André Masséna and Archduke Charles clashed in an indecisive battle at Caldiero. In April 1809 Eugène suffered a defeat at Sacile, but a month later, while the Austrians were retreating from northern

Italy, he decisively beat them at the Battle of the Piave. Italian troops then fought at Wagram.

The huge Italian casualties in Russia—fewer than 2,000 out of 27,000 soldiers from the Kingdom of Italy returned home—the heavy tax burden, and the damage caused by the Continental System increased discontent in the kingdom. In October 1813, after occupying Illyria, the Austrians invaded northern Italy, forcing Eugène to evacuate Venetia. By early April 1814 he had lost most of his territory. Anti-French sentiment culminated on 20 April 1814 when a Milanese crowd lynched Prina, the hated minister of finance. Eugène left Italy shortly thereafter, and the Austrians entered Milan and established a provisional government. The Congress of Vienna upheld the incorporation of Venetia and Lombardy into the Habsburg Empire and recognized Austrian hegemony in the peninsula.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cisalpine Republic; Civil Code; Continental System; Education (French); Fifth Coalition, War of the; Italian Army; Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); Ligurian Republic; Masséna, André; Naples; Papal States; Peninsular War; Pius

VII, Pope; Pressburg, Treaty of; Russian Campaign; Sacile, Battle of; Sardinia; Third Coalition, War of the; Venetian Republic; Vienna, Congress of; Wagram, Battle of

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## Jacobins

The term *Jacobin* describes an organization and a worldview and their adherents. The phenomenon must therefore be studied on the institutional and cultural levels alike. The Jacobin Club (1789) was the most influential of the voluntary groupings that sprouted from the associational practices of the *ancien régime* and flourished in the political culture of the French Revolution. Nicknamed after its Parisian quarters in a Dominican (*Jacobin*) convent, the Society of Friends of the Constitution eventually spawned some 5,300 affiliates, with several hundred thousand members.

The club that once welcomed both the marquis de Lafayette and Maximilien Robespierre moved steadily leftward, as dissenters resigned or were expelled. Under the Republic, the Society of Jacobins, Friends of Liberty and Equality, allied itself with leftists from the Convention and from popular movements. Never part of the government, it served as a training school, caucus, and pressure group, which agitated for increasingly radical measures and led the way in demanding and supporting the Terror. Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety relied on the club network to send and enforce directives. Although the alliance was never entirely harmonious, they fell together. The Thermidorian regime closed the clubs in November 1794.

Jacobinism was less a doctrine than a set of ideals: a republic of virtue, whose civic-minded members cultivated middle-class values of productivity and decency in private and public life; a secular political republic based on legal equality, individual freedom, social solidarity, and property, without extremes of wealth or poverty. Existential threats to this order justified strong central government, full mobilization, and the severest measures against enemies, both internal and external.

Neo-Jacobinism briefly emerged in new societies and factions of the army between the purges of 18 Fructidor Year V and 22 Floréal Year VI (4 September 1797 and 11

May 1798, respectively). Napoleon, erstwhile Jacobin, however, firmly distanced himself from the movement and used fears of Jacobinism to consolidate his power—perhaps not only out of cynicism but because it posed a greater threat than royalism, having sprung from the Revolutionary legacy that he claimed both to embody and to transcend.

Governments elsewhere were, if anything, more suspicious of Jacobinism, applying the term (like *red* in later generations) indiscriminately to anyone deemed subversive, but Jacobinism was a real though limited phenomenon. Admittedly, French occupiers and native radicals often disappointed one another. The German and Italian cases are the best documented. Although many critics blame Jacobinism for the excesses of subsequent radical movements as well as the Terror, one could also argue that Jacobinism saved the Revolution and laid the foundations, however imperfect, for a modern democratic culture that still struggles with the relation between individual and collectivity.

James Wald

*See also* Convention, The; French Revolution; Girondins; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup  
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## Janissaries

The Janissaries constituted a part of the standing Ottoman Army, first organized in the late fourteenth century and lasting until 1826. The need for the Janissary corps came from the dependence of Ottoman rulers on tribal leaders who were often tempted to oppose the power of the sultan. By the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman Army consisted of two main branches: irregular troops, and regulars on pay (*kapikulu*), which included Janissaries. The Janissaries constituted the major force in the empire and were drafted through a *devshirme*, conscription system. They were originally drawn from Christian youths from the Balkan and Caucasian provinces, who were converted to Islam and rigorously trained. The Janissaries were subject to strict rules, limiting their freedom and demanding higher moral standards than usual in society. In their first couple of centuries they were forced to practice celibacy, but this would later change. The Janissaries were not allowed to grow beards, which was the sign of a free man. After the completion of their training, they were organized into units commanded by *aghas*.

After the sixteenth century, the Janissaries became a powerful force within the empire as the sultan became dependent on them to counter other internal elements. As a result the Janissaries were frequently involved in palace coups and stubbornly resisted any reforms that undermined their status. The opposition between the sultan and the Janissaries was particularly evident under Sultan Selim III, who attempted to modernize the army by launching a series of reforms called *nizam-i cedid* (*new system*). This reform agenda led to a rebellion of the Janissaries and the deposition of Selim in 1807. The end of Janissary dominance came in June 1826, when Sultan Mahum II annihilated the entire corps during the so-called Auspicious Incident.

The Janissary corps was divided into *ortas* (regiments) and *odas* (barracks). As a result of reforms under Sultan Suleyman I, the Janissaries were arranged in three classes of *ortas*: *jemaat*, *beuluk*, and *sekban* (or *seimen*, peasant soldiers). The *beuluk* Janissaries guarded the sultan, while the *jemaat* were deployed on the frontiers. The strength of *ortas* varied from 100 to 500. In addition, there were the *ajami* *ortas* of apprentices, as well as the *yamaks*, or auxiliaries, who performed some of the Janissaries' duties. Some Janissary *ortas* eventually received the right to certain privileges and duties such as policing harbors, acting in fire brigades, or guarding foreign embassies.

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See also Middle East Campaign; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Empire

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## Jankovo, Battle of (3 February 1807)

Minor battle between Russian and French forces during the War of the Fourth Coalition.

Following the indecisive battles at Golymin and Pultusk in December 1806, the Russian and French armies withdrew to their winter quarters to regroup. In early January 1807 the Russians decided to launch an offensive into East Prussia against the French left flank and hoped to force Napoleon to withdraw from the left bank of the Vistula River. Advancing on 6 January 1807, the Russian army surprised the advanced elements of Marshal Michel Ney's corps on 19 January and engaged Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte's corps at Mohrunen six days later. Informed of the Russian attacks, Napoleon seized the chance to counterattack and destroy the opposing army. He anticipated that by proceeding further to the west; General Levin Bennigsen would inevitably expose his left flank and rear to an attack by the main French army. Therefore, French troops would make a sweeping flanking maneuver on the right from Thorn, driving Bennigsen into the angle between the lower Vistula and the Frisches Haff.

Russian headquarters remained under the false impression that its offensive would drive Napoleon across the Vistula, but Bennigsen halted his army at Mohrunen, a fortunate decision for him since any further advance would have moved the army directly into Napoleon's trap. On 31 January a Russian patrol captured a French courier delivering instructions to Bernadotte including important details of Napoleon's plan of campaign. Bennigsen was stunned by the captured correspondence and immediately ordered a withdrawal to Jankovo.

Unaware of the Russian retreat, Napoleon proceeded with his plan and moved most of his army in a grand counterclockwise wheeling movement. Bennigsen, meanwhile, with 40,000 men, concentrated his forces at Jankovo (Jonkendorf), where he deployed his troops along the river Alle. The Russian center was arranged at Jankovo, while the right flank rested in a marshy wooded valley and the left

was anchored at Mondtken on the frozen Alle. Count Nikolay Kamenski's 8th Division, supported by the 3rd Division, was deployed at Bergfried to prevent any French flanking maneuvers. On 3 February Ney and Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau attacked the Russian rear guard under General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly on the road from Allenstein and observed the Russian positions at Jankovo.

Napoleon was delighted by this news, and although he did not have his main forces at Jankovo, he decided to attack immediately to prevent Bennigsen from retiring farther to the north. On 3 February Ney's corps, still on the march, was ordered to form the French left flank, while Augereau was in the center and Marshal Nicolas Soult's corps was on the right flank; the Imperial Guard and Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry were kept in reserve. Napoleon ordered Bernadotte to proceed by forced marches to assault the Russian right flank. Simultaneously, he directed Soult and Marshal Louis Davout to make a flanking maneuver toward Bergfried to cut off the Russian line of retreat. The French initially attacked at Bergfried, where Soult's flanking column assaulted Kamenski's positions. Fierce fighting continued for hours, and the bridge over the Alle changed hands several times. Snow made the French artillery bombardment more difficult, since the round shot could not ricochet off the ground.

After a series of failed attempts Soult finally dislodged the Russians, who suffered considerable losses. The town of Bergfried was captured, and part of Soult's corps dashed onward to Guttstädt, where it seized the Russian baggage train. Meantime, in the center, Napoleon confined his activity to an artillery bombardment. He hoped Soult would easily advance through Bergfried into the Russian rear. Because this flanking movement was delayed, Napoleon decided to postpone his combined assault on Bennigsen's positions until the next morning. During the night, Bennigsen abandoned his positions and withdrew his main forces in the direction of Landsberg and Preussisch Eylau.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golymin, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Pultusk, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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## Jemappes, Battle of (6 November 1792)

Jemappes was the first of the victories achieved by a mass republican French army, enabling it to conquer the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium and Luxembourg). In a new style of warfare, the French used column attacks supported by massed artillery to steamroll through a smaller professional force as French armies assumed the strategic offensive.

After the Battle of Valmy, France launched its first offensive campaign against the Austrian Netherlands in late October 1792. The 40,000-strong Armée du Nord (including 13 Volunteers of 1792 battalions) under General Charles Dumouriez marched from Valenciennes toward Mons, reinforced by General François Harville with 10,000 men (mainly Volunteers) protecting his right wing.

The Austrian governor of the Netherlands, Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, withdrew from Lille to block the Brussels road, taking up on 5 November a defensive position on the 8-kilometer-long Cuesmes ridge with 11,600 infantry, 2,170 cavalry, and 56 guns. The position was narrow and sloped back to marshland around the Trouille and Haine rivulets, which could be crossed by two raised causeways through which culverts had been cut to allow water to flow.

On the far right, defending Jemappes village, were seven *Freikorps* (volunteer) companies; on the right wing *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Freiherr von Lilien had four infantry battalions on the hills, supported by three cavalry squadrons. In the center, *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Sebastian de Croix Graf Clerfayt positioned three battalions on the hill west of Cuesmes village with four squadrons; *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu on the left wing held the hills south of Bertaimont with three battalions, his flank protected by five companies and a squadron. Ten squadrons held the gap between the center and left on the Cuesmes-Frameries road. Two companies held Mont Palisel to protect the left wing, and a battalion was at Mons.

Having 3,800 poor-quality cavalry, Dumouriez would rely on his 32,000 infantry and hundred guns, including twenty-four heavy guns, eighteen 6-pounders, and several heavy howitzers. Harville would reinforce the right wing with 4,000 men and fifteen guns. On 6 November the French left wing under General Marie Louis Ferrand de la Caussade faced Quaregnon; the center under General Egalité (the republican name assumed by the duc de Chartres, the future King Louis-Phillipe of France) was east of Wasmes; the right wing under General Pierre de Riel, marquis de Beurnonville was west of Frameries. Harville and Beurnonville were to surround the Austrian left and once Ferrand had secured Quaregnon, Beurnonville and the center-right would attack

the central ridgeline, while Harville would seize Mont Palisel to cut off the Austrian retreat.

At dawn, Dumouriez directed thirty-six heavy artillery pieces to pound the Austrian earthworks, which met a response from twenty guns. Harville's first attack on Ciply was repelled, and the rest of his troops only reached the Bertaimont hills. The advances of both French wings forced Albert to commit his reserves, sending a battalion to reinforce the center. On the left Beaulieu received a battalion and ten squadrons to launch a counterattack, but the French on the Frameries plateau were quickly reinforced and Beaulieu was driven back. At 10:00 A.M. the French left attacked Quaregnon, forcing the Austrian *Freikorps* back to Jemappes village, but then halted. Clerfayt took command of the Austrian center and right, sending four battalions to attack the Jemappes hills, and reinforced the right wing with two grenadier battalions. The French center was still in its original position, but the Austrian center was very weak after the bombardment.

Knowing Harville was advancing, Dumouriez ordered Ferrand to take Jemappes, while at noon he launched his hammer blow. Supported by the cavalry and led by several artillery batteries, Egalité's center and Beurnonville's right advanced toward the ridgeline, formed in attack columns deployed *en echequier* (chessboard style). When they reached a range of 160 meters, Beurnonville deployed eight battalions and charged the Austrian center, taking several guns. Three Austrian cavalry squadrons countercharged, putting the French infantry to flight as reinforcements were rushed to the center.

The French commanders rallied Beurnonville's fleeing infantry, while Egalité reordered his men to form the massive *bataillon de Mons* column. Followed by two regiments, the column advanced and retook the Cuesmes ridge, beating off Austrian counterattacks. On the French left Ferrand, with a 4-to-1 advantage, was encircling Jemappes with fifteen infantry battalions and cavalry. After initial slow progress south of the village, he took the small hill, although two grenadier battalions halted the next French advance on the village.

The Austrians believed their right wing was secured by the Haine, but local sympathizers helped three French battalions construct some bridges and attack the village from the rear. Two grenadier companies reinforced the defenders of Jemappes until the whole Austrian right was forced to evacuate the area. The center followed them over the bridge across the Trouille toward Mons. The exhausted French center secured the ridgeline and halted around 2:00 P.M., depriving Dumouriez of complete victory. The Austrian left withdrew during the afternoon.

The Austrians sustained 828 casualties, mostly from canister rounds, plus 413 prisoners; the French lost 2,000.

Albert abandoned the Austrian Netherlands, and on 10 November Dumouriez entered Brussels. The victory gave the French republican government greater confidence, and Louis XVI was executed in January 1793. However, Jemappes demonstrated that inadequately trained infantry could not deploy from columns properly, so the French often tried to smash through enemy lines by lowering bayonets at close range. Larger armies and effective artillery rendered this tactic increasingly costly. This did not deter General Jean-Baptiste Drouet (a senior commander at Jemappes and later the comte d'Erlon) from leading the last assault at Waterloo, twenty-three years later and 50 kilometers to the northeast.

David Hollins

*See also* Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Valmy, Battle of

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## Jena, Battle of (14 October 1806)

Fought 15 miles south of the simultaneous battle at Auerstädt, where Marshal Nicolas Davout was confronting the numerically superior main Prussian army, the Battle of Jena took place between an army under the command of Napoleon and a mixed Prusso-Saxon force under the command

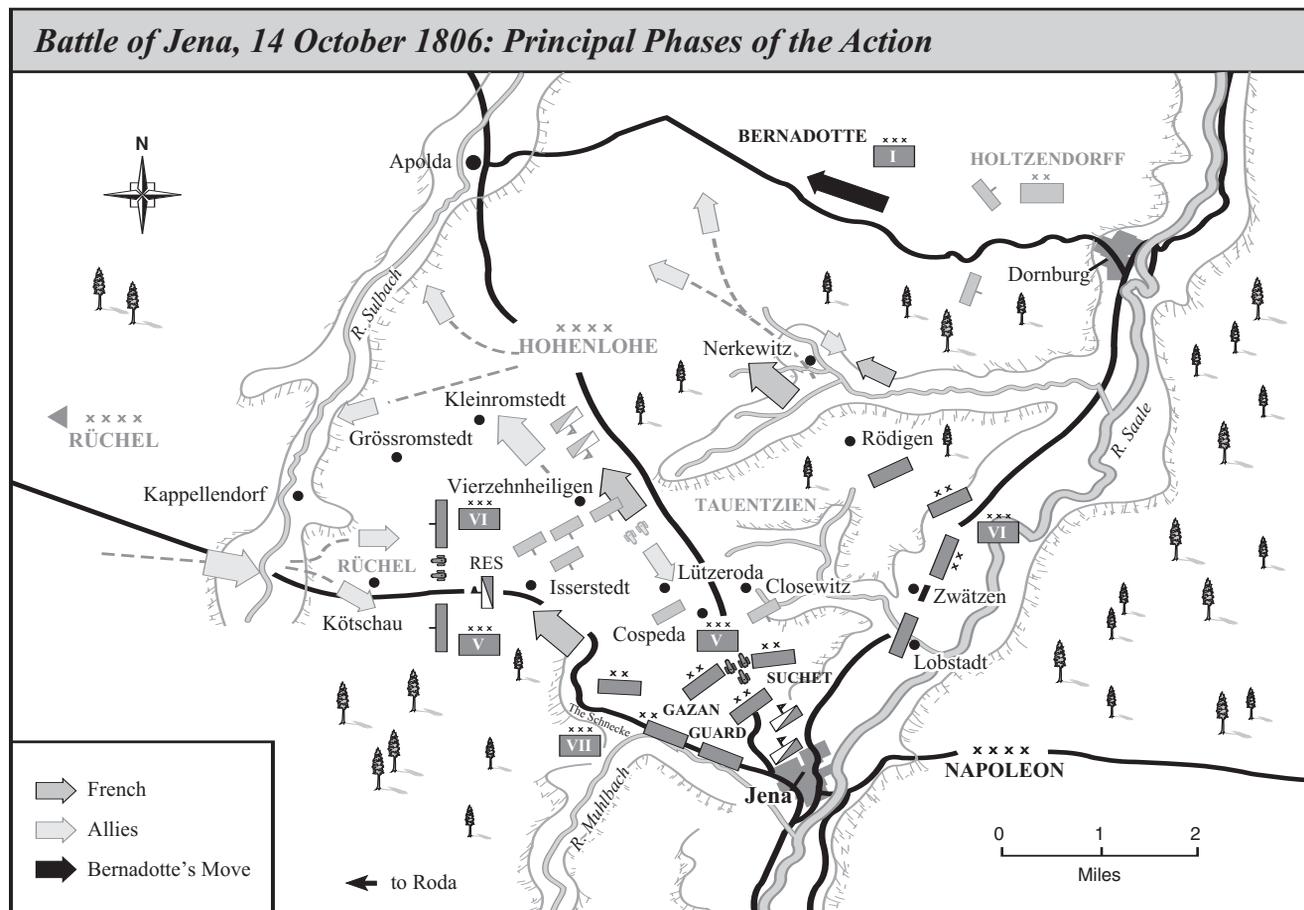
of Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (known as Hohenlohe). This was one of Napoleon's most dramatic victories and played a major role in the destruction of Prussia as a great power. It expanded and consolidated Napoleon's control of central Europe.

On 13 October Napoleon's center column included the Imperial Guard, IV Corps (under Marshal Nicolas Soult), VI Corps (under Marshal Michel Ney), and three cavalry divisions moving from Roda to Jena. He sent Marshal Joachim Murat with two cavalry divisions and I Corps (under Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte) toward Dornburg. Napoleon was concerned that his opponent might slip away, avoiding the decisive battle he sought, and fall back on the fortress of Magdeburg.

On the afternoon of the thirteenth, Napoleon reached Jena and observed that the vanguard of V Corps (under Marshal Jean Lannes), part of the left column, had already taken control of the important heights of Landgrafenberg. Seizing the opportunity, he had his artillery manhandled up the steep slopes onto the plateau. That evening, IV, VI, and VII Corps (under Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau) reached the vicinity of Jena. Their rear echelons

arrived the next day along with the Reserve Cavalry. Marshal Louis Davout was ordered to take his III Corps via Apolda to operate against the flank and rear of the Prussians. Napoleon, who drew together around 96,000 men on 14 October at Jena, thought that he was facing the main body of the Prussian army.

Hohenlohe, commander of the Prusso-Saxon corps, was aware that he was facing Lannes and Augereau. He had around 38,000 men at his disposal, including the divisions of generals Friedrich von Tauentzien, Julius August Reinhold von Grawert, and Rudolf Gottlieb Frieheirr von Dyherrn and the Saxon contingent. His objective was to cover the flank of the Prussian main body under Charles, Duke of Brunswick, that was moving from Weimar to Auerstädt. The force under General Ernst Friedrich Wilhelm von Rüchel, now about 13,000 men strong, spent the night of 13–14 October east of Weimar. Its intention was to follow the main body, but Hohenlohe requested and was granted his assistance to deal with Lannes. The Prussians did not consider that Napoleon might cross to the west side of the river Saale and attempt to disrupt their movement.



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 487.

Napoleon moved more troops onto the Landgrafenberg that night. Hohenlohe's outposts sent him reports of the movement of wheeled traffic, but he did not attach particular importance to this. There was nothing evident in these movements to indicate that Napoleon was assembling a large force in the vicinity.

Napoleon's immediate objective, once that morning's mist had lifted, was to ensure that he was in control of a large enough part of the plateau to be able to deploy his forces. Lannes was ordered to attack the village of Closewitz on Napoleon's signal. Soult was to move on the right through the valley of the Rau, while Augereau was to move through the Mühl valley up to the plateau. Ney was ordered to the right of Lannes but actually deployed on his left. The Imperial Guard remained in reserve. At the start of the battle Napoleon had fifty battalions of infantry and thirty cavalry squadrons at his disposal, around 56,000 men. Around 11:00 A.M. a further 15,000 men arrived; around noon, another 18,000.

At 5:30 A.M. Tautzien deployed his division of around 8,000 men between Lützeroda and Closewitz. The mist prevented either side from getting a clear view of the other, and General Louis Suchet's division of Lannes's corps slowly felt its way forward after beginning its attack at 6:00 A.M. The firefight continued for about two hours, by which time it was getting light. This enabled Tautzien to observe that he was heavily outnumbered. The French pressed forward, and the Prussians began to run low on ammunition. Hohenlohe then ordered Tautzien to retire on Klein Romstedt. The Prussian skirmishers in the Isserstedt Forest fell back to the village of Isserstedt. The two battalions of Saxons on the right retired to the Isserstedt Forest. This withdrawal was made in good order.

The French, however, followed up with determination, overtaking from two sides and breaking a battalion of Prussian fusiliers (light infantry). Another battalion fell apart, and two more lost contact, falling back to Apolda. A Saxon howitzer battery became stuck in a ditch and was abandoned. Lannes seized the opportunity, sending forward his combined battalion of grenadiers and *voltigeurs* and the 34th Line in two waves. Tautzien unexpectedly turned to face them, joined by four battalions of Saxons. Napoleon sent the 40th Line to take the village of Vierzeñheiligen, but it was driven off. He then sent General Jacques Desjardin's division from VII Corps to attack it, supported by eighteen guns from the Guard Artillery and V Corps firing from the southeast. Having halted his pursuers for a while, Tautzien now continued his withdrawal, abandoning Vierzeñheiligen.

General Friedrich Jakob von Holtzendorff's detachment, 5,000 men, which had been marching toward the sound of the guns, then appeared. It had General Louis St.

Hilaire's division of Soult's corps hard on its heels. He attempted to hold off the French by deploying in echelons from the right, with his skirmishers to the fore. General Etienne Guyot's cavalry brigade of IV Corps then attacked the Saxon *cheveaulégers* (light cavalry), throwing them back and riding down parts of the Prussian cuirassiers (heavy cavalry). The infantry, however, maintained their order and continued their march. Around this time, French troops moved through Krippendorf, and Holtzendorff now believed it impossible to rejoin Hohenlohe. Instead, he withdrew toward Apolda, taking away 5,000 men that Hohenlohe would soon desperately need.

These first clashes gave Hohenlohe little cause for alarm. General Niesemeuschel's Saxon infantry had occupied a winding road known as the Schnecke, "Snail," southwest of the Isserstedt Forest. About 8:00 A.M. Grawert had his Prussian division march off from its camp southwest of Kapellendorf, deploying its left on Klein Romstedt. Shortly after that Hohenlohe arrived, and he now appreciated the seriousness of the situation. He ordered Rüchel to join him. Grawert advanced on Vierzeñheiligen with cavalry covering his flanks. His horse artillery engaged the French guns. All that could be seen of the French between Vierzeñheiligen and the Isserstedt Forest was a skirmish line. However, Ney had brought up his vanguard, and his 10th Chasseurs surprised a Prussian horse battery and captured it. A cavalry fight then developed, with both sides throwing in more men. The Prussians recaptured the lost battery, but as the French had taken away its limbers, they were not able to recover it. The Prussian infantry followed to within 500 paces from Vierzeñheiligen.

Although Hohenlohe's orders were to refrain from getting involved in a serious conflict, he decided to use his initiative and drive off what appeared to be weak forces. He had his light infantry clear the French from Vierzeñheiligen. Prussian skirmishers were also posted in a copse on Grawert's right, with four battalions of Saxons behind them. Tautzien's battalions, now resupplied with ammunition, moved up behind the Prussian left. Five battalions of Saxons under Rudolf Gottlieb Freiherr von Dyherrn were in reserve. The cavalry re-formed behind the flanks of the infantry.

Meanwhile, French skirmishers of Lannes's corps counterattacked in Vierzeñheiligen and expelled the Prussians. They also cleared the copse. The French artillery bombardment grew in intensity, inflicting increasing losses.

About 9:30 A.M. Hohenlohe decided on the offensive. His infantry drove the French back along the entire line. However, when the Prussians came close to Vierzeñheiligen, they were greeted with a heavy fire that brought the attack to a halt. Hohenlohe was about to send in a couple



Napoleon at the Battle of Jena, one of two battles fought on the same day that broke Prussian resistance and revealed the obsolescence of forces still clinging to the methods of eighteenth-century warfare. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

of battalions to clear the village when Grawert pointed out that he had no reserves. Hohenlohe decided to wait for Rüchel to come up. Holtzendorff's arrival was also anticipated, and Hohenlohe intended to use him against the flank of the French. Meanwhile, the Prussian artillery commenced a bombardment of the village, setting it alight. Their infantry engaged the French in a firefight.

Lannes tried to flank Grawert with two battalions from General Honoré Théodore Gazan's division, but Saxon cavalry forced them to fall back. Desjardin's division now drew up between Vierzehnheiligen and Isserstedt, forcing Grawert to extend his right flank by committing a brigade of Saxons. The Prussian light infantry in the village of Isserstedt ran low on ammunition and was withdrawn. The Prussian volleys had little effect, and the French artillery pounded their lines.

Napoleon had used this time to bring up his reserves. St. Hilaire's division, having chased off Holtzendorff, approached Vierzehnheiligen from the north, supported by Guyot's cavalry, and flanked Grawert on the left. The two other divisions of Lannes's corps moved on Krippendorff, with the Imperial Guard following up in support. South of Vierzehnheiligen, Desjardin's division attacked Grawert's right, forcing it back and opening a gap in the Prusso-Saxon line. General Etienne, comte Heudelet de Bierre's division of Augereau's corps moved against the Saxons in the Snail. Ney followed up in support of Desjardin. A large body of French cavalry was visible south of Krippendorff. It was now afternoon. Napoleon now judged it opportune to go over to the offensive.

The French now made their decisive attack along the entire front. They were threatening the Prussian left flank

and had outflanked the right. Their artillery deployed at canister range and fired at the depleted Prussian line. The Prussians had already suffered heavy losses and were low on ammunition. Three corps closed in on ten battalions. Order broke down in the Prussian line and could not be restored. Hohenlohe now decided to withdraw. Grawert was ordered to fall back in a northwesterly direction over the river Ilm to link up with the main body of the army. The Saxons were ordered to retire along the road to Weimar. Covered by cavalry, this withdrawal was conducted in an orderly fashion. Napoleon now committed his great cavalry reserve under Murat.

Murat's troopers struck the right of the Prusso-Saxon line, breaking into it and causing considerable disorder. The heavy artillery was soon abandoned to the French. Hohenlohe sought refuge in a steady square of Saxon grenadiers. Most of Grawert's men fell back to Tauentzien's position, still under the control of their officers, in the Werlitz gorge north of Kapellendorf, although parts did go in the direction of Weimar. Grawert, now wounded, fell back with Sack's grenadier battalion to Kapellendorf, where the point of Rüchel's corps was now visible.

Rüchel is considered to have taken much longer than necessary to reach the battlefield. However, it was just before 9:00 A.M. that he received orders to march to support Hohenlohe. At this point, there was no indication of any urgency. He moved off shortly after, covering the 5 kilometers to Umpferstedt in about one hour. Here, he spent an hour deploying his corps. While he was doing this, he received a second message informing him all was going well in the battle. His columns covered the next 4 kilometers in about an hour, their points reaching Kapellendorf about midday. Shortly afterward a request for urgent assistance arrived. Redeploying to pass through the bottleneck at Kapellendorf, Rüchel marched on, sighting the church spire of the burning village of Vierzehnheiligen.

Moving up onto a ridge, Rüchel formed up for the attack. It was now around 1:00 P.M.; Hohenlohe arrived and ordered Rüchel to make that attack, and half an hour later he did so, advancing toward Soult's artillery that was deployed south of Gross Romstedt. Two brigades of French cavalry rode to meet him, but volleys of musketry drove them off, and Prussian hussars chased them away. The infantry continued its advance, forcing the French artillery to limber up and withdraw. Then St. Hilaire, coming around to the left of Gross Romstedt, took the infantry's flank. The artillery of the Guard and Lannes's corps then deployed and opened up, inflicting heavy casualties. Rüchel and several other senior officers were wounded. Control was lost. The infantry tried to continue its advance, but French infantry outflanked it and French cavalry pressed home, taking full advantage of the confusion. Order broke down,

with each battalion being left to fight its way out alone. An exhausted and wounded Hohenlohe reached Vippach that night.

Prussian losses were around 11,000 dead and wounded, 15,000 prisoners, 200 cannon, and 30 flags. The French lost about 5,000 men.

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*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Imperial Guard (French); Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Lannes, Jean; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond; Suchet, Louis Gabriel

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## Jena-Auerstädt Campaign (1806)

The stunning speed with which Napoleon overthrew the much-vaunted Prussian army in the fall of 1806 was dramatic, even by the standards this great captain set. Following on from his decisive defeat of the Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz in December 1805, Napoleon now established himself as master of central Europe with the Jena-

Auerstädt campaign, ending attempts by Russia to play a significant role in European affairs for several years.

Since the Treaty of Basle of 1795, Prussia had maintained a policy of neutrality with France, but the incessant expansion of the Napoleonic Empire caused friction in government circles in Berlin and led to increasing calls for war with France. The war party in Prussia grew in influence.

When war broke out between Britain and France in 1803, General Adolphe Mortier occupied Hanover and disbanded its army. Prussia, supposedly the defender of north Germany, did not oppose this act. Effectively, the Treaty of Basle had ceased to have force. King Frederick William III did everything he could to avoid giving Napoleon cause for a confrontation and ignored suggestions that he should mobilize a corps of observation. When the War of the Third Coalition of Austria, Russia, Britain, and Sweden began in 1805, Napoleon sought to ensure Prussia's neutrality by offering it Hanover. Frederick William was tempted but rejected this offer, as Napoleon made recognition of his conquests in Italy a prerequisite. Russia also put pressure on Frederick William, demanding the right of passage through Prussian territory for its forces. Caught in the middle, part of the Prussian army was mobilized that September.

Hardly had this mobilization begun when a French corps under Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte violated Prussian neutrality. This corps marched from Hanover southward through the Prussian enclave of Ansbach on 3 October, looting and pillaging as it went. This caused considerable outrage in Prussia and led to calls for war. The Russians were finally allowed passage through Prussian territory. Around 180,000 Prussian troops were placed on a war footing.

Napoleon needed to act quickly, and act quickly he did. His rapid maneuvers caused an Austrian force in southwest Germany under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich to capitulate at Ulm. While Prussia was trying to negotiate an armed peace, the French moved on Vienna. By the Treaty of Potsdam, concluded on 3 November, the Prussians agreed to enter the war with an army of 180,000 men, including contingents from Saxony and Hesse, should Napoleon refuse to make peace within four weeks of the departure from Berlin of the Prussian envoy Christian Graf von Haugwitz. Napoleon kept him at arm's length until after his victory at Austerlitz on 2 December. The strategic situation now having been so fundamentally changed, Haugwitz agreed to an exchange of territory with Napoleon, ceding the Prussian possessions of Ansbach, Cleves (Kleve), and Neuchâtel (a Prussian enclave in Switzerland) in return for Hanover. But peace had come at a price. The acquisition of Hanover led Prussia

into a dispute with Britain, its only potential ally in Europe now. Prussia was now isolated.

Seeing his chance, Napoleon started to goad Prussia into war. Joachim Murat, a French marshal and the Grand Duke of Berg, seized Prussian territory at Verden and Essen, in western Germany. French troops massed in Berg, threatening Prussia. Napoleon had suggested that Prussia should form a North German Confederation, but he then prevented it from carrying this out. Having induced Frederick William to accept Hanover, Napoleon then commenced peace negotiations with Britain, offering to return this territory. He did so without Prussia's knowledge, but the Prussian ambassador in Paris discovered it. This was the final provocation and the immediate cause for war.

Despite the gravity of the situation and the obvious, growing threat from France, Prussia entered this war ill prepared, and it lacked unity both in the government and in the higher command of the army. Frederick William did not have the strength of character or the authoritative demeanor necessary to impose his will on the arguing generals and politicians. The constant bickering hampered all operations. Nevertheless, Tsar Alexander I of Russia, irritated by the failure of his negotiations with Napoleon, promised to help, but his forces were far away. Britain too offered aid but moved slowly. Sweden declared its support but could do little. All that joined Prussia immediately was a contingent from Hesse and the reluctant Saxon army.

On 9 August 1806 the Prussian forces were ordered to mobilize. They entered this conflict with great expectations. Although the army had not been to war for ten years, its leaders had observed the development of warfare in the ensuing campaigns and had introduced a number of reforms. However, these attempts at modernization were underfunded and achieved less than was necessary. Napoleon's army had been fully trained at the camp at Boulogne, and its veteran cadres were flushed with the great victories of 1805. Napoleon's well-honed forces faced the army Europe respected above all others. The stage was set for the forthcoming War of the Fourth Coalition.

Strategically and politically, Prussia's position was not straightforward. France was one of Europe's most populous countries at this time, with a population of nearly 30 million. Prussia had the resources of only 8.7 million people, 2.5 million of whom were Poles, many of whom had only become Prussian subjects through the recent partitions of their country. Russia's support was essential, but Russia was considered an unreliable ally. There were rumors it was discussing peace with Napoleon, but these rumors were quashed on 3 September when a report arrived in Paris that Alexander had rejected Napoleon's overtures. As a result, Napoleon now refused to remove his troops

from southern Germany and began his preparations for war.

The Prussians feared Napoleon would strike first. France's occupation of the left bank of the Rhine left General Gebhard von Blücher's men in Westphalia out on a limb. The fate of Mack's Austrians the previous year must have been fresh in everybody's minds. Plans were made to withdraw Blücher's men over the river Elbe, but this would have left the Hessians in an exposed position and caused the Saxons consternation. Blücher also considered that his Westphalians would be reluctant to leave their home area, and he feared many would desert. Instead, the Prussians decided to concentrate to the fore, furthest away from the Russians. This would exacerbate the general strategic weakness of their position.

The Prussians raised a field army of seven corps of varying strengths: the Westphalian, the Hanoverian, the Magdeburg, the 1st Reserve, the Silesian, the West Prussian, and the Pomeranian. The fortresses of Magdeburg, Hamlin, and Nienburg were placed in a state of defense. To increase the mobility of the army, much of the heavier artillery pieces were left behind and the baggage train was reduced to a minimum. However, these measures were taken too far, for large parts of the army ran out of ammunition. The East Prussians were not mobilized, as they were needed to keep an eye on the Russians.

After some deliberations, the main part of the Prussian forces, around 65,000 men, were placed under the command of Charles, Duke of Brunswick, while Friedrich Ludwig Fürst Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (known as Hohenlohe) was given command of a Prusso-Saxon corps of around 45,000 men. A corps of 34,000 men was left to cover Westphalia and Hesse, and 18,000 West Prussians were left in reserve. Brunswick and Hohenlohe were deployed facing Napoleon's forces concentrating in southern Germany.

On 26 September 1806 Prussia sent an ultimatum demanding the immediate withdrawal of the French armies across the Rhine and Napoleon's assent to the formation of the

promised North German Confederation under Prussian leadership. Napoleon did not bother to respond, so on 8 October Prussia declared war. Napoleon was better prepared for this eventuality, having kept the Grande Armée in Germany for that very purpose. He concentrated his 180,000 men on the river Main, determined to strike at Berlin before help could arrive from Russia.

Napoleon was now assembling his IV (under Marshal Nicolas Soult), VI (under Marshal Michel Ney), and VII (under Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau) Corps in Franconia. On 3 October Marshal Louis Davout's III Corps arrived in Bamberg and Marshal François Lefebvre's



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 461.

V Corps was moving to join them. The Prussians moved into Saxony to meet them. Napoleon's plan was simply to locate and destroy the Prussians before any assistance from the Russians could arrive. An advance from southern Germany on Berlin would isolate the Prussians in the west, forcing them to withdraw.

The Prussians, only 145,000 strong, decided to seek victory alone rather than fall back toward the east and await the arrival of the tsar's forces. The difference in numbers was not in itself decisive, but there is only one thing worse than dividing one's army into two before the enemy, and that is dividing it into three, which is precisely what the Prussians did. Frederick William had not been able to get Brunswick to collaborate with Hohenlohe, so each was allowed to take the measures he considered appropriate. A third force of 15,000 men under General Ernst Friedrich Wilhelm von Rüchel was also formed. They faced 180,000 of Napoleon's veterans under a unified command. The resulting confusion diminished the chances of a successful outcome.

Napoleon now moved into Saxony marching in three columns. Soult (IV Corps) led the right column, about 40,000 men strong, with Ney (VI Corps) and the Bavarian contingent following him. It moved via Hof on Plauen. Bernadotte (I Corps) led the center column, about 70,000 men, with Davout (III Corps), much of the Reserve Cavalry, and the Imperial Guard following him. They moved from Kronach in the direction of Schleiz. The V Corps, now under Marshal Jean Lannes, led the left column, about 50,000 men, followed by Augereau (VII Corps). They moved toward Saalfeld and crossed the frontier on 8 October.

Fortunately for Napoleon, the Prussians had neglected to block the passages through the Thuringian Forest. The Grande Armée's three columns formed into a *bataillon carré* (battalion square), which would allow it to counter any offensive actions from the Prussians. The column attacked would simply fight a delaying action, falling back if necessary, allowing the remaining columns to swing into action against the Prussian flank. That day ended with Lannes's column moving toward Saalfeld and Soult's moving toward Hof. Matters were going well for Napoleon. The unity of command and the greater experience of recent warfare gave the French a considerable advantage.

The lack of a single command and of a clear objective hindered Prussian countermoves. The first sign of what was to come took place at Saalfeld on 10 October. Here, Lannes overwhelmed and defeated an exposed Prusso-Saxon force of around 8,000 men under the youthful and impetuous Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, who was killed in action. This body of men was the vanguard of Hohenlohe's corps. It had been outnumbered 2 to 1 in this combat, so the result was to be expected. However, the

death of the popular prince at the hands of a French hussar caused consternation in both the army and the nation. The frictions between the Prussians and the Saxons increased. The rot began to set in.

Expecting the Prussians to fall back on Gera to cover Leipzig, Napoleon marched north in the hope of catching the Prussian corps individually. His cavalry patrols located the main Prussian force further to the north or west, not to the northeast. No Prussians were sighted in Gera or on the river Elster. Napoleon concluded that the Prussians were to the west and would offer battle around Erfurt, so he ordered his columns to wheel to the left.

Brunswick declined to hold the line of the river Saale. Hohenlohe fell back on Jena, while Brunswick advanced on Weimar. Bernadotte wheeled toward the center column, while Davout passed through Naumburg. By taking this crossing at the river Unstrut, the French had cut off the Prussians' intended line of retreat and their communication with Berlin. Their council of war now decided to fall back on Leipzig via Auerstädt, the Kösen Pass, Freyburg, and Merseburg. Hohenlohe was ordered to protect the flank of the main body, occupying the village of Kapellendorf, halfway between Weimar and Jena.

Not expecting to face the Prussians in battle for a few days yet, Napoleon reacted quickly to news of sightings of their actual positions and movements. Believing the main body of the Prussians was on the far side of Jena, he decided to strike, calling in the support of parts of the right column to join the left and center.

The battles of Jena and Auerstädt were confused affairs. At Auerstädt, Brunswick, with 50,000 men, bumped into Davout's force of 27,000 men blocking his line of retreat. Davout's successful defense of Hassenhausen is legendary. He repelled Brunswick, who was mortally wounded, leaving his men leaderless.

Napoleon met what he considered the main Prussian force at Jena. He started the affair with around 55,000 men against Hohenlohe's 40,000 Prusso-Saxon corps. Another 40,000 men had joined Napoleon by noon, and weight of numbers told. Rüchel's force of 15,000 men arrived too late to play much of a part other than to get caught up in the confusion of retreat. Although driven back in disorder, the Prussians had not disgraced themselves, but Napoleon pursued with vigor, turning the retreat into a rout. Napoleon considered that his victory at Jena had expunged the stain of the French defeat at Rossbach during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The destruction of the Prussian forces in these twin battles caused considerable demoralization. While certain battalions and squadrons did everything possible to hold together, the army no longer had a leader to reverse its fortunes. What made matters worse was that the great

fortresses that might have checked the French advance and given the field army a chance to rally and reorganize capitulated without so much as firing a shot. Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin, and Magdeburg surrendered, breaking Prussia's back. On 25 October the French entered Berlin. Three days later, the remnants of Hohenlohe's force, 10,000 men, capitulated at Prenzlau. The only force that had shown much spirit was one that gravitated toward Blücher. It fought its way to the Baltic coast before being forced to surrender at Rackau near Lübeck on 7 November. Only East Prussia and some fortresses along the Baltic coast now held out against Napoleon.

Prussia was now utterly broken. The losses the Prussians suffered in the two battles are difficult to determine exactly. However, the Prussians lost around 10,000 killed or wounded at Jena, along with 15,000 prisoners, 34 colors, and 120 guns, against a loss to Napoleon of around 5,000 men. At Auerstädt, the Prussian losses were around 15,000 dead and wounded, 3,000 prisoners, and 115 guns, while the French lost 7,000 dead and wounded. After the whirlwind pursuit, the Prussians no longer had an army and had lost control of all their territory west of the Oder River.

Immediately after the Battle of Jena, Napoleon had demanded the cession of all Prussian territory west of the Elbe River. However, after the ignominious capitulation of so many key fortresses, he further demanded that Prussia accept French occupation of all Prussian territory up to the Vistula River and that all uncaptured fortresses should surrender. Frederick William refused these terms and fell back into East Prussia, hoping to secure the help of Russia.

The Prince Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus (Friedrich August) III who had supported the Prussians previously, now submitted to Napoleon. In return, he was made king of Saxony as Frederick Augustus I and joined the Confederation of the Rhine.

Napoleon now entered East Prussia, having gained a large number of Polish recruits by promising the restoration of their country's independence. He besieged the important fortress of Danzig (now Gdansk) at the mouth of the Vistula. It held out until 24 May 1807. The Pomeranian fortress of Kolberg under General August von Gneisenau successfully resisted until the end of the war.

In the Battle of Eylau of 8 February 1807 Napoleon lost 35,000 of his veterans in a bloody stalemate with a Russian army under General Levin Bennigsen, supported by a corps of Prussians. The relatively easy victories of Napoleon's earlier campaigns were not to be repeated. The Allies undertook to continue the war by the Treaty of Bartenstein of 26 April. However, Prussia was too weak to do much, Britain was committed to various colonial adventures, and Sweden hardly got involved. As Austria re-

mained neutral, Napoleon now concentrated on dealing with Russia. His victory over Bennigsen at Friedland on 14 June ended the military phase of the war. It was concluded with the Treaty of Tilsit of 9 July 1807.

Napoleon took the opportunity of reducing the nation that had once been his greatest threat to the status of a second-rate power. Prussia lost all its territory west of the Elbe, which was included in a new Kingdom of Westphalia with Napoleon's brother Jérôme Bonaparte as king. Much of its Polish territories were included in the new Duchy of Warsaw under the king of Saxony. Prussian ports were closed to British commerce, extending the Continental System established by the Berlin Decrees of 21 November 1806. The tsar could have argued for more lenient treatment for Prussia, but secret clauses to the treaty allowed Russia to gain territory at the expense of Sweden and the Ottoman Empire. That compensated for Napoleon's gains in central Europe.

This peace settlement was payment to Prussia for its pursuit of a policy of neutrality with France. For over ten years, Prussia had allowed the burden of the defense of Germany to fall on Austria's shoulders. Even then, it was not too late to change this. Had Prussia wholeheartedly committed itself to supporting Austria and Russia in 1805, then Napoleon's empire may well have ended then. Even in 1806 Russia was considered a potential enemy, so an inappropriate strategy of an aggressive defense was implemented, allowing Napoleon to strike first, quickly and decisively. Prussia played into Napoleon's hands and paid the price.

The Treaty of Tilsit marked the zenith of Napoleon's power. Russia and France had effectively divided the continent of Europe between them. Only Britain, master of the seas, remained opposed to Napoleon. As a result of its folly, Prussia was to suffer several years of humiliation and was not to resume its opposition to France until 1813.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Auerstädt, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Berlin Decrees; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Friedland, Battle of; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Hanover; Haugwitz, Christian August Heinrich Kurt Graf von; Imperial Guard (French); Jena, Battle of; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Prussia; Saalfeld, Action at; Saxony; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Ulm, Surrender at; Westphalia

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**Jenkinson, Robert Banks**

See Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of

**Jervis, John, First Earl of St. Vincent**

See St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of

**John, Archduke (1782–1859)**

Thirteenth child of the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold II, and brother of Emperor Francis I of Austria, Archduke

John had a mixed military career but proved to be an able administrator, both in his direction of the raising of the *Landwehr* (home defense militia) in 1808 and in the province of Styria, where he achieved lasting popularity.

An able student of history and science, John aspired to emulate his brother Archduke Charles as a military commander. After only a basic military education, in August 1800 he was appointed, at age eighteen, to lead the Army of Germany, advised by *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Freiherr von Lauer. He displayed personal bravery, leading a successful attack against General Jean Moreau's French army around Ampfing on 1 December, but he was decisively defeated at Hohenlinden two days later. After the Peace of Lunéville in 1801, John became *Generaldirektor des Genie- und Fortifikationswesen* (general director of the engineering and fortification service) and, later, director of the military academies. In 1805, at the request of the Tyrol assembly, John was put in charge of defending the Tyrol. By calling out the Tyrolean militia to augment his own small force, he was able to support the retreating *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Freiherr von Jellacic and direct the defense of several key passes until ordered to evacuate the Tyrol by Charles.

A supporter of popular militia, John persuaded the emperor to order the creation of the *Landwehr* in June 1808 and took charge of the Austrian battalions. For the campaign of 1809 he was appointed commander of the Army of Italy (VIII and IX Korps) against General Eugène de Beauharnais. Victorious at Sacile on 16 April against a larger Franco-Italian army and at the third Battle of Caldiero on 27 April, news from Germany forced him to retreat, and he was defeated on the Piave on 8 May. Reaching Hungary, he was reinforced by the Hungarian Insurrection (militia) but was again defeated by Eugène at Raab on 14 June and failed to reach Wagram on 6 July to reinforce the main Austrian army. After a botched plan to lead a popular rebellion in 1813 and declare himself king of Rhaetia (for which he was banned from Tyrol for twenty years), John directed the siege of Hüningen in 1815.

His failed support for expansion into the Balkans prompted him to retire to his estates in Styria (southeast Austria), where he became very popular following hismorganatic marriage to Anna Plochl, a postmaster's daughter. He also supported cultural and scientific activities in Styria and founded the Joanneum Archive in Graz. During the upheavals of 1848 John was elected *Reichsverweser* (imperial regent) by the Parliament of the German Bund on 28 June and then became representative to Emperor Ferdinand (Francis's successor) in Vienna. In this capacity, John opened the first Austrian Parliament on 22 July and attempted to mediate in Hungary. He resigned from all posts in December 1849 and retired to Styria (now southeast Austria).

David Hollins

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Raab, Battle of; Sacile, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Wagram, Battle of

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### Jomini, Antoine Henri, Baron (1779–1869)

Antoine Henri Jomini was born in Payerne, Switzerland, on 6 March 1779 to a prominent Swiss family. He followed his family tradition by becoming a banker's apprentice in Basle and then began service as a lieutenant in the Swiss forces in 1798. He rose to captain in 1799 and to *chef de bataillon* (major) the next year. Taking a discharge in 1802, Jomini returned to business and wrote his *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*. In 1804 he entered French service as an aide-de-camp of Marshal Michel Ney. He served with VI Corps during the 1805 campaign, fighting at Elchingen and Michelsberg. His service was noted, and Jomini received rapid promotions, to adjutant commandant in late 1805 and to first aide-de-camp to Ney in September 1806. He served on the General Staff of the Grande Armée in 1806 before becoming the chief of staff for VI Corps in November 1807.

In 1808–1809 Jomini served in Spain, where he received the title of baron in July 1808. However, disillusioned with the French service, he considered entering Russian service in 1810. He rose to *général de brigade* in December 1810 and became director of the historical section of the General Staff in 1812. During the 1812 campaign he served as the governor first of Vilna (11 August) and later of Smolensk. In 1813 he joined the General Staff of the Grande Armée in March and became the chief of staff of VI Corps that May. He then fought at Bautzen and was nominated for promotion to *général de division*. However, Napoleon's chief of staff, Marshal Louis-Alexander Berthier, with whom Jomini had strained relations, rejected the promotion. In response Jomini defected to the Allies in August 1813, and he entered Russian service with the rank of lieutenant general two weeks later.

Jomini advised Tsar Alexander I on military matters throughout the campaigns of 1813–1814, and after the war he accompanied the tsar to the congresses at Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Verona, held throughout the period 1815–1822. After living in Paris in 1817–1821, Jomini returned to Russia, and between 1822 and 1825 he tutored Grand Duke Nicholas, becoming his adjutant with a rank

of general of infantry in 1826. He was instrumental in organizing the Russian military academy in 1832. Although he soon took a discharge, Jomini was appointed military tutor to Crown Prince Alexander (1837), for whom he wrote his greatest work, *Précis de l'art de la guerre* (1838). During the Crimean War (1854–1856), Jomini advised Tsar Nicholas I on military affairs. After the war he returned to France, where he served as a military adviser to Emperor Napoleon III during the campaigns in Italy in 1859. He died on 22 March 1869 in Passy.

During his long career Jomini established himself as one of the most influential military theorists. Among his thirty volumes of military writings were *Principes de la stratégie*, *Histoire critique et militaire des campagnes de la révolution de 1792 à 1801*, and *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*.

Alexander Mikaberidze

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bautzen, Battle of; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Elchingen, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; French Army; Germany, Campaign in; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna, Congress of

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### Josephine, Empress (1763–1814)

Empress Josephine was the first wife and consort of Emperor Napoleon I of France. Her inability to produce an heir for him gave Napoleon the excuse to divorce her. Josephine's considerable social contribution to Napoleon's career facilitated his successes to a large degree. She acted as his hostess and set the fashions and the decorating styles of his era. He would probably not have reached the exalted heights he did without her assistance.

Josephine was born Marie-Rose de Tascher de la Pagerie on 23 June 1763 in Martinique, West Indies, to an impoverished plantation owner, Joseph-Gaspard Tascher de la Pagerie, and his wife Rose Claire. The paternal family traced its noble lineage to the Loire valley in the twelfth century. The maternal side also had noble ancestry. Josephine, called Yvette as a child, had two sisters, Catherine, who died at age fourteen, and Minette. Her childhood on the plantation engendered a lifelong love of plants and animals.

Yvette's formal education consisted of four years of convent schooling at Dame de la Providence at Fort-Royal in Martinique. She took the teachings to heart and learned the rigid rules of social etiquette, such as deportment, hostessing, letter writing, and the other necessary accoutrements of her class. She left the convent at age fifteen. Yvette's pleasant personality was her greatest strength. She was kind, naturally warmhearted, and sweet tempered, and she exhibited an acutely accurate intuition. She was not classically beautiful, but her graceful demeanor was alluring to those who met her. Her melodious voice and Creole accent added to the glamour she exhibited even at that early age. She retained these traits during all her travails.

To help the family fortunes, Rose, as she became known, was married at age fifteen to a family acquaintance from Martinique, Alexandre, vicomte de Beauharnais. They moved to Paris in 1779. The couple was extremely unhappy; they were incompatible and unsuited to one another. They produced two children, Eugène Rose (future Viceroy of Italy) and Hortense (future Queen of Holland as wife of King Louis Bonaparte, and mother to the future Emperor Napoleon III). Beauharnais became a general but abandoned Rose, leaving her to find resources to raise her children. During the Terror Beauharnais was arrested, found guilty based on his aristocratic background, and guillotined in 1794.

Rose was also arrested and endured horrific conditions in prison. Prior to these events, however, she had been an eminent socialite in Paris; she had established a huge network of friends and contacts who arranged for her release. As was common for the times, Rose survived by becoming a mistress to a succession of leading political figures, a circumstance that afforded her increasingly wide political connections. Some of her liaisons were financially beneficial, although some business connections were questionable. Rose's greatest failing was that she led a financially extravagant lifestyle and was seldom out of debt.

Rose met Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris in 1796. He was awkward in Parisian society, gauche, usually disheveled and with ragged clothing, and self-conscious about his short stature and lowly Corsican origins. He had little use for women but was searching for a rich heiress to



Empress Josephine. Prominent in Parisian social circles during the 1790s, she married the young General Napoleon Bonaparte. The relationship never blossomed and the couple divorced in 1809 despite Josephine's popularity as empress. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

marry. Their relationship was based on friendship. Rose became Bonaparte's social mentor, teaching him to dress properly and to speak less belligerently and giving him the confidence to overcome his low self-esteem in social situations. He in turn enjoyed her stately deportment, social finesse, and voluptuous figure.

The twenty-five-year-old Bonaparte married thirty-two-year-old Rose in a civil ceremony on 9 March 1796, blatantly attempting to advance his career and gain access to a fortune he discovered she did not possess. He changed her name to Joséphine (generally bereft of the accent in English-language sources). Although his family had vehemently opposed the union, Josephine's huge network of connections made her an asset to his lofty ambitions. The expedient union benefited both; it offered her children some security, and she enjoyed being the center of attention.

Josephine was influential in Bonaparte's obtaining command of the army in Italy, where he obtained brilliant military victories for France. Marital fidelity was anathema in the upper echelons of French society, and Josephine proved no exception to the general rule. She had an affair

with Hippolyte Charles, a dashing officer. In retaliation an enraged Bonaparte also engaged in extramarital sexual dalliances, which he continued throughout their marriage. Bonaparte threatened to divorce her in 1799, but the couple reconciled their differences.

Josephine's widespread popularity was an advantage when she offered her husband staunch support on the night of 9–10 November 1799 when he overthrew the Directory in the coup of Brumaire. Her role as hostess extraordinaire heightened his importance. Josephine single-handedly revived the stagnant social life of Paris, throwing massive balls and parties. Her refined tastes transformed the style of society while Bonaparte acted as First Consul.

Shortly before Bonaparte became emperor (thereafter styled "Napoleon I"), the pope decreed that the couple must marry in a religious ceremony; they complied. Napoleon crowned himself on 2 December 1804 and made Josephine empress. She rose to the task by performing her onerous royal duties flawlessly; her style was greatly admired. Josephine played a superb role at formal ceremonies, her numerous functions were staged impeccably, and she set the stage for many trends in French society. She charmed the French and many foreigners with her attentive and warm personality.

The misogynist Napoleon retained his grudge against Josephine's infidelity and used psychological warfare against her for the remainder of their marriage. He flaunted his own affairs and forced her to travel wherever and whenever he commanded despite her physical frailties, which included debilitating migraine headaches. He often demeaned her by ignoring her in public. Napoleon believed it was his destiny to create a dynasty. He realized he could sire children after one of his mistresses bore him a son. He openly searched for a new wife while still married to Josephine. He divorced her and forced her isolation and retirement to Malmaison, her country residence near Paris, though they remained friends.

Josephine remained popular after the divorce. Up until her death she received numerous visitors from all levels of society, from Tsar Alexander I, who had played a decisive role in Napoleon's downfall, to her friends who had not abandoned her. She occupied herself with her massive garden, her animals, and her grandchildren.

Josephine contracted a cold that quickly turned into pneumonia. She died at Malmaison on 29 May 1814 only two months after the Allies had entered Paris and forced Napoleon's first abdication. She was genuinely mourned by the French people. Josephine had helped Napoleon rise to his exalted position, but after he divorced her his fortunes declined. Upon his death on 6 May 1821 his last word was "Josephine."

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Brumaire, Coup of; Martinique; Terror, The

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## Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine (1769–1799)

A French general, the son of a lawyer from Pont de Vaux (Ain), Barthélemy Catherine Joubert was born on 14 April 1769. In 1784 he left school to enlist in an artillery unit, but his father brought him back to study law at Lyons and at the University of Dijon. The Revolution of 1789 revived his hopes for a military career, and Joubert became a sergeant in the National Guard of Dijon. In 1791 he joined the volunteer unit of the Ain and served on the lower Rhine. In 1793–1794 he served with the Army of Italy and distinguished himself by the heroic defense of a redoubt at the Col di Tenda. Wounded and captured, Joubert was later released on parole by the Austrians.

Returning to France, Joubert continued in military service, becoming adjutant general in 1794. Serving in the army of General François Kellermann, he again distinguished himself against the Austrians at Melagno (for which he was promoted to colonel), Borghetto, Loano, and Monte-Lingo, earning promotion to *général de brigade* in 1795. During Bonaparte's Italian campaigns in 1796–1797, Joubert distinguished himself commanding a brigade in General Pierre-François-Charles Augereau's division at Montenotte, Millesimo, Cosseria, Mondovi, Lodi (in General André Masséna's division), La Corona, Castiglione (under General Charles-Henri Vaubois), Arcola, and Rivoli.

His abilities soon attracted the special attention of Bonaparte and Joubert was promoted to *général de division* in December 1796. In early 1797 he commanded the de-

tached left wing of Bonaparte's army in Tyrol. Later that year he replaced General Jacques Macdonald as commander in chief of the (Franco-Dutch) Army of Batavia, and the following year he briefly commanded the (French) Armies of Italy and Rome. Resigning the post after a dispute with the civil authorities, Joubert returned to France and married in June 1799. However, he was almost immediately summoned to the field and was appointed commander in chief of the Army of Italy, which suffered a series of reverses at the hands of Russo-Austrian troops under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov.

Joubert took over command from General Jean Moreau in August 1799 but persuaded his predecessor to remain with the army. As the army marched northward, Joubert encountered the superior Austro-Russian army at Novi and was killed leading a charge early on the morning of 15 August. After the battle his remains were brought to Toulon and buried in Fort La Malue, and the Revolutionary government paid tribute to his memory by holding a public mourning.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Arcola, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Borghetto, Battle of; Castiglione, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Loano, Battle of; Lodi, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Masséna, André; Mondovi, Battle of; Montenotte, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; National Guard (French); Novi, Battle of; Rivoli, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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## Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste (1762–1833)

Jean-Baptiste Jourdan was one of the first heroes of the French Revolutionary Wars and a general whose career continued into the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic eras. Jourdan was promoted to *général de brigade* by 1793 and

took over the command of French troops in Belgium. He won key victories at Wattignies (September 1793) and Fleurus (July 1794), but he was less effective in the second half of the decade, campaigning in Germany against Archduke Charles, the talented young Austrian general.

In 1797–1798, while serving in the lower house of the French legislature, Jourdan helped establish a permanent form of military conscription. Created a marshal in May 1804, Jourdan spent the bulk of the Napoleonic era as adviser to Napoleon's brother Joseph Bonaparte, first in Naples and then, after 1808, in Spain. Following the fall of Napoleon's empire, Jourdan rallied to the Bourbon kings of France, whom he served for two decades.

Jourdan was born at Limoges on 29 April 1762, the son of a surgeon. His father's occupation was a modest one in the society of pre-1789 France, and Jourdan took one option open to young men without great career prospects: barely sixteen years old, he joined the army. Jourdan served in the ranks for several years, and his experiences included campaigning in North America during the American War of Independence (1775–1783).

Released from the army, he became the owner of a shop in Limoges in the early years of the 1790s. In late September 1793, after serving as a divisional commander under General Jean Nicolas Houchard at the Battle of Hondschoote, Jourdan rose to command the Armée du Nord (Army of the North). It was a dangerous period for French commanders. Houchard, who had won at Hondschoote but failed to pursue the retreating forces, was removed from command, tried, and executed. Jourdan took over aware that not only Houchard but two other commanders before him had paid with their lives for their lack of acceptable military success.

Much of the fighting in this region resulted from French efforts to drive off enemy forces besieging various strongholds. The French found themselves opposed to Austrian, Prussian, Dutch, and British forces as well as to units from several small German states. In October 1793 Jourdan advanced against the Austrian and Dutch troops at Wattignies to relieve the siege of French forces at Maubeuge. In a two-day battle Jourdan, with a series of frontal assaults, defeated an enemy he outnumbered 2 to 1. Never a brilliant leader, he was calm, intelligent, and capable. He insisted on the importance of training his inexperienced forces, and he risked Houchard's fate when, insisting that his troops required further drilling, he refused to pursue the defeated enemy. Unlike Houchard, Jourdan only suffered the loss of his command for several months, and in June 1794 he became the leader of a mélange of units that became the famous Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse.

In July 1794 Jourdan led his forces to take the strategically located fortress at Charleroi. When an Austrian army

under *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) moved against the French, the two armies met in the largest battle since the start of the war in 1792. With approximately 70,000 troops on each side, Jourdan went on the defensive. Poorly coordinated attacks by several separate Austrian columns combined with the growing tactical skill of French units brought Jourdan a victory at Fleurus. It proved to be decisive for the entire campaign, as Austrian forces evacuated the Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium and Luxembourg), and French troops quickly took Brussels and Liège.

But Fleurus was Jourdan's final victory on the battlefield, and he soon found his military reputation clouded. Many in the army believed that Lazare Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety in the government known as the Convention, devised the plan that brought victory and helped win it by his actions in key parts of the fighting. In the summer of 1796 the Directory, which had succeeded the Convention after the end of the Terror, ordered a new offensive into southern Germany led by Jourdan on the French right and General Jean Moreau on the French left. Yet Jourdan soon found himself out of his depth when he faced an energetic opponent like Archduke Charles. The two French armies were to converge on Vienna. Jourdan pushed Charles back, but, reinforced by troops he had earlier detached under General Wilhelm von Wartensleben, Charles administered a pair of stinging defeats against Jourdan—at Amberg in August and at Würzburg the following month. This forced both French armies into a humiliating retreat across the Rhine.

In March 1799 during the War of the Second Coalition, Jourdan again drove into southern Germany. He managed to get through the Black Forest, but once in the Danube valley he suffered a new series of defeats at the hands of Charles in late March, including at the first Battle of Stockach near Lake Constance. Jourdan was driven back to French territory, and only a shortage of Austrian cavalry capable of pursuing the retreating French saved Jourdan from complete disaster. Jourdan had repeatedly shown himself incapable of reacting to an opponent who used rapid and daring maneuvers to strike at the French flank and rear. His hasty retreat across the Rhine in 1799 exposed the northern flank of General André Masséna's Army of Switzerland. Only brilliant leadership on Masséna's part kept Jourdan's failure from opening the gates for an invasion of France.

Despite his weak reputation as a general, Jourdan played an important role in civil and military affairs. In 1797, as the president of the lower house of the French representative assembly, the Council of Five Hundred, he reshaped France's crumbling system of military conscrip-

tion. The techniques embodied in the original call-up of 1793 were failing to maintain the army France required. Jourdan's new conscription act was adopted in September 1798. All Frenchmen were made subject to military duty in time of war. In peacetime volunteers would be encouraged to fill the ranks, and conscription for men aged twenty through twenty-four would be applied if the number of volunteers proved inadequate. Although Jourdan wished to exclude the use of substitutes, political pressure forced him to accept a version of the law that permitted this form of legalized draft dodging. Nonetheless, this legislation, combining a role for volunteers and an elaborate system for conscripting others, set the pattern for French military recruiting through the end of the Napoleonic era.

As a figure on the political left, Jourdan refused to support the coup by which Bonaparte overturned the Directory. He was threatened with banishment to a distant French colony, but he was saved from this fate when Bonaparte decided to pursue a policy of moderation toward the left in the interest of national unity. Nonetheless, Jourdan was one of more than sixty deputies who lost their legislative seats as Bonaparte purged France's representative bodies. In 1804, however, Jourdan's Revolutionary pedigree got him included in the first list of candidates to receive the title of Marshal of the French Army.

When Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the throne as King of Naples in 1806, the French emperor sent Jourdan to serve as the key military figure advising Joseph. Technically, Jourdan commanded the Naples garrison, but in fact he filled the role of minister of war. The close tie he formed with Joseph at this point led to their partnership in Spain two years later. After Joseph was named King of Spain by Napoleon in June 1808, Jourdan accepted the new monarch's invitation to become his chief of staff.

Jourdan and Joseph faced insuperable military problems in Spain. Their plans ran into the opposition of powerful French military leaders in various regions. Such figures as marshals Claude Victor, Michel Ney, and Nicolas Soult refused to accept directions from the king and Jourdan, both of whom the marshals considered militarily incompetent. Although Napoleon never visited Spain after January 1809, from a distance he gave orders that flew in the face of reality. He insisted, for example, that French armies could march rapidly on Spanish roads and feed themselves off the surrounding countryside. He likewise insisted that large numbers of French troops be used to contain Spanish guerrillas in regions close to the French border.

When Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) advanced on Madrid in July 1809, French forces met him at the Battle of Talavera. Jourdan objected to Victor's battle plan for a direct assault on the

enemy lines, but Victor went ahead, with costly and unsuccessful results. Suffering from ill health, Jourdan returned to France, where he remained for two years.

Jourdan returned to Spain in September 1811. The following year Napoleon made Joseph and Jourdan the nominal commanders of all French forces in Spain, but the powerful generals in charge of various regions paid little attention to their directions. Wellington's victory at the Battle of Salamanca (July 1812) came partly because Soult refused to remove troops from his bailiwick in Andalusia for use in northern Spain.

Jourdan and Joseph failed for the last time in the Battle of Vitoria in June 1813. Napoleon had weakened the forces in western Spain in order to secure the region near the Pyrenees. When this opened the way for a dangerous offensive by Wellington, Jourdan offered Joseph the promising suggestion of an offensive westward into Portugal to cut the enemy's lines of communication and to compel the British leader to retreat. Instead, Joseph chose to stay on the defensive, and both the king and Jourdan made a serious error in assessing the direction of Wellington's advance.

The British general consistently maneuvered around the French northern flank, establishing a base of operations at the port of Santander and then surprising French leaders when he struck southeastward against Vitoria. Joseph placed the French forces there in an untenable position, and Jourdan was unable to correct these dispositions in time to prevent a British victory. Wellington's success in this key battle crippled the entire French position in Spain. Jourdan received the blame from Napoleon, and he was recalled in disgrace.

Jourdan survived the rapid changes in French government in 1814 and 1815, serving first Napoleon, then Louis XVIII, then Napoleon again, finally settling in after Waterloo as servant of the new order under the restored Bourbon king. He held a variety of positions over the next two decades, including command of a military district and the governorship of the Invalides. Jourdan died in Paris on 23 November 1833.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Bonaparte, Joseph; Brumaire, Coup of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Conscription (French); Convention, The; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Hondschoote, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Naples; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Public Safety, Committee of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Salamanca, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Spain; Stockach, First Battle of; Talavera, Battle of; Terror, The; Victor, Claude Perrin; Vitoria, Battle of; Wattignies, Battle

of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Würzburg, Battle of

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### Jovellanos Jove, Baltasar Melchor Gaspar María de (1744–1811)

One of the foremost intellects produced by eighteenth-century Spain, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, as he is usually called, was born in Gijón in 1744. Of noble origin, he was educated at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and in 1768 he was appointed to a minor legal post in Seville. It was not, however, as a lawyer that Jovellanos was destined to make his name. On the contrary, publication of a series of poems and dramas brought him much royal patronage, and by 1790 he had been named a member of the Academies of History, Fine Arts, Canon Law, and Public Law of the Royal Spanish Academy.

As a recognized government adviser, he was in a position to urge his liberal economic beliefs on the regime. In

that capacity he wrote two major reports, of which the first championed the abolition of all restrictions on occupation and the second—by far the more famous—the introduction of a free market in land. In 1797 he was also appointed minister of justice, but the temporary fall from grace of Manuel de Godoy a year later led to Jovellanos's being replaced. At this point, indeed, his previous good fortune came to an end.

A leading light of the Spanish Enlightenment, he had openly denounced the Inquisition, and opponents at court used this pretext to have him arrested and imprisoned in 1801. Confined in the castle of Bellver in Mallorca (Majorca), he was only released on account of the fall of Charles IV in 1808. Caught by the uprising en route to Madrid from Barcelona, he took shelter with friends at Jadraque and at first took no part in events other than repeatedly refusing to take service with the French.

According to tradition, the only reason he did not immediately join the revolt was his desire to recuperate after his long imprisonment in Asturias, but this seems a little naive, it being more likely that he was waiting to see which way the wind blew. Decided in favor of the Patriot cause by the French capitulation at Bailén, he became a member of the Junta Central for Asturias, in which capacity he continued to serve the Patriot cause until January 1810. However, Jovellanos appears to have been ill at ease in this new situation. Thus, his political ideas were frequently contradictory, while his well-meaning efforts to encourage the Patriot generals were sometimes little short of risible.

Old and tired, on the fall of the Junta Central he retired from public life (other than writing a powerful apologia on behalf of himself and his colleagues) and sailed for northern Spain, where he died a year and a half later at the Asturian town of Puerto de Vega.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Charles IV, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Junta Central; Madrid Uprising; Peninsular War

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## **Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès (1771–1813)**

A dashing cavalryman and a personal favorite of Napoleon, Jean Andoche Junot served the Revolutionary general, First Consul, and later Emperor with mixed success for two decades, from the siege of Toulon until the gen-

eral's tragic death by suicide in 1813. Junot did well at the rank of colonel in Italy and Egypt, and he became a *général de division* in 1801. Nonetheless, Napoleon had doubts about Junot's abilities and for years refrained from assigning him senior positions.

In 1807 Junot conducted his first independent large-scale mission. Leading French troops into the Iberian Peninsula, he advanced rapidly into Portugal. Although he took Lisbon and set up a French government, he failed humiliateingly to maintain his conquest in the face of a British counterattack. Junot participated on a secondary front during the Wagram campaign of 1809, then served again in the Peninsula as a corps commander under Marshal André Masséna. In his last campaign, the invasion of Russia in 1812, Junot failed at a crucial moment during the Battle of Smolensk.

Junot had a volatile and unstable personality that led colleagues to nickname him "the Tempest." Possibly suffering from complications of syphilis, Junot also showed the effects of a series of wounds to the head received during his years of service. Junot's behavior became increasingly erratic, and in 1813, after serving as military governor of Venice, he took his own life.

Junot was born on 24 September 1771, at Bussy-Légrand, a town near Dijon. His father was a government official; his mother's family included a priest who later rose to the rank of bishop. Serving in the National Guard after the Revolution of 1789, the young man abandoned his law studies to volunteer for the army in 1791. Early in his military life Junot exhibited a fiery temper and an excessive taste for alcohol. After service as a noncommissioned officer in several of France's northern armies starting in 1792, Junot was transferred to Toulon in the summer of 1793. By then he had suffered several battle wounds, including one from a musket ball that struck him in the head.

The siege of Toulon brought the young sergeant to the attention of the unknown Captain Napoleon Bonaparte. Junot volunteered to carry out dangerous missions for the future emperor and was promoted to officer's rank. His ability to transform Bonaparte's rapid-fire verbal orders into clear, written form quickly led Junot to be elevated to Bonaparte's military secretary and aide-de-camp. Their association continued during the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, in which Junot took on combat duties as well as work on Bonaparte's staff.

At the head of a cavalry charge against the Austrians at Lonato, Junot displayed his customary recklessness on the battlefield. He wounded and captured the Austrian commander, but Junot himself was wounded six times in the encounter, including serious injuries to his head. Bonaparte liked and admired the young officer, but he apparently found Junot less promising as a potential sen-

ior commander than others, such as Jean Lannes and Masséna.

Nonetheless, Napoleon chose Junot as a member of the officers' circle that participated in the expedition to Egypt in 1798. At the start of 1799 Junot achieved the rank of *général de brigade*, and his exploits as a cavalry leader—plus a number of new battlefield wounds—added to his reputation as a tough if unsophisticated warrior. Junot remained in Egypt while Bonaparte returned to France in October, and he was captured during his own sea voyage home two months later. Junot did not obtain his release until June 1800. Absent from Bonaparte's side during these crucial months, Junot was unable to take part in the coup that put Bonaparte into power in December 1799, and he missed the subsequent Marengo campaign.

For the next seven years Junot occupied a position outside the limelight. He commanded the garrison in Paris, served as ambassador to Portugal, and suppressed anti-French uprisings in northern Italy. His personal reputation continued to feature stories of drinking, abusive behavior, and marital infidelity. For a time he was romantically linked to Caroline Bonaparte, Napoleon's sister.

Junot's first opportunity for military distinction came in the summer of 1807 when Napoleon named him commander of the French army designated to invade Portugal. This Army of Observation of the Gironde, with three divisions, was stationed at Bayonne in southwestern France, and Junot's forces became the first French troops Napoleon sent into the Iberian Peninsula. In October Junot's army crossed the border into Spain and raced westward. Napoleon intended to cut the tie between Britain, his last remaining European antagonist, and the Kingdom of Portugal. He may have chosen Junot for the mission in part to remove him from any contact with Caroline. It also seemed unlikely that Junot would face serious military opposition.

The race to Lisbon showed Junot at his best. Driving his force of 25,000 men through bad weather and across poor roads, he reached the border of Portugal by 19 November and took Lisbon at the close of the month, a feat which led to his being made duc d'Abrantès. By then he had only half his original force and his army lacked both artillery and cavalry. Moreover, Junot's success was clouded almost immediately by British naval power. With a hostile squadron under Sir Sidney Smith facing him just offshore, he was unable to capture either the Portuguese fleet or the Portuguese royal family.

British maritime power combined with growing Portuguese opposition to cripple Junot's efforts to control the country and maintain his army. He attempted to set up a benign government of occupation and even resisted some of Napoleon's extreme demands to exploit Portuguese resources. Nonetheless, his relatively small army proved inca-

pable of dominating the countryside. When the French occupation of Spain provoked open rebellion against the occupying forces there in the spring of 1808, armed resistance spread to Portugal as well. Meanwhile, the Royal Navy prevented Junot from obtaining vital food supplies. From the time he arrived in Lisbon, British naval power also raised the threat of landing an amphibious force to challenge Junot's small army.

In early August 1808 a British amphibious landing took place as Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) led a British army onto Portuguese soil at Mondego Bay north of Lisbon. Junot now faced his first important battlefield challenge since he had led French forces in Palestine in 1799. He countered the British move by drawing together his scattered army of occupation, but his frontal attack on Wellesley's forces at the Battle of Vimeiro on 21 August failed with heavy French losses.

Only disagreements among the ranking British generals on the scene prevented the enemy from pursuing Junot's troops all the way to Lisbon. Nonetheless, the results of Vimeiro destroyed the French leader's willingness to continue the campaign. Cut off from reinforcements and unwilling to risk defending Lisbon or retreating back to Spain, Junot opened negotiations with the enemy. The result was the Convention of Cintra, signed on 31 August, which provided for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army. British vessels transported the French home.

Junot survived this humiliating outcome to the invasion of Portugal, and at the close of the year he returned to the Peninsula to fight in Spain. Put in charge of the siege of Saragossa, a key enemy stronghold in northeastern Spain, Junot quickly found himself superseded by a more distinguished and respected commander, Marshal Jean Lannes. The episode put nearly unbearable pressure on Junot's shaky mental equilibrium, and he spoke openly of committing suicide.

But once again Junot saw his career survive. In the 1809 campaign against Austria he received command of a corps in Germany. He missed participating in the climax of Napoleon's campaign, the Battle of Wagram, but in October Junot received orders to return to Bayonne in preparation for a third tour of duty in the Peninsula. His personal life remained a source of concern to those who knew him. Rumors that his wife had been romantically involved with Prince Klemens Graf von Metternich, Austria's ambassador to France, provoked Junot to stab her repeatedly in the chest with a pair of scissors.

Junot's force of 40,000 men entered Spain in February 1810 and set up camp at Valladolid. Two months later, Junot and two other corps commanders came under the control of Masséna, who arrived to launch a new invasion of Portugal that summer. Junot performed competently

during Masséna's ill-starred venture, although predictable friction arose between the erratic cavalryman and his distinguished superior. Junot opposed Masséna's orders for a frontal attack on the strong British defenses at the Battle of Busaco on 27 September, and Masséna was critical of Junot for permitting his troops to pillage freely during the campaign. Junot also suffered a severe bullet wound to the face in January 1811.

Napoleon's plans for an attack on Russia in 1812 seemed to offer Junot a new opportunity for battlefield success and promotion to the rank of marshal, but he was to fail on both counts. He received command of an army corps in northern Italy with orders to march it into Poland in preparation for the forthcoming campaign. But Junot's less admirable characteristics—such as his shoddy personal behavior—soon intervened. He drank heavily as his troops made their way eastward from their base in southern Germany, and much of the time he did not bother to keep in direct touch with the units under his command.

When the French army went into action, Junot displayed a fatal lack of competence and initiative. Ordered to place his corps to the east of the Russian army fighting at Smolensk in August 1812, Junot had an opportunity to cut off the enemy retreat and to produce a decisive French victory. The inability of one of his divisional commanders to move promptly contributed to Junot's failure, but he himself, in a visibly drunken state, refused to attack a weak enemy screening force and left the door open for a Russian withdrawal.

Junot spent most of the remainder of the campaign guarding Napoleon's lines of communication. When the French retreated from Moscow, his rear echelon forces led the withdrawal of the Grande Armée. By the time Junot reached Poland, he was emotionally devastated, believing correctly that his performance in 1812 had cost him Napoleon's goodwill. In fact, only a personal appeal by Junot's wife to the Emperor secured a new assignment for the general.

Barred from any future in combat, Junot became governor of Venice and provisional commander of Napoleon's Illyrian provinces along the Adriatic coast. Even before leaving for his new assignment, he showed signs of an accelerating mental breakdown. Junot's conduct featured crying spells, bouts of insomnia, and violent nightmares. Ordered by his doctor to take limited doses of opium to help him sleep, Junot quickly became addicted to the drug. Meanwhile, his old alcoholic habits persisted.

In Venice Junot's behavior became so bizarre that he was unable to carry out his duties. He physically assaulted members of the civilian population, and this representative of the dignity of France appeared nude at formal balls and in the streets of Venice. When Napoleon ordered him to re-

turn home, it took physical force to remove him from his post. After arriving home, the deranged general threw himself from a window and fractured his leg. The ensuing infection led to gangrene, and Junot himself added to his physical problems by tearing off his bandages and trying to amputate his own leg. He killed himself at Montbard on 29 July 1813.

Neil M. Heyman

*See also* Bonaparte, Caroline; Brumaire, Coup of; Busaco, Battle of; Cintra, Convention of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Lannes, Jean; Lonato, Battles of; Masséna, André; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von; Middle East Campaign; National Guard (French); Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Saragossa, Sieges of; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Smolensk, Battle of; Toulon, Siege of; Vimeiro, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Junta Central (1808–1810)

In full, the Junta Suprema Central de Gobierno—the Supreme Central Junta of Government—played a central role in the history of the Peninsular War.

When Spain rose against Napoleon in May 1808, it did so on a purely provincial basis: The French were in occupation of Madrid, while the institutions of central government were firmly under their control. At the same time,

meanwhile, the uprising lacked any central leadership; in a number of cities conspiratorial cells had emerged, but beyond that there was nothing in the way of organization, and certainly no national revolutionary committee that might have formed the basis of a provisional government.

In the wake of the uprising, then, the political leadership of the Patriot cause was assumed by a network of provincial committees, or *juntas*, comprising a variety of clergy, army officers, and local notables. Such a structure could not survive for very long, however: The different *juntas* were soon vying with one another for control of Spain's military resources, while there were constant disputes about strategy.

Faced with this fractious situation some began to press for the formation of a new national government, a task that became still more urgent in the wake of the recapture of Madrid after the Battle of Bailén. After much argument in which a number of the provincial *juntas* and other vested interests strove to advance solutions that suited their own objectives, a compromise was adopted whereby each of the main provincial *juntas* would send two representatives to a new national committee that it was decided should meet at the neutral site of Aranjuez. But at this small town (chosen on account of its central location and substantial royal palace), the delegates mounted a coup when they first assembled there, in September 1808. Although the provincial *juntas* had intended to retain sovereignty for themselves, their representatives turned on them and stripped them of their claims to be the untrammelled rulers of their domains.

Instead of a coordinating committee, in short, the Junta Central set itself up as a national government. From this, however, stemmed many problems. Around the country many of the provincial *juntas* were outraged, and they did all that they could to sabotage its authority, as did a number of prominent generals, who, as aristocrats, wanted

the formation of a council of regency in which they would play a major part. With the growing disaffection redoubled by the series of military disasters that beset the Patriot cause from November 1808 onward, the Junta Central was soon in a very difficult position, and all the more so as December saw it forced to flee from Aranjuez to Seville.

Though the Junta Central promised the convocation of a *cortes* or parliament, this did nothing to pacify its critics, and it therefore embarked on a desperate search for military victory that served only to incur fresh defeats and alienate the British. The end came in January 1810, when the French invaded Andalusia (Andalucía). Headed by Seville's provincial *junta*, revolution broke out against the Junta Central's authority and it was forced to abdicate in favor of a new council of regency.

At the time this news was greeted with universal rejoicing, but in reality the Junta Central does not deserve the evil reputation that has stuck to it ever since. Though dogged by internal divisions, by no means wisely constituted—it was fairly said of it that it was too large for a council of regency and too small for a parliament—and including some members of little worth or ability, the *junta* nevertheless had to grapple with immense problems and showed much energy in trying to do so. And, if it did not succeed in this respect, it at least kept Spanish resistance alive, while at the same time initiating the process of political debate that eventually produced the famous constitution of 1812.

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Peninsular War

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# K

## **Kaiserslautern, Battle of**

See Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

## **Kalisch, Convention of (28 February 1813)**

An agreement between Russia and Prussia on joint operations against France to commence in the spring of 1813. Following the Convention of Tauroggen of 30 December 1812, Prussia ceased hostilities against Russia and exposed French troops to Russian attacks. Although King Frederick William III of Prussia initially rejected the convention, he soon conceded to public pressure and the demands of Tsar Alexander I and began negotiations.

The Prussian chancellor, Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg, and Russian field marshal Mikhail Kutuzov signed the convention at Kalisch, in the Duchy of Warsaw (now Kalisz, in Poland) on 28 February 1813. The agreement consisted of a preamble, twelve articles, and two secret provisions. The first two articles declared a cessation of hostilities between Russia and Prussia and established a military alliance against Napoleon. Both sides pledged to deploy 150,000 men for the impending campaign and agreed not to negotiate or sign unilaterally any agreements with Napoleon.

The terms also covered the restoration of trade between the two states (Article IX) and the supply of Russian forces with provisions in Prussia (Article X). Although Article XI stated that both sides would keep the convention a secret for two months, Russia made the agreement public less than one month later. The secret provisions of the treaty had important features. Russia pledged to assist Prussia in regaining the territory it had lost in the campaigns of 1806–1807 by the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, except for the territories ceded to the Duchy of Warsaw. With regard to Poland, Russia agreed to permit Prussia to retain only those Polish territories it had received in 1772 during the First Partition, together with a strip of territory

to connect it with Silesia. Thus, the convention virtually surrendered to Russia territories Prussia had gained in the Partitions of Poland of 1793 and 1795 and promised to replace them with territories taken from northern German states allied to France. The treaty laid the foundation for the creation of the Sixth Coalition against France.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

See also Alexander I, Tsar; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Russian Campaign; Tauroggen, Convention of; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## **Kamenski (Kamensky), Mikhail Fedorovich (1738–1809)**

Russian general and army commander. He was born to a prominent noble family of Polish origin that had settled in Russia in the seventeenth century. His father, Fedot Mikhailovich Kamenski, had served under Peter the Great. He graduated with the rank of lieutenant from the Cadet Corps in 1756 and briefly served in the chancellery of constructions. In 1757 he began military service as *unterzeilmeister* (deputy to the noncommissioned officer in charge of regimental funds) in the Russian artillery, but during 1758–1759 he served in the French Army and was promoted to captain.

After his return to Russia, Kamenski was appointed to the artillery company in Moscow. In 1761 he transferred to the army with a rank of premier major, and later the same year he rose to colonel and was appointed quartermaster general to Count Peter Rumyantsev's corps. Kamenski participated in the concluding phase of the Seven Years' War

(1756–1763) and then commanded the 1st Moscow Infantry Regiment. In 1765 he was sent on a mission to study the Prussian military system and met Frederick the Great. Upon his return, he presented a report entitled *Opisanie prusskago lageria* (Description of the Prussian Camp), in which he praised the Prussian army and its regulations. Kamenski was promoted to brigadier in 1766 and to major general in 1769.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 Kamenski commanded the 4th Brigade and fought at Khotin and Janchintsy. The following year, he commanded the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division at Bender. After briefly commanding troops in Poland in 1772, he returned to the Danube valley and participated in operations against the Turks between Craiova and Banat. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1773 and in 1774 given command of the left wing of the Russian Army, participating in actions at Bazardjik, Kozludji, Yeni Bazaar, and Shumla. However, he intrigued against General Alexander Suvorov, who promptly had him recalled from the army.

In 1775–1785 Kamenski served in various positions, including military adviser to the Prussian Army in 1779 and governor-general of the Ryazan and Tombov *gubernias* (provinces) in 1783–1785. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1790, he was given command of the 2nd Corps but was compromised after yet another intrigue, this time against Field Marshal Peter Rumyantsev, was revealed. He transferred to the 4th Division (Reserve Corps) and took part in operations around Khotin and Bender. He distinguished himself at Gankur in December 1788. He briefly commanded the (Russian) Army of Ukraine but was involved in a dispute with Gregory Potemkin. After Potemkin's death, he claimed command of the army and refused to transfer authority to his successor, General M. Kakhovsky. He resigned only after the other corps commanders refused to comply with his orders and supported Kakhovsky.

After being disgraced by Tsarina Catherine II, Kamenski retired to his estate and spent the next five years there. He returned to active service in 1796 when Tsar Paul I gave him command of the Finland Division and an appointment as *chef* of the Ryazan Musketeer Regiment. Kamenski was promoted to general of infantry in 1796. The next year he received the title of count as well as further promotion to general field marshal in April. He soon fell out of favor, however, and was discharged from the army in 1798. Under the new tsar, Alexander I, Kamenski became the military governor of St. Petersburg in 1802 but was dismissed for incompetence late in the same year. He spent the next four years on his estate at Saburovo.

In 1806, faced with serious tension between commanding generals Fedor Buxhöwden and Levin Bennigsen,

Alexander conceded to public pressure to appoint Kamenski as the commander in chief of the Russian army (22 November). However, Kamenski was in poor health, and by the time he reached the forces in the field he had lost his ability to see and was largely immobilized. However, this did not stop him from ordering an offensive against Napoleon. Despite his enthusiasm, he demonstrated poor judgment and incompetence throughout the ensuing operations. He concentrated his forces at Pultusk and planned to fight a major battle there. Before that transpired, however, he resigned his command owing to poor health; indeed, he was no longer capable of reading and writing and was at times scarcely able even to move. Kamenski spent the next three years on his estate in Saburovo and became notorious for his severe treatment of the local peasantry. He was murdered by one of his peasants in August 1809.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich, Count; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Kamenski, Nikolay Milhailovich, Count; Kamenski, Sergey Mikhailovich, Count; Paul I, Tsar; Pultusk, Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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### **Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count (1777–1811)**

Nikolay Kamenski was born on 7 January 1777 to a prominent Russian family, the son of Field Marshal Mikhail Kamenski. He was educated in the Cadet Corps, and his active duty began as adjutant to General Hantwig in 1785. Two years later, he became adjutant to his father. In 1795 he transferred as a lieutenant colonel to the Simbirsk Grenadier Regiment, then to the 10th *Jäger* Regiment, and to the Ryazan Musketeer Regiment in 1797. Kamenski was promoted to colonel later that year and became a major general and *chef* of the Arkhangelogord Musketeer Regiment in 1799. He served under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov in Italy and Switzerland, fighting at St. Gotthard, Devil's Bridge, Altdorf, Muothatal (Muttental), Netstal, Nafels, and the retreat across the Panixer Pass. However, after returning to Russia, he misappropriated regimental funds and was suspended for several months, after which he was restored to his position in the Arkhangelogord Musketeer Regiment in 1802.

In 1805 Kamenski served in General Fedor Buxhöwden's corps and participated in actions at Wischau and Raussnitz. He distinguished himself at Austerlitz, but his

regiment suffered horrendous losses; Kamenski barely escaped when a roundshot (cannonball) killed the horse under him. Kamenski then took part in the 1807 campaign in Poland during the War of the Fourth Coalition. He fought at Bergfried and commanded the 14th Division at Eylau. Through May and June, he fought at Launau, Danzig, and Heilsberg. He was promoted to lieutenant general later that year.

In January 1808 Kamenski was given command of the 17th Division and participated in the invasion of Finland. That spring he took part in the siege of Sveaborg and protected the southern coast of Finland. In July he assumed command of General Nikolay Rayevsky's corps and fought against Swedish forces at Alavo, Kuortale, Salmi, and Oravais, and in a series of lesser actions. In 1809 he commanded a corps at Uleaborg and launched an offensive around Umea, fighting at Savar and Ratan.

In February 1810 he replaced Prince Peter Bagration as commander in chief of the (Russian) Army of Moldavia. In the initial stages of the war against the Turks, he captured the fortresses of Silistra, Razgrad, and Bazardjik. He fought the main Turkish army at Shumla, made an unsuccessful assault on Ruse, losing almost 9,000 men, and annihilated the Turkish army at Batin on 7 September. During August 1810–February 1811, he captured Ruse, Turnu, Plevna, Lovech, and Selvi. However, he became seriously ill in March and left the army to recuperate in Odessa. He died there on 16 May 1811 and was buried in the village of Saburovo in the Orel *gubernia* (province).

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Heilsberg, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kamenski (Kamensky), Mikhail Fedorovich; Kamenski, Sergey Mikhailovich, Count; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; St. Gotthard Pass, Actions at the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the

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### **Kamenski, Sergey Mikhailovich, Count (1771–1834)**

Kamenski was born on 17 November 1771 to a prominent Russian family, the son of Field Marshal Mikhail Kamenski and the brother of Nikolay Kamenski. He studied at the Cadet Corps and by 1777 was an ensign in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment (19 April). In May 1789 he be-

came a lieutenant colonel of the Ekaterinoslavl Grenadier Regiment. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War in 1789–1790 and fought at Maximeni and Galati. During 1792–1794 Kamenski served against the Polish confederates and fought at Shekochin, Pesochna, and Maciejowice and received a minor wound to the stomach at Praga. In 1794 he was given command of the 3rd Battalion of the Ekaterinoslavl *Jäger* Corps. Kamenski was promoted to colonel in 1797, and in 1798 was advanced to major general and appointed *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Polotsk Musketeer Regiment. Yet Tsar Paul I soon disgraced him and had him discharged from the army that June.

After Paul I's assassination, Kamenski returned to service in April 1801 and became *chef* of the Phanagoria Grenadier Regiment that August. He participated in the 1805 campaign and fought in General Louis Langeron's column at Austerlitz. Promoted to lieutenant general in June 1806, he took command of the 12th Division and participated in the 1807–1809 campaigns against the Turks. He distinguished himself at Braila and took part in the actions at Constanta, Babadag, and Varna. In late 1809 he commanded a corps at Girsov.

In 1810 Kamenski served under his younger brother, General Nikolay Kamenski, and distinguished himself at the Battle of Bazardjik, for which he was promoted to general of infantry (26 June 1810). He failed to coordinate his actions with his brother at Shumla in July, but still defeated the Turkish army there on 4 August. He commanded the Russian left wing at the Battle of Batin on 7 September. In 1812 Kamenski commanded the 3rd Corps of the 3rd Reserve Army of Observation of General Alexander Tormasov and took part in the battles of Kobryn and Gorodechna. However, he had an argument with Tormasov and took a prolonged furlough in late 1812. He was discharged from the army in 1822 and spent the rest of his life at Orel, where he died on 20 December 1834.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Kamenski (Kamensky), Mikhail Fedorovich; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Langeron, Louis Alexander Andrault; Maciejowice, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Turkish War; Third Coalition, War of the; Tormasov, Alexander Petrovich, Count

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### **Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804)**

Revolutionary philosopher whose ideas of transcendental idealism both summed up and superseded contemporary

German thought. His achievement is often likened to a Copernican revolution that paved the way for modern philosophy. Immanuel Kant was born in Königsberg on 22 April 1724. He came from a craftsman's family, but his intellectual capabilities allowed him to study at Königsberg University at the age of sixteen. From 1746 he had to earn his living as a private tutor with wealthy families. In 1755 he went back to university and earned both his doctorate and the other qualifications necessary for a professorship (a process known as habilitation) within a very short period.

In his qualifying thesis he introduced the major theme of his later works: the conditions of the possibilities of knowledge. As a professor at Königsberg University he outlined the goals of a whole generation of German philosophers and scientists with his famous *Response to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?* in 1784. His most famous works are the three critiques: *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), and *Critique of Judgement* (1788).

Apart from these achievements, he also engaged in political philosophy: In 1795 he published his *On Perpetual Peace*. In this book he outlined which theoretical approaches and practical steps have to be taken to guarantee eternal peace. His concept has been interpreted as a forerunner of the League of Nations and the United Nations, as he regarded international law and institutions as a necessary tool to achieve peace on a permanent basis. Critics have argued that Kant himself, as merely a provincial professor, had no personal experience in politics and that he neglected social inequalities as a basis for conflict.

It is difficult to judge how Kant saw himself in terms of political allegiance. He had sympathy with the French Revolution, at least in its initial phases, but had to remain silent because of public pressure in the 1790s. As a professor at Königsberg he was a Prussian subject and could not freely argue against his enemies, who described him as an atheist fostering revolutionary ideas. Given this context, it is not easy to determine his real political thoughts within his publications of that decade.

Kant was by the 1790s already an old man with fading health, which was not helped by the public attacks, although he already had a large number of pupils and followers. In 1796 he ended his teaching career. He died on 12 February 1804, his last years overshadowed by ill health. He was a highly respected scholar during his lifetime, but the intellectual power of his major writings developed only after his death. The name *Kant* today is a synonym for German Enlightenment, and many—both in Germany and abroad—regard Kant as the most important and influential German philosopher of all time.

*Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle*

See also Fichte, Johann Gottlieb; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich

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### **Katzbach, Battle of the (26 August 1813)**

The Battle of the Katzbach took place in Silesia, along the river Katzbach, a tributary of the Oder, in what is now Poland. Here, a Prusso-Russian force, the Army of Silesia, under the Prussian general Gebhard von Blücher, defeated the (French) Army of the Bober, commanded by Marshal Jacques Macdonald. This defeat, and that at Grossbeeren three days earlier, canceled out the gains made by Napoleon in his victory at Dresden.

Macdonald's army consisted of the corps of generals Joseph, comte Souham (III), Jacques, comte Lauriston (V), Maurice, comte Gérard (XI), and the cavalry corps of Horace, comte Sébastiani (II). His infantry were a mixture of conscripts from France, Italy, and Germany. His cavalry lacked experience. This force totaled around 100,000 men, although some 70,000 were engaged in the battle. Blücher's army consisted of the Russian corps of generals Louis de St. Priest, Louis Langeron, and Fabian Osten-Sacken, and Johann von Yorck's Prussians, around 95,000 men.

At the beginning of the fall campaign of 1813 Napoleon first moved against Blücher, but on hearing that the (largely Austrian) Army of Bohemia was moving toward Dresden, he left Macdonald in charge of the Army of the Bober and left for Dresden. Macdonald continued to pursue Blücher, who was avoiding Napoleon in line with the strategy contained in the Trachenberg Plan. The two armies made contact on 26 August.

The fighting started around 12:30 P.M. when Lauriston and Gérard encountered Langeron. Yorck's vanguard was in action by 12:30 P.M. but withdrew in the face of Sébastiani's horse artillery. The French followed up toward Hengersdorf, and Langeron deployed along the heights above this village.

About 2:00 P.M. Macdonald marched toward the sound of the guns. He met up with Souham, who was moving toward Kroitisch, where there was a bridge over the Katzbach. Blücher decided to push him back toward the rivers, swollen because of heavy rain, and ordered

Yorck to attack. The rain prevented the use of small arms, so the butt and bayonet were preferred. General Rémi-Joseph-Isidore, comte Exelmans's cavalry division and General Michel-Sylvestre Brayer's infantry crossed the Neisse River at Niederweinberg and deployed. Yorck, believing the French to be wavering, ordered in his reserve cavalry under Colonel von Wahlen-Jürgass. It captured a battery of artillery before Brayer repelled it. Exelmans counterattacked and drove Jürgass back to his starting positions. The crisis of the battle had now been reached. Yorck's second line countercharged, while his cavalry flanked Exelmans's, driving him down the hillside into the valley.

Osten-Sacken then advanced through Eichholtz, unlimbering his artillery on the Taubenberg hill. Blücher then ordered a general advance, throwing in his reserve cavalry. Brayer retired in good order via Niedercrayn to Kroitisch, but abandoned his wagons and guns. The Allies did not pursue with vigor. Later that afternoon, Souham arrived. He committed his divisions, but once news arrived of the defeat elsewhere, they fell back. Gérard and Lauriston captured Hennemersdorf about 4:00 P.M., but a flanking attack by the Prussians forced them to withdraw. The village was contested until midnight.

The French suffered around 10,000 casualties in this battle, and a similar number deserted. The Allies captured at least 30 cannon and more than 100 wagons and took more than 1,000 prisoners. They lost a similar number of men.

*Peter Hofschroer*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Dresden, Battle of; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Langeron, Louis Alexandre Andrault; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Souham, Joseph, comte; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Keats, John (1795–1821)

English poet who came to personify the Romantic literary movement because of his great talent and early, tragic demise. Like the other Romantics, Keats's poetry emphasizes Classical and medieval themes and influences and does not directly address the Napoleonic Wars or the political turmoil of the age. Instead, his poetry draws upon glorious eras of the past and is in tacit opposition to the ongoing Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Keats was born in London in 1795. Both of his parents died while Keats was young, and the future poet turned to literature for comfort and solace. In 1811 Keats became a surgeon's apprentice, but concurrently he began to write poetry. His first poem, "Lines in Imitation of Spenser," was composed in 1814. The following year Keats completed his medical training, although his main interest remained poetry. He met other Romantic poets, including Percy Bysshe Shelley and the literary editor Leigh Hunt. Hunt edited the journal *The Examiner* and was a prominent liberal thinker. Hunt not only influenced the political sentiments of Keats but also helped the young poet's career, including publishing some of Keats's early poems.

Although Keats began his brief literary career just as the Napoleonic Wars concluded, the battles and political instability of the period were scarcely reflected in his poetry. Instead, major figures of earlier English literature such as Edmund Spenser, John Milton, and William Shakespeare would exert significant influence on the young poet. Keats's initial works were not well received and did not sell well. He also faced substantial literary criticism. However, he refined his work and became increasingly rigorous in his style.

In 1817 Keats traveled to the Isle of Wight, where he completed his first effort at an epic poem, *Endymion*, which ran to 4,000 lines. The following year Keats went on a tour of the Western Isles of Scotland, and his health began to fail. He initially suffered from a severe sore throat, but soon it was clear that he had contracted tuberculosis, to which his brother had recently succumbed. During the tour, Keats met the painter Joseph Severn.

Keats became engaged to Fanny Brawne, although his financial difficulties prevented him from marrying. Despite this frustration, from 1818 to 1819 Keats composed some of his greatest poetry, including, "Ode on a Grecian Urn," "Ode to a Nightingale," "The Eve of St. Agnes," and "To Autumn." He also composed memorable sonnets on such themes as intellectual imagination, emotional longing, and immortality. His poems were noted for their exacting detail and use of imagery and dimension.

His health began to decline rapidly by late 1819, and his last volume of collected poems was published the following year. His doctors advised him to leave England for a more temperate climate, and Keats sailed for Italy in September 1820 to stay with his friend Severn. In spite of the Mediterranean sun, Keats was already in his last illness. He died in Rome on 23 February 1821. Although not greatly popular during his lifetime, Keats was soon memorialized in and given wider recognition through Shelley's elegy *Adonais* (1821), and Keats's poetry and letters would influence later generations of poets, including such luminaries as Alfred, Lord Tennyson and Oscar Wilde.

*Tom Lansford*

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Literature and the Romantic Movement (contextual essay); Romanticism; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Wordsworth, William

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### **Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder” (1735–1820)**

One of the select few of Napoleon’s marshals, Kellermann was not one of history’s great generals. However, what he accomplished on 20 September 1792 at Valmy was one of history’s decisive events.

Descended from a Saxon family that had settled in Alsace, Kellermann was born on 28 May 1735 in Strasbourg, then a Free City in the Holy Roman Empire. Of a modest background, he started his military service in 1752 in the Lowendahl Regiment. He fought in the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763), first as a lieutenant in the Alsatian Volunteers, then in the cavalry. In 1763, he transferred to the Conflans Legion, a mixture of cavalry, infantry, and artillery to be used for special purposes.

He married in 1769, and his son François Etienne, later one of the great cavalry generals of history, was born the next year. Kellermann the Elder settled down, pursuing a military career in peacetime. In 1776, he received command of his own squadron. Three years later, he was promoted to major and a year after that to lieutenant colonel. In 1784, after thirty-five years’ service, he reached the rank of general, commanding his own brigade.

By the eve of the French Revolution, Kellermann had amassed a variety of experiences that would put him in good stead for what was to come. He had commanded volunteers; raised, organized, and led raw irregulars; and commanded a force of mixed arms. Moreover, he knew how to handle inexperienced troops and turn them into good soldiers. He also knew how to make the most of unfavorable social and political conditions to achieve headway. All this knowledge was put to good use.

Kellermann’s day came in the fateful year of 1792. The European powers massed armies on France’s borders to intervene in favor of the threatened Louis XVI. Kellermann was placed in charge of the Division of the Saar, a mixed bag of volunteers and regulars he needed to lick into shape. He set about this task with characteristic energy.

That August, a Prussian army under Charles, Duke of Brunswick, crossed the border into France. General Charles Dumouriez, commander of the Army of the North (Armée du Nord), requested that Kellermann join him, because many of his volunteers had left for home in a panic rather than face the Prussians. Reinforced by Kellermann, Dumouriez drew up his forces to face the Prussians on the field of battle at Valmy on 20 September. The opening bombardment from the Prussians caused several French ammunition wagons to explode. The men panicked, but Kellermann rode up and steadied them. Seeing for once the French were not going to be a pushover, and lacking the resources to press on to Paris, Brunswick disengaged his army. That act saved the Revolution. Ironically, Kellermann, a soldier of the *ancien régime* and a man from a disadvantaged background, did so with an army trained in the methods of the Seven Years’ War.

Kellermann went on to hold several more commands in the Revolutionary Wars before moving on to administrative posts in the army. He was appointed Marshal of the Empire in 1804 in recognition of his services, and four years later was created duc de Valmy.

*Peter Hofschröer*

See also Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte; Marshalate; Valmy, Battle of

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### **Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte (1770–1835)**

General François Etienne Kellermann received his army commission in 1785 and served as aide-de-camp to his father, Marshal François Etienne Christophe Kellermann. In May 1797, after service in Bonaparte’s first Italian campaign, he was given command of a brigade of cavalry. It was during the Battle of Marengo, 14 June 1800, that he brought about the most notable tactical achievement of his career. At a pivotal moment in the battle Kellermann, along

with General Louis-Charles Desaix, launched a well-timed cavalry charge, which broke the Austrian advance and turned the tide in favor of the French.

Following Kellermann’s success at Marengo he was well esteemed among the army as a great cavalry leader. Marshal Auguste de Marmont was of the opinion that “Kellermann was the finest tactician in Napoleon’s cavalry” (Johnson 1999, 131). His recommendations were highly regarded in the cavalry service. When, therefore, Kellermann and Marshal Michel Ney proposed several reforms for the cavalry, including the introduction of steel helmets to the uniform, these recommendations were quickly adopted on Napoleon’s orders.

Kellermann continued leading cavalry forces in battle, being wounded at Austerlitz in 1805. After he recovered from his wounds Kellermann led General Jean Junot’s cavalry in Portugal where he helped negotiate the very advantageous terms of the Convention of Cintra. In November 1809, during the war in Spain, troops led by Kellermann pursued the retreating Spanish forces of the Duque del Parque. Kellermann’s 3,000 cavalry caught up with Parque’s force of 18,000, drawn up along a river near Alba de Tormes. Kellermann worried that the Spanish would withdraw to safety and, ignoring the odds, charged into battle at the head of his forces. The French cavalry broke the Spanish horsemen and smashed the opposing infantry lines. Parque’s mauled forces withdrew in the darkness, having lost 6,000 men, with 3,000 killed or captured, and another 3,000 deserters. One of Kellermann’s officers wrote later: “Rarely can so many corpses have been seen covering so small an area” (Johnson 1999, 88). Alba de Tormes was a notable victory and a prime example of Kellermann’s bravery and superior ability as a commander.

Despite Kellermann’s stature as a noted cavalry commander, his reputation suffered during the campaign in Spain, where he earned notoriety for being a flagrant plunderer. He was considered “the most rapacious general that . . . the Napoleonic Wars produced” (Johnson 1999, 132). He sent a vast quantity of stolen goods and money back to his estates in France. When his conduct was brought to Napoleon’s attention, the Emperor was always inclined to turn a blind eye, in acknowledgment for Kellermann’s charge at Marengo.

Because of poor health, Kellermann was unable to join the Grande Armée for its ill-fated invasion of Russia, though he did serve with distinction during the 1813 campaign in Germany. During the Battle of Bautzen, Kellermann was wounded twice and had five horses shot from under him. He missed the decisive Battle of Leipzig, owing to the wounds sustained at Bautzen and a return of ill health.

After Napoleon’s forced abdication, Kellermann remained in the new Bourbon army and was made Chevalier de St. Louis. Upon Napoleon’s return from exile, Keller-

mann was inspector of the army and had been ordered to intercept Napoleon, but his soldiers, refusing to obey orders, instead joined the Emperor on his march to Paris. Kellermann retired to his estates until Napoleon recalled him to service, placing him in command of III Cavalry Corps, the largest command of his career. During the Battle of Waterloo, Kellermann led his troops with distinction. Befuddled by the illogical commands issued by Ney in the midst of the battle, he charged into the middle of the wild cavalry actions launched against the British center, where he was wounded yet again.

After Napoleon’s defeat, Kellermann was reconciled once more with the Bourbons, and after his father’s death he was made duc de Valmy and gained a seat in the Chamber of Peers. He engaged in a war of words with General Anne Jean Savary, writing two pamphlets refuting Savary’s “biased and misleading account of Kellermann’s charge at Marengo” (Johnson 1999, 131). Kellermann maintained that he never received the credit he was due for his services during the battle.

Kellermann finally retired to his extensive estates in Senlis. In addition to taking part in various alleged corrupt business dealings, he was responsible for some philanthropic acts, most notably the building of a church on his estates, built purportedly with money stolen from Spain. Once when questioned about his Iberian spoils, Kellermann supposedly commented, “What do they suppose I crossed the Pyrenees for? A change of air?” (Johnson 1999, 144). He died in retirement in 1835 and was eulogized as one of the greatest cavalry leaders of the Napoleonic Wars.

*Nathan Bartlett*

*See also* Alba de Tormes, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Cavalry; Cintra, Convention of; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Junot, Jean Andoche; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Leipzig, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Savary, Anne Jean Marie René; Waterloo, Battle of

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## King’s German Legion

*See* Hanoverian Army

### Kjoge, Battle of (2–5 September 1807)

In July 1807 British foreign secretary George Canning received intelligence indicating that some secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander would not only break up the Fourth Coalition against France but would compel Denmark to close its ports to Britain as part of Napoleon's Continental System. Ultimately this meant that Napoleon could gain possession of the sizable Danish fleet, control the Baltic, and possibly invade England. Canning ordered Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark to renounce his country's neutrality and place his fleet in temporary British custody. He refused.

To counter this danger, Canning devised a plan to employ a British and Hanoverian force to seize the Danish fleet and compel Frederick to renounce Denmark's neutrality. Consequently, on 29 July the Royal Navy's Baltic fleet, commanded by Admiral James Gambier, sailed from Sheerness to Denmark with a total of 380 vessels, including 24 ships of the line, 9 frigates, 22 smaller ships, and troop transports carrying 30,000 men, which were under the command of Major General William, Lord Cathcart. Sir Harry Burrard was second in command, while Sir Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) commanded the Reserve, consisting of five battalions. The heavy artillery included howitzers, guns, mortars, and the new Congreve rockets.

On 3 August the British landed unopposed at Vedbæk. After negotiations failed on 16 August, Wellesley covered the disembarkation of the advance guard that would create a semicircle around Copenhagen, which was besieged on 18 August. Danish general Ernst Peymann was commander in chief of the land forces. He sent a small inexperienced body of regulars and militia—the Zealand, Lolland-Falsterske, and the Mønске—as a relieving force commanded by General J. M. H. Castenschoild, to Kjoge, a small town some 40 kilometers south of Copenhagen, on 26 August, where the Danish had built entrenchments. Wellesley deployed five battalions of infantry, eight squadrons of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery to counter this attack.

The Danish fired one volley during the fighting at Kjoge. The British 92nd Foot charged them to the front, with devastating results. The undisciplined enemy quickly retreated in all directions, much to Wellesley's chagrin, because his flanking column, which would have contained the retreat, failed to arrive at the appointed time. Some men of the 92nd and 95th and some hussar officers were wounded. Wellesley suffered 172 casualties but did not lose any officers. He took 1,500 prisoners, but many Danes were killed or wounded.

Thereafter the Danish gave up trying to lift the siege. The British called on the Danes to surrender on the first and again on 2 September, but they refused. The British bombardment of Copenhagen consequently began at 7:30 PM on the second. Gambier fired on the city almost continuously from the second to the fifth, and inflicted more than 2,000 casualties. The newly invented Congreve rockets destroyed one-third of the buildings in the city. The Danes flew a flag of truce on 5 September. Wellesley helped to negotiate the surrender and draw up the articles of capitulation, which Peymann signed on 7 September. The Danish fleet was to be handed over to the British, and Fort Kastellet and the fleet facilities would be occupied until the British departed. The Danes lost some 18 ships of the line, 10 frigates, 42 smaller warships, plus 243 transport vessels; these sailed to various British ports. The remaining Danish ships were scuttled. In 1808 Wellesley was promoted to lieutenant general and was sent to Portugal, where he commanded the expeditionary force in the ensuing Peninsular War.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Canning, George; Cathcart, William, First Earl; Congreve Rockets; Continental System; Copenhagen, Attack on; Denmark; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Peninsular War; Tilsit, Treaties of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Kléber, Jean-Baptiste (1753–1800)

Born in Strasbourg in Alsace on 9 March 1753, Kléber was one of the ablest of French Republican-era generals, seeing service in the Vendée, with the Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse, and most notably in Egypt, where he succeeded Bonaparte in command. A powerfully built man more than 6 feet 2 inches tall, Kléber was typically described as “Mars in uniform.” Despite some difficulties between Kléber and Bonaparte, the latter said that he regretted the untimely deaths of Kléber and Louis Desaix the most of all his generals.



General Jean-Baptiste Kléber succeeded in command of French forces in Egypt after Napoleon's departure in 1799. Kléber defeated the Turks at Heliopolis but was assassinated the following year. (Drawing by Jean Baptiste Guerin from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 1)

After finishing grammar school, Kléber joined the Bercheny Hussars, only to have his mother annul the engagement. Instead, Kléber was sent to Paris for two years to work for an architect. He then worked in Besançon until he fought a duel over a girl and was ordered to leave town. Tradition has it that, returning to Strasbourg in 1775, Kléber fought a tavern brawl in defense of two Bavarian nobles who persuaded him to become a soldier. In 1776 he entered the Munich Military Academy before joining the Austrian Kaunitz infantry regiment as a cadet in October 1777, making ensign that November, and second lieutenant in 1779. Growing restless, Kléber resigned from the Austrian Army in June 1783 and returned to Strasbourg, where his stepbrother secured him work as an inspector of public buildings and works.

In July 1789 he was elected captain in the National Guard, then in 1792 he volunteered for the defense of the frontiers. As adjutant major in the volunteer 4th Haut-Rhin battalion, Kléber received his baptism of fire in the defense of Mainz (October 1792–July 1793). The garrison eventually capitulated but was allowed to leave Mainz with

full honors, provided they did not take up arms against the Imperial powers for a year. Therefore the *Mayençais*, as they were known, were transferred to the Vendée to fight against the rebels. Promoted to *général de brigade*, Kléber was revolted by the atrocities being committed by republican efforts to put down the rebellion and by the Jacobins' scorched-earth policy in the region. Nevertheless, with General François Marceau, he scored notable successes, particularly at Cholet (17 October 1793), after which he was promoted *général de division* (18 October).

In May 1794 he was transferred to the eastern frontier and saw action at Fleurus (26 June) before being put in command of the siege of Maastricht (17 September–14 November). In 1796 he commanded the left wing of the army and was victorious at Altenkirchen (4 June), but thereafter began to suffer some reverses, notwithstanding his taking Frankfurt on 16 July. However, after a series of spats with General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan and a certain amount of war-weariness, Kléber resigned his command on grounds of ill health that December.

Kléber returned to Alsace in February 1797 and spent much of the year piloting a dangerous course through shifting political sands. A year later, he was introduced to the young General Napoleon Bonaparte by the engineer General Louis Caffarelli du Falga and, along with Desaix, enthusiastically joined them in planning the expedition to Egypt. Sailing from France on 19 May 1798, Kléber landed under fire at Alexandria (2 July), where he was wounded in the forehead, taking governorship of the city while Bonaparte marched on Cairo. In October Kléber went to Cairo to prepare for the proposed Syrian campaign. From this point on, relations between Kléber and Bonaparte soured, with Kléber protesting about the lack of planning for a desert march and Bonaparte's apparent reliance on "fortune."

During the Syrian campaign he contributed to the capture of Gaza (25 February 1799) and Jaffa (7 March) and distinguished himself at the Battle of Mount Tabor (16 April). Recalled to Acre, Kléber was critical of the siege works constructed under Bonaparte's direction. Kléber's troops took part in a series of prolonged assaults but without any lasting success. With growing casualties and an outbreak of bubonic plague, Bonaparte finally called off the siege (20 May) and fell back on Egypt.

Unsurprisingly, Bonaparte did not include Kléber in his secret plan to return to France on 23 August 1799. Kléber was furious to find himself named commander in chief, with instructions to negotiate with the British a passage home for he and his forces if he had not received news from France by the following May. Kléber's fury at Bonaparte was increased when he realized the full extent of the logistical problems facing the army, which had fallen to half

its original strength and bankrupt. He wrote a stinging report to the Directory, which, fortuitously for Bonaparte, did not arrive until after his Brumaire coup (9–10 November).

By restoring army finances, Kléber remained popular among his soldiers, who expected him to negotiate a safe passage home for them all. Commodore Sir Sidney Smith opened a correspondence with Kléber, offering him safe passage aboard Turkish ships. Kléber agreed to the convention of El Arish (24 January 1800), but the British naval commander in the Mediterranean, Vice Admiral George, Viscount Keith, had separate instructions not to accept anything other than the unconditional surrender of the French. A furious Kléber resumed hostilities and won a stunning victory against the Turks at Heliopolis (20 March 1800) before putting down a revolt in Cairo (27 March), the second since the French occupation had begun.

On 14 June 1800 a young Muslim zealot from Aleppo named Soleyman fatally stabbed Kléber. The assassin was caught and executed, and four accomplices were beheaded. When the French in Cairo capitulated (17 June 1801), Kléber's remains were evacuated back to France and provisionally deposited in the Chateau d'If, where they remained for the duration of Napoleon's rule.

Terry Crowley

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Altenkirchen, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Cairo, Uprising in; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Directory, The; El Arish, Convention of; Fleurus, Battle of; Heliopolis, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Maastricht, Battle of; Mainz, Siege of; Middle East Campaign; Mount Tabor, Battle of; National Guard (French); Smith, Sir William Sidney; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### **Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf (1762–1823)**

Prussian general; in the Battle of Kulm and Nollendorf (30 August 1813) the flanking attack of II Corps under his command secured the victory for the Allies. He was made *Graf* (Count) Nollendorf on 3 June 1814.

Kleist entered military service on 2 July 1778 with the rank of ensign, rising progressively through the ranks as second lieutenant (April 1783); quartermaster lieutenant in the general staff (May 1790); captain of the army (October 1792, a position without assignment to a unit); major (January 1795); lieutenant colonel (May 1805); colonel (May 1806); major general (November 1808); lieutenant general (November 1812); general of infantry (May 1814); and finally general field marshal (May 1821). He served in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779); in 1793–1795 on the Rhine; in 1806–1807, in Prussia and Poland; and 1812–1815, in Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium.

Kleist was born on 9 April 1762 in Berlin. His family had close connections to the royal court, and in 1775 he became page to Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother of King Frederick II, “the Great.” In order to take part in the campaigns of 1778–1779, he joined an infantry regiment. After the peace, his regiment being garrisoned in Berlin, he studied at the Académie des nobles (Academy of Noblemen), a kind of officer academy. This enabled him to join the general staff in 1790, serving as an adjutant in the campaigns of 1793–1795. On 9 November 1799 he returned to service in the line as commander of a grenadier battalion.

On 28 April 1803 the king appointed him his adjutant general (a kind of secretary for military affairs). This task he performed until 19 August 1807, when he got leave to restore his poor state of health. From 25 November 1808 he was employed on active service again as commander of the Lower Silesian brigade.

On 12 March 1812 he was appointed commander of the infantry in the auxiliary corps, which played a nominal role during the Russian campaign, when Prussia reluctantly observed its alliance with France. On 26 November the king made Kleist second in command of this corps. An order by the king of 6 January 1813 for Kleist to arrest General Johann von Yorck and take over his command arrived at the front after a very long delay—too late to be executed, for by that time the Prussians had, by the Convention of Tauroggen, joined the Russians in the war against France.

In the campaign in Germany in spring 1813, Kleist commanded a corps assigned to the army under Yorck, but acted quite independently. On 28 May, he took command over the corps hitherto commanded by General Gebhard von Blücher. On 4 June, as Prussian representative, Kleist signed the Armistice of Pleischwitz. On 12 July his command was named II Corps and was assigned to the Allied army under Austrian *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg. After the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October) Kleist's corps besieged the fortress of Erfurt and was transferred to Blücher's Army of Silesia on 31 December, joining it in northern France in February 1814.

On 31 March of that year Kleist was made chief (by that time, an honorific title without any duties) of the 1st West Prussian infantry regiment. On 10 April he passed command of II Corps to General Wieprecht Graf von Zieten, but on 30 May Kleist assumed overall command of I, II, III Prussian, and III, IV, V Federal German army corps. On 23 October he was given general command in occupied Saxony.

On 10 March 1815 Zieten was appointed commander of the North German Federal army corps and ten days later was given command of the Prussian II Corps as well. However, on 20 June, as a result of severe jaundice, he was granted a leave of absence in order to recover. On 3 October he again became commanding general in Saxony.

Kleist was pensioned for health reasons on 5 May 1821 and died from hepatitis on 17 February 1823.

*Oliver Schmidt*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kulm, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Tauroggen, Convention of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig; Zieten, Wieprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von  
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### **Kleist, Heinrich Wilhelm von (1777–1811)**

Poet, playwright, and novelist Heinrich von Kleist was one of the most important German dramatists associated with the Romantic movement.

Born in Frankfurt an der Oder, Brandenburg, in Prussia, Kleist was from a family having old martial connections. Most of the men on his father's side of the family served as officers in the Prussian Army. Some of them had even risen to the rank of general. Consequently everyone in his family assumed that Kleist would follow the same tradition. At the age of fifteen he entered the army and, a year later, he fought against the French on the Rhine.

In 1799 Kleist left the army as a second lieutenant and enrolled in the University of Frankfurt. He had had enough of military life and decided to attain a degree so that he could become a college professor. For a few semesters, Kleist intensively studied philosophy, mathematics, and political science, but he became disillusioned with his inability to find truth through education and dropped out. The writings of Immanuel Kant, the German metaphysi-

cist, greatly influenced Kleist's view of life. According to Kant, all theoretical attempts to find truth would fail. Unable to find truth through knowledge, Kleist attempted to express his sense of the randomness and uncertainty of human fate through plays, poems, and short novels.

Kleist never married. Wilhelmine von Zenge, his fiancée, broke off the engagement after she determined that he would be unable to support her properly. The breakup affected him deeply. He never again sought a wife and instead devoted his time to writing. Unable to achieve fame as a writer in his own lifetime, however, he became deeply unhappy; indeed, the characters of his works portray his own despair. Contemporary audiences often rejected Kleist's dramas because they found them too dark.

Unable to support himself with his writing, Kleist took a position with the Prussian government in Königsberg. During the French occupation of the area in 1807, Kleist was arrested by the French as a spy and imprisoned for six months at Châlons-sur-Marne. After he was set free, Kleist determined to use his literary skills to oppose the French and to unite the German people against Napoleon. In 1809 he wrote a political drama titled *Die Hermannschlacht* (Herman's Battle), in which he expressed his hatred for the French invaders. In the years that followed, Kleist edited journals that sought to rally German patriotism and continually criticized the French. However, his scheme to precipitate a German uprising through his writings failed.

Having lost all hope, at the age of thirty-four, Kleist made a double suicide pact with Henrietta Vogel, the wife of a friend who suffered from incurable uterine cancer. On 21 November Kleist shot the woman in the chest and then shot himself in the mouth. The bodies were buried side by side at the location of the suicides, just outside of Berlin. As so often happens, the circumstances surrounding his tragic death led to Kleist's immediate fame in Europe and critical interest in his work.

*Rolando Avila*

*See also* Fichte, Johann Gottlieb; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Kant, Immanuel  
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### **Krasnyi, First Battle of (14 August 1812)**

Rearguard action between Russian and French forces during Napoleon's march on Moscow in 1812. As the Russian armies concentrated at Smolensk, a decision was made to

counterattack Napoleon's forces. The Russian counteroffensive began on 7 August, but continuous disagreement between generals Mikhail Barclay de Tolly and Prince Peter Bagration rendered it ineffective and gave Napoleon enough time to adjust his plans.

Napoleon's maneuver at Smolensk was a masterpiece. He ordered Marshal Louis Davout to cross the Dnieper River at Rosasna; General Jean Junot to move to Romanovo; and marshals Joachim Murat and Michel Ney, together with General Eugène de Beauharnais, to march south, screened by cavalry. The Emperor intended to form a formidable *bataillon carré* and launch it as secretly as possible across the river on a 15-mile front through Orsha and Rosasna. There were to be two great columns. The Rosasna column, under Napoleon himself, was to consist of Murat's cavalry, the Imperial Guard, and III and IV Corps. The second column, under Davout, was composed of I, V, and VIII Corps, while cavalry under General Marie-Victor-Nicolas de Fay, comte Latour-Maubourg was to make a diversion southward from the Dnieper. Covered by a heavy cavalry screen, French movements remained unknown to the Russians. During the night of 13–14 August, General Jean-Baptiste Eblé completed pontoon bridges over the Dnieper at Rosasna, and the French crossed the river. By daylight almost the entire Grande Armée was advancing on Smolensk.

By early afternoon on 14 August the French advance guard reached Krasnyi, where the detachment of General Dmitry Neverovsky (10 battalions of infantry, 4 cavalry squadrons, 3 Cossack regiments, and 14 guns, for a total of some 7,200 men) was deployed. Neverovsky's cavalry outposts were stationed at Liady, a few miles west, and by 2:00 P.M. they were driven out by General Emmanuel Grouchy's troops. Facing overwhelming enemy forces, Neverovsky immediately assumed dispositions to cover his retreat. He deployed the 49th *Jägers* at Krasnyi, with two battalions of the 50th and 41st *Jägers* and two guns in support, and arranged the remaining battalions of the 50th *Jägers*, the Kharkov Dragoons, and the Cossacks (Grekov's regiment), behind the town.

The French meanwhile concentrated their forces, as the light cavalry of Ney's corps arrived around 3:00 P.M., followed by the 24th Légère, which occupied Krasnyi after half an hour of fighting. At the same time, Grouchy's cavalry located fords 3 miles to the north of Krasnyi, while the light cavalry of I Corps found crossings to the south as well. General Pierre Déry led the charge of the 9th Polish Uhlans against Russian dragoons but was repulsed. However, General Etienne Bordessoulle captured a Russian battery of seven guns and routed some dragoons and Cossacks.

Neverovsky, recognizing the French superiority, sent his remaining cavalry to the rear and began withdrawing with

his ten infantry battalions in two dense columns on the road to Smolensk via Merlino and Korythnia. The French cavalry rapidly pursued the Russians. Murat directed his massed squadrons against them but failed to break their formation. He then seemed to lose his nerve. Despite Ney's pleas to employ artillery and allow III Corps to engage the Russians, Murat launched more than thirty cavalry charges against them. Neverovsky repulsed each attack, then counterattacked and rallied his troops, forming them into one large square before continuing his retreat toward Smolensk.

At about 8:00 P.M. Neverovsky arrived at Korytnnya, where he rallied his cavalry and rear guard and moved through the darkness to the village of Yasennaia, 12 miles away. He resumed his retreat the following day and was reinforced by the 26th Division under General Ivan Paskevich, whom Bagration had dispatched that night. Neverovsky's division lost some 1,500 men, including 800 prisoners and 8 guns; French losses amounted to some 500 killed and wounded.

Neverovsky's resolute fight at Krasnyi was celebrated in the Russian army, and even French officers praised the Russians' gallantry. Without Neverovsky's staunch resistance at Krasnyi, the French might well have reached Smolensk by the evening of 14 August and assaulted it. As a result of this action, however, Napoleon decided to halt his advance for a day in order to regroup his forces, thus missing his chance to take Smolensk by surprise.

Some Russian contemporaries criticized Neverovsky for his failure to organize a more effective retreat. Later Russian and Soviet historians, however, have glorified the Russian exploits at Krasnyi and exaggerated its importance.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Imperial Guard (French); Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Murat, Joachim; Neverovsky, Dmitry Petrovich; Ney, Michel; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of

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*Zhizn i podvigi Gen. leitenanta D. P. Neverovskogo.* 1912.  
Moscow: N.p.

### **Krasnyi, Second Battle of (15–18 November 1812)**

A battle between French and Russian forces near Krasnyi on 15–18 November 1812. During the retreat of the Grande Armée, the Russian army of General Mikhail Kutuzov approached Smolensk from the south and, having bypassed it, made a direct thrust to Krasnyi, threatening to cut the French line of retreat. Napoleon left Smolensk with his Imperial Guard on 14 November and marched toward Krasnyi, followed by the remaining French corps. That same day, General Adam Ozharovsky's detachment briefly occupied Krasnyi before being driven out by the French.

Simultaneously, General Alexander Osterman-Tolstoy (11th Division and 2nd Reserve Cavalry Corps) attacked at Kobyzevich, while General Mikhail Miloradovich (2nd Corps, 7th Corps, and 1st Reserve Cavalry Corps) confronted the French rear near the village of Rzhavka and isolated the corps of marshals Louis Davout and Michel Ney and Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. On 16 November Kutuzov reached with his main army the village of Shilovo (3 miles from Krasnyi), but he kept to his plan of avoiding battle and reinforced Miloradovich with the 2nd Reserve Corps. Miloradovich then marched to Merlino, where he awaited the approaching troops under Eugène. The French tried to cut their way through but their attack was repulsed and they suffered from the Russian guns and cavalry. Eugène's predicament stirred Napoleon to action, who seized the initiative by turning his Imperial Guard back toward Smolensk.

The French counterattack surprised Miloradovich, and the Russians had to withdraw their forces and open the road for Eugène's IV Corps. However, nothing could prevent a Russian attack on Davout's I Corps, which suffered heavy casualties and lost its artillery and baggage, including Davout's personal belongings and marshal's baton. Napoleon was soon informed of the Russian movement to the village of Dobroe and, fearing that he might be encircled, he ordered a retreat, even though Ney's corps was still cut off. Ney spent the night near Korytnia and then tried to break through on 18 November; however, his steadfast attacks were all repulsed, and the Russians gathered reinforcements to encircle and destroy him. To gain time, Ney pretended to consider a Russian offer to surrender, and during the night he succeeded in eluding the Russians on his march to the Dnieper River, which the French crossed over thin ice near Syrokorenye.

Krasnyi was not a battle on the scale of Borodino or Maloyaroslavets but rather a series of engagements that inflicted considerable casualties on the French. Napoleon's forces lost some 6,000 killed and more than 20,000 captured, including more than 200 guns and 6 flags. Russian casualties amounted to 2,000 killed and wounded. Russian and Soviet historians tended to exaggerate the importance of the Battle of Krasnyi. Kutuzov, who withheld the main army from the battle, described it as a major encounter in his report to Tsar Alexander and was conferred the title of Prince of Smolensk, and senior Russian commanders were also rewarded. Later historians followed suit describing this engagement as a "decisive battle," brilliantly won by the Russians.

The fact is the Russian troops attacked French corps (Eugène, Davout, Ney) while they were marching from Smolensk to Krasnyi, and although each corps was temporarily cut off and Ney's corps even surrounded, none of them was forced to lay down their arms, and so an opportunity to destroy the French army was missed. Kutuzov's actions at Krasnyi served as a basis for the "golden bridge" or "parallel march" thesis, which argued that Kutuzov refrained from attacking the French in order to preserve his troops and let the winter and hunger take their toll on the enemy.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Imperial Guard (French); Krasnyi, First Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Ney, Michel; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Russian Campaign

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**Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova (1735–1804)**

From a Hungarian military family, Kray was a natural leader of the *Grenz* (Military Frontier) units in *der kleine Krieg* (literally, the little war, or light warfare) and a renowned advance-guard commander with the natural swagger of a hussar. Known to the French as “*le terrible Kray, le fils chéri de victoire*” (the darling child of victory) especially for his triumphs at Verona and Magnano in 1799, he proved to be an able leader of large formations but was unsuccessful as an army commander in Germany in 1800.

Kray was born in Käsmark in Hungary, the son of a *Hauptmann* (captain). Trained in military skills from an early age, he joined Infanterie Regiment 31 as a *Kadett* officer aged eighteen and served through the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763), distinguished by his bravery and stamina. Promoted to major in 1778, he became a noted light infantry commander as *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant colonel) with the 2nd Szeckler Grenz Regiment, and *Oberst* (commanding colonel) of the 1st Wallach Grenz Regiment in the following years. During Austria’s war with Turkey (1787–1792), he led large long-range raids into enemy territory and secured the Siebenburgen (Transylvania) border passes, for which he won promotion to *Generalmajor* in 1790. At this time he was ennobled, taking his title, Freiherr von Krajova, from his famous raid on Krajova in Romania. At the request of *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Sebastian de Croix Graf von Clerfayt, Kray transferred to Belgium in 1793 as the army advance-guard commander. His victories at Famars, Courtrai, and Menin were followed by his successful defense of Orchies and, on 30 October, the capture of Marchiennes, where five French battalions were taken prisoner. During 1794–1795, he distinguished himself leading his men at Charleroi, Landrecies, and Fleurus. Promoted to *Feldmarschalleutnant* (lieutenant general), he showed himself to be a skilled corps commander under Archduke Charles in Germany in 1796 at the victories of Wetzlar, Amberg, and Würzburg. For a poor performance in Germany in 1797, he was court-martialed with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Freiherr von Werneck but released after two weeks in jail.

Following the death of the Prince of Orange in 1798, Kray became interim Austrian commander in Italy, where he crushed General Barthélemy Schérer at Verona and Magnano in early April 1799. Promoted for his victories to *Feldzeugmeister* (general), he directed the short three-month siege and recapture of Mantua before joining the main Allied army in the victory at Novi in August. In early 1800, he relieved Archduke Charles as commander of the Austrian army in southern Germany, but could not equal the popularity of his predecessor among his men. After de-

feats at Engen and Mösskirch in early May, and aggravated by differences with the *Hofkriegsrat* in Vienna, he signed the Armistice of Parsdorf in July and retired. From 1799 he was *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of Infanterie Regiment 34.

David Hollins

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Courtrai, Battle of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Hungary; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Magnano, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Novi, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Verona, Battle of; Würzburg, Battle of

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**Krüdener, Julie Freiherrin von (1764–1824)**

A Russian visionary, author, and spiritual adviser of Alexander I of Russia, Krüdener claimed to have inspired the tsar’s proposal in 1815 of a Treaty of Holy Alliance among the European monarchs. After leaving her diplomat husband in 1801, Krüdener established herself in Paris, where she mingled with the notable literati of the day, including Germaine de Staël, Benjamin Constant, and François-René de Chateaubriand, and wrote a popular sentimental novel, *Valérie* (1804). She converted to Moravian pietism and traveled throughout Europe, prophesying the imminent approach of the Apocalypse.

Krüdener had come to the attention of Alexander through a lady-in-waiting to the empress, Roxane Stourdza, who mentioned Krüdener’s prophecy concerning the return of Napoleon as a political threat, which was fulfilled on 1 March 1815, when Napoleon, having escaped from Elba, began his march to Paris. Alexander became convinced of Krüdener’s prophetic powers after she arranged a meeting with him in Germany in the summer of 1815. For several months after this significant interview, Krüdener became the spiritual counselor and close confidante of the tsar, accompanying him to Paris, where he continued to seek her advice as he negotiated with the diplomats assembled in the French capital.

The crowning moment of Krüdener’s influence over Alexander came on 11 September 1815, during the tsar’s review of his army on the Feast of St. Alexander Nevsky, his patron and protector. Standing by his side, Krüdener witnessed the march of the troops around seven altars—the mystical number of the Apocalypse—while the Russian

Mass was celebrated. Krüdener's prominent role in the proceedings was remarkable, not least because she was an evangelical Protestant and never a member of the Orthodox Church. On 26 September Francis I of Austria and Frederick William III of Prussia joined Alexander in signing his proposed Treaty of the Holy Alliance, in which they pledged to base all their future decisions on the principles of Christianity. Although many contemporaries believed that Krüdener was instrumental in shaping the Holy Alliance, associates of Alexander, including Stourdzka, denied Krüdener's involvement.

Alexander's interest in the female visionary waned considerably after the signing of the treaty. Over the next few years, Krüdener continued her missionary work in Germany and Switzerland, while repeatedly trying to regain the tsar's favor. They met in secret twice more in 1819 and 1821. Finally, in the spring of 1822, Alexander sent Krüdener an eight-page handwritten letter in which he accused her of neglecting her duties as a loyal subject and a Christian, and urged her to leave St. Petersburg. This time Krüdener heeded his advice and left for her home in Latvia. In 1824, during the tsar's illness, Krüdener once again petitioned for a meeting, but Alexander refused and banished her to the Crimea, where she died later that year.

*Orianne Smith*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de; Constant de Rebecque, Henri-Benjamin; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; Holy Alliance; Staël, Mme Germain de

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### **Kulm, Battle of (29–30 August 1813)**

The Battle of Kulm took place between a French corps under General Dominique Vandamme and elements of the (largely Austrian) Army of Bohemia that it was pursuing after the Battle of Dresden during the 1813 campaign in Germany. Vandamme managed to become surrounded, and his corps was annihilated. This defeat wiped out what little gains Napoleon now had left after his victory at Dresden on 26–27 August.

After its defeat at Dresden, the Army of Bohemia retreated southward through the mountain passes back into Bohemia. Vandamme pursued, expecting to totally destroy the Allied force, making Dresden the decisive victory of the campaign. Napoleon now believed the matter all but decided and had the Old Guard return to Dresden, while

halting the Young Guard at Pirna, on the river Elbe. He was already aware of Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's defeat at Grossbeeren on 23 August and then of Marshal Jacques Macdonald's on the Katzbach three days later. However, the destruction of the main Allied army in Bohemia would more than make up for these setbacks.

Vandamme attempted to get into a position where he could cut off the Allied line of retreat. He moved down the road from Pirna through Peterswalde (now Petrovice) and Tellnitz (Telnice), but the Allies attempted to stop him. The village of Kulm (Chulmlec) lies in a valley, with the steep sides of the Erzgebirge mountain range to the north and the rolling Striesowitz Heights to the south. A relatively small number of men could hold up advancing troops in this bottleneck.

The Allies staged an improvised defense at the village of Priesten (Prestanov), with artillery to their fore, cavalry on the right, and a line of infantry. The first day's action began with an exchange of artillery fire about 11:00 A.M. A determined defense of the village of Straden followed this, but the French prevailed here. More of Vandamme's men arrived, and from 3:00 P.M. the assault on Priesten began. An hour later, the Russians counterattacked and stormed the burning village.

At 5:00 P.M. French reinforcements arrived, and Vandamme sent them in against the Allied center. The Russian Guard Dragoons chased them off, and more Russian Guard cavalry arrived. The Russian 1st Grenadier Division and 2nd Guard Division were reported to be on their way, along with the Prussian Guards. Shortly after 6:00 P.M. the Allied commander in chief, *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, also arrived. Vandamme decided not to send in his men piecemeal but to await more reinforcements. Both sides now consolidated their positions. By the end of the first day, the Allies had checked Vandamme and ensured that the remaining passes into Bohemia were not blocked, as they needed to hold the passes open for a further day to complete their withdrawal from Saxony.

Meanwhile, contact with General Friedrich von Kleist's Prussian corps had been lost. Kleist was attempting to fall back but found all the routes through the hills and woods of southern Saxony to be blocked, bar one—the very one that Vandamme had used. He had little choice but to take a great risk and move along behind the pursuing French.

Other than Kleist, Schwarzenberg had his entire army available for the second day of battle. The divisions under *Feldmarschalleutnants* Hieronymous Graf von Colloredo-Mansfeld and Vincenz Freiherr von Bianchi had arrived during the night and were rested. The position around Priesten was reinforced. Vandamme expected the Young Guard would arrive to support him. Other troops had

come up that night, and he started the day with 39,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 82 guns.

Of the 14,000 Russians that had faced Vandamme the previous day, 6,000 were dead or wounded, but now Schwarzenberg had 41,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 136 guns at his disposal. His plan was to pin down the French frontally, while Colloredo went around their left flank. News arrived that Kleist was moving on the rear of Vandamme's position, and the battle was to begin once he had reached Tellnitz. The fighting commenced at 7:00 A.M. on the Allied left. An hour later, the leading elements of Bianchi's and Colloredo's divisions arrived at the village of Karbitz, and the flanking maneuver began.

Colloredo moved through the village of Herbitz and deployed on the Striesowitz Heights, threatening the French left and rear. Supported by Bianchi, he commenced his attack about 9:30 A.M. Quiot's brigade was sent to meet Colloredo and for a while held him up. Meanwhile, General Philibert Duhesme withdrew his brigade to the Wappling Heights but was slowly pushed back farther toward Kulm. Schwarzenberg now wanted to press on.

At this point, Kleist appeared in Vandamme's rear, forcing him to detach troops to hold him up. Vandamme was still anticipating the arrival of the Young Guard. Kleist had commenced his march at 5:00 A.M., moving from Fürstenwalde through Rudoldsdorf and Nollendorf. Learning from French prisoners that Vandamme was engaging the Allies at Kulm, he accelerated the pace of his march.

Kleist's artillery opened fire on the French about 10:30 A.M. The Allies at first thought that Vandamme had received reinforcements, but when Kleist's point reached Tellnitz about midday, Vandamme realized that he was encircled. Taking men from his front line, he attacked the Prussians, hoping to brush them out of his way and break out of the trap. Vandamme was prepared to sacrifice his artillery if he could cut his way through the Prussians with his infantry. Along the entire front, the battle now reached its crescendo.

For a time it was touch and go for the Prussians, and their line came close to collapsing. However, they held on and by 2:00 P.M. it was clear that Vandamme's attempt to break out would not succeed. Disorganized groups of men fled into the hills, hoping to find a way out. Thousands were taken prisoner, and Vandamme's corps ceased to exist. He was taken prisoner along with his aide, General François, baron Haxo. In all, the French lost 15,000 to 17,000 men, nearly half as prisoners, 2 eagles, and 82 guns. The Russians lost around 6,000 men, and Kleist's corps was mauled. Victory came at a high price, but now the French were retreating on all fronts.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Dresden, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Katzbach, Battle of the; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Oudinot, Nicholas Charles; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René

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### **Kulnev, Jacob Petrovich (1763–1812)**

Russian general and cavalry commander. Born to a noble family from the Vitebsk *gubernia* (province), Kulnev studied in the Cadet Corps and was commissioned a lieutenant to the Chernigov Infantry Regiment in March 1785. Late that year he joined the St. Petersburg Dragoon Regiment and participated in the Russo-Turkish War from 1787 to 1792. Kulnev was assigned to the Perejaslavl Horse *Jäger* Regiment on 15 November 1789 and fought in Poland in 1792–1794, distinguishing himself in the actions at Oshmyani, Lida, Kobryn, Brest-Litovsk (promoted to *rotmistr*), and Praga (promoted to major). In 1797–1798 and from 1801 to 1806 he served in the Sumsk Hussar Regiment but did not participate in any military operations. He transferred to the Grodno Hussar Regiment as a lieutenant colonel in late 1806.

Kulnev participated in the 1807 campaign in Poland, fighting at Guttstädt, on the Passarge River, at Heilsberg, and at Friedland, and was promoted to colonel. In 1808 during the Russo-Swedish War, he served under Prince Peter Bagration in Finland and distinguished himself commanding the advance guard. He took part in the actions at Kalaioki, Pihaioki, Sikaioki, Lappo, Kuortane, Salmi, and Oravais. Kulnev became a major general in December 1808. The next year he led his troops to the Aland Islands and was among the first to reach continental Sweden across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia. He was appointed *chef* of the Byelorussia Hussar Regiment in April 1809.

After the war, Kulnev briefly remained in Finland as an assistant to General Nikolay Demidov, who garrisoned the Aland Islands. In 1810 Kulnev accompanied General Nikolay Kamenski to the Danubian Principalities and assumed command of the Russian advance guard during the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812. He fought at Ruse, Silistra, Shumla, and Batin. However, he had an argument with General Kamenski during the Battle of Batin and left the army. He became *chef* of the Grodno Hussar Regiment on 29 January 1811. During the 1812 campaign he commanded the advance guard of General Wittgenstein's corps and fought in rearguard actions at Wilkomir and Druya.

He defeated the French at Klyastitsy on 31 July but recklessly attacked French forces near the same location on 1 August; Kulnev was mortally wounded when a French artillery shot carried away both his legs. He was initially buried on the battlefield, but his remains were then transferred to Ilsenberg in the Vitebsk *gubernia* in 1831.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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### **Kutaisov (Kutaysov), Alexander Ivanovich, Count (1784–1812)**

Russian general and artillery commander. He enlisted as a vice *vakhmistr* (a noncommissioned officer rank) in the Life Guard Horse Regiment in January 1793 and rose to *vakhmistr* that December. In January 1796 Kutaisov transferred as a sergeant to the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment and on the same day was appointed as captain to the Veliki Lutsk Infantry Regiment. That November he became *ober-provianmeister* (a noncommissioned officer in charge of supply) in the headquarters of General Mikhail Kutuzov's corps on the Finnish border.

In 1798 the fourteen-year-old Kutaisov became general *lieutenant-proviantmeister* with a rank of lieutenant colonel. His actual service began at fifteen, when he was promoted to colonel and appointed to the Life Guard Artillery Battalion in February 1799. He studied artillery science extensively over the next five years and served as adjutant to artillery Inspector General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov from October 1799 through May 1803. He was transferred to the 2nd Artillery Regiment on 5 July 1803.

Two years later he was dispatched with reinforcements to the main Russian army at Austerlitz but arrived after the battle had ended. Promoted to major general in 1806, Kutaisov served in General Fedor Buxhowden's corps and took part in the Battle of Golymin that December. Kutaisov distinguished himself at the Battle of Eylau, when, commanding the Russian artillery of the right flank, he diverted his batteries to the left flank and halted Marshal Louis Davout's advance.

From May to June 1807 Kutaisov commanded artillery at Lomitten, Heilsberg, and Friedland. He commanded the artillery of General Sergey Golitsyn's corps during the virtually bloodless campaign against Austria in 1809. However, he did not participate in any actions and took a prolonged furlough in 1810. Over the next two years he traveled in Europe, learned six languages (French, German, English, Italian, Turkish, and Arabic), and studied artillery and fortifications in France and Austria. Returning to Russia in the summer of 1811, he served on the Commission on Military Regulations, wrote a treatise on battlefield artillery operations, and contributed articles on the artillery to the *Uchrezhdenie dlia upravleniia bolshoi deistvuiushei armii* (Establishment for the Administration of the Large Active Army). He briefly served as commander of the entire Russian artillery in early 1812 and was appointed commander of the artillery in the 1st Western Army that March.

During the 1812 campaign Kutaisov commanded the rear guard during the initial retreat of the 1st Western Army and was wounded at Kakuviachina, near Vitebsk, in August. He commanded the artillery at Smolensk on 16 August, defending the Malakhov Gates and the Rachenka suburb, and he then took part in the actions at Lubino and Soloveyovo on 19–20 August. At Borodino Kutaisov again commanded the artillery, but he was killed while leading an infantry charge against the French around the Great Redoubt. His body was never recovered and is probably buried in a common grave at Borodino.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Buxhōwden, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Wilhelm), Count; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Golitsyn, Sergey Fedorovich; Golymin, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the

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### **Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince (1745–1813)**

Russian military commander whose leadership contributed substantially to the defeat of the Grande Armée during the campaign of 1812.

Mikhail Kutuzov (Mikhail Illarionovich Golenishev-Kutuzov) was born in St Petersburg, the son of a prominent military engineer who had made his career under Peter the Great. In 1757 Kutuzov began his military education, entering the elite Engineer-Artillery School. There he studied civil and military subjects, learned to speak French and German fluently, and later studied Polish, Swedish, and Turkish.

Kutuzov became a corporal in October 1759, a *kaptenarmus* (a noncommissioned officer in charge of ammunition) that November, and a conductor of the 1st class in 1760. He was left at the school as an instructor of arithmetic and geometry, and served as an assistant to officers teaching courses. In January 1761 Kutuzov became an ensign and the following year, upon his request, he was transferred to the Astrakhan Infantry Regiment commanded by the legendary general Alexander Suvorov. Later that year, he became a *flügel-adjutant* to the military governor of Revel and received promotion to captain in September 1762.

In 1764, again at his request, Kutuzov was sent to Poland, where he stayed for three years in Russian efforts to suppress the Polish mutiny. Late in 1769 Kutuzov petitioned for his transfer to the army of Count Peter Rumyantsev and in 1770–1774 he served in the Russo-Turkish War, fighting the Turks at Ryabaia Mogila, Larga, Kaluga (earning promotion to major), and Poneshta (earning promotion to lieutenant colonel). He served as acting senior quartermaster in the corps under Rumyantsev and Suvorov.

In 1774 Kutuzov was badly wounded and lost an eye in combat near the village of Shumy, in the Crimea. Sent abroad for proper medical treatment, Kutuzov visited Prussia, Austria, Britain, and Holland, studying the military tactics and strategy employed by the armies of those nations and learning about new forms of ammunition and military technology. In 1776 he returned to Russia and for six years served under Suvorov's command in different regions of the Crimea. In 1777 Kutuzov was promoted to colonel and made commander of the Lugansk *pikinernii* (lancer) Regiment, and the next year he commanded the Mariupol Light Horse (*legkokonnyi*) Regiment. In 1782 Kutuzov was promoted to brigadier general and in 1784 to major general.

From 1785 Kutuzov served as commander of the Bug *Jäger* Corps, which was organized on his own initiative. In the course of conducting numerous military exercises he practiced new tactics and wrote a manual of military instruction. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792 he protected the southwestern borders of the Russian Empire; organized the siege of Ochakov, where he was wounded for the second time; and fought at Akkerman, Kaushany (Kauschanan), Bender, and Ismail. For the successful storming of Ismail, Kutuzov was praised by Suvorov, pro-



Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, who held senior command over Russian forces during the French invasion of 1812. His troops fought tenaciously at Borodino, where, having deployed his divisions, Kutuzov did little to influence the slaughter that ensued. (George Dawe [1781–1929]/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

moted to lieutenant general, appointed the military commandant of that town, and made commander of the troops located between the Dniester and the Bug.

Kutuzov had by now established himself as one of the most prominent Russian military commanders. He also proved himself a talented diplomat. In 1792, after briefly serving in Poland, Kutuzov became Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, where he successfully settled several territorial disputes and considerably improved relations between the two empires. Returning to Russia, he served as governor general of the Kazan and Vyatka provinces in 1794 before becoming director of the Land Nobility Military School, where he taught tactics, military history, and other subjects. In December 1797 Kutuzov served briefly on a diplomatic mission to Prussia and succeeded in laying the foundation for future military cooperation between Prussia and Russia in their war against France.

For his diplomatic success in Prussia, Kutuzov was promoted to general of infantry and appointed *chef*

(colonel-proprietor) of the Ryazan Musketeer Regiment and head of the Finland Inspectorate in January 1798. In October 1799 he took command of the expeditionary corps sent to Holland but learned of the end of hostilities upon arrival at Hamburg. Returning home, he served as the military governor of Lithuania (November 1799–July 1801) and became *chef* of the Pskov Musketeer Regiment (November 1799). In the summer of 1800 Kutuzov received command of the newly organized Army of Volhynia and participated in grand maneuvers at Gatchina.

He enjoyed close relations with Tsar Paul and dined with him the evening the tsar was assassinated. Tsar Alexander appointed Kutuzov as military governor of St. Petersburg in June 1801 but relieved him of this position in September 1802. He retired to his estate of Goroshki in Volhynia, where he remained for the next two years.

In 1805 Russia formed the Third Coalition with Austria, Britain, and Sweden. Alexander recalled Kutuzov to military duties and appointed him commander of one of two Russian armies active in the campaign. In September and October Kutuzov led his army to join the Austrians, but the latter were defeated by Napoleon at Ulm on 20 October. Facing a numerically superior French army, Kutuzov sought to preserve his forces at any price and conducted a celebrated retreat from Braunau to Olmütz, fighting the French near Lambach and Amstetten and defeating Marshal Adolphe Mortier near Dürnstein (Krems). After safely conducting his army to Olmütz, Kutuzov proposed to withdraw closer to the Russian frontiers and await reinforcements but was ignored by the tsar and his entourage, who forced Kutuzov to move his tired army to Austerlitz in Moravia. There, on 2 December, together with the Austrians, he was decisively defeated, largely blamed for the disaster, and relieved of command.

In September 1806 Kutuzov was appointed military governor of Kiev. In 1808 he was sent to advise Field Marshal Alexander Prozorovsky, commander in chief of the (Russian) Army of Moldavia, but disagreed with him over strategy. As a result, Kutuzov was recalled from active service and appointed military governor of Vilna in July 1809.

In 1811, as the Russo-Turkish War entered its fifth year, Alexander felt obliged to appoint Kutuzov as commander of the Army of Moldavia with the hope of a quick victory over the Turks. In July 1811 he crushed the Turkish army near Rushchuk (now Ruse) and Silistra, where he surrounded and captured some 40,000 enemy troops, so securing Russia's decisive victory over the Ottoman Empire. Despite French and British pressure, Kutuzov succeeded in concluding a treaty at Bucharest on relatively favorable terms for Russia on 28 May 1812. The treaty was important because it secured the southern borders of Russia on the eve of the war against France in June.

At the start of the Russian campaign Kutuzov was in St. Petersburg. While the two main Russian armies were led by generals Mikhail Barclay de Tolly and Prince Peter Bagration, Kutuzov was elected head of the St. Petersburg Militia and then the Moscow Militia. After the surrender of Smolensk to the French, however, Alexander was forced to concede to the pressure both of public opinion and of the military by appointing Kutuzov commander in chief of all Russian armies. Hailed by the populace along his route, Kutuzov joined his forces near Tsarevo-Znaimische on 29 August.

Kutuzov's strategy was to wear down the French by engaging them in incessant minor engagements while retreating and preserving his main army. However, under public pressure and against his better judgment, he decided to stand and fight near Moscow. On 7 September, near the village of Borodino, the main encounter of the campaign took place, when the Russian army of 155,000, including militia, faced Napoleon's army of some 133,000. Kutuzov thwarted all of Napoleon's efforts to inflict a decisive blow against the Russians. Despite enormous losses on both sides, the battle failed to produce a decisive result; the stalemate cost the Russians 44,000 men, while the French suffered at least 33,000 casualties.

Once aware of his immense losses, Kutuzov ordered a withdrawal and, after a council of war in the village of Fili, assumed responsibility for the decision to abandon Moscow to the enemy. By that time, in any event, the Russian army had begun to swell with the arrival of reserves, while in the French rear a partisan war was already under way. By moving his forces to the village of Tarutino, Kutuzov secured the route to Russia's southern provinces where Napoleon might have obtained supplies.

Realizing the gravity of his predicament, Napoleon dispatched his aide-de-camp General Jacques Alexander, comte Lauriston to Russian headquarters to propose peace negotiations. Kutuzov declined the offer, replying that the war had just begun. Napoleon left Moscow on 19 October and moved toward Maloyaroslavets, where Kutuzov had blocked his path. In a bloody battle he forced the French to withdraw along the Smolensk road that had already been wrecked by the armies in the summer.

Shifting to the offensive, the Russian army struck blows against the retreating French at Viazma, Liakhovo, and Krasnyi. Kutuzov did not pursue the French vigorously, however, preferring not to engage them in decisive battles but rather to allow severe weather and lack of supplies to destroy the enemy. Thus, Kutuzov's reluctance to come to grips with the French contributed to Napoleon's successful (though costly) escape across the Berezina River. In January 1813, in his orders of the day, Kutuzov congratulated his forces for expelling the enemy from Russia.

For his skillful leadership of the Russian army in 1812 Kutuzov was awarded the rank of field marshal and the title of Prince of Smolensk. Kutuzov opposed Alexander's decision to continue the war in Germany and wanted to return the Russian troops to their native soil. As the Russian army advanced through the Duchy of Warsaw, Alexander joined the troops and, as entitled by army regulations, assumed overall command. In any event, Kutuzov became seriously ill, his health rapidly deteriorated, and he died on 28 April 1813 at Bunzlau (now Boleslawiec). His body was brought to St. Petersburg and interred in the newly constructed Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan.

For his active participation in the campaigns of 1805 and 1812, Kutuzov remains the best known of the Russian commanders of the Napoleonic Wars. In addition to his military talents, he proved himself an adept diplomat in his negotiations with the Turks, particularly when he brought hostilities to an end in 1812, thus freeing up Russian troops for service against the French. But while he demonstrated considerable skill at fighting the Turks, Kutuzov enjoyed less success against Napoleon. Keen to attract the favor of the tsar and garner the honors bestowed on those who distinguished themselves on campaign, Kutuzov exceeded even the status of a national hero: He became in the eyes of many a messiah embodying Russian virtue pitted against the scourge of chaos and revolution. Soviet historians, eager to exploit this image of Kutuzov for their own purposes, converted the field marshal into a commander of mythic proportions, when in reality Kutuzov must be seen as highly talented, but by no means the god of war as is portrayed by the more hagiographic texts of the Soviet era.

*Irena Vladimirska*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amstetten, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Borodino, Battle of; Dürnstein, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Moscow, Occupation of; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Turkish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Third Coalition, War of the

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## La Rothière, Battle of (1 February 1814)

During the Allied invasion of France in 1814 the Prussian general Gebhard von Blücher launched an assault on Napoleon's position around this town on 1 February. He had a great superiority in numbers, and many of the French troops were raw conscripts. The heavy snow allowed Napoleon to fight a successful defensive action for most of the day. However, the arrival of General Karl Freiherr von Wrede and his Russo-Bavarian corps on Napoleon's left flank forced him to withdraw. In the action both sides lost around 6,000 men.

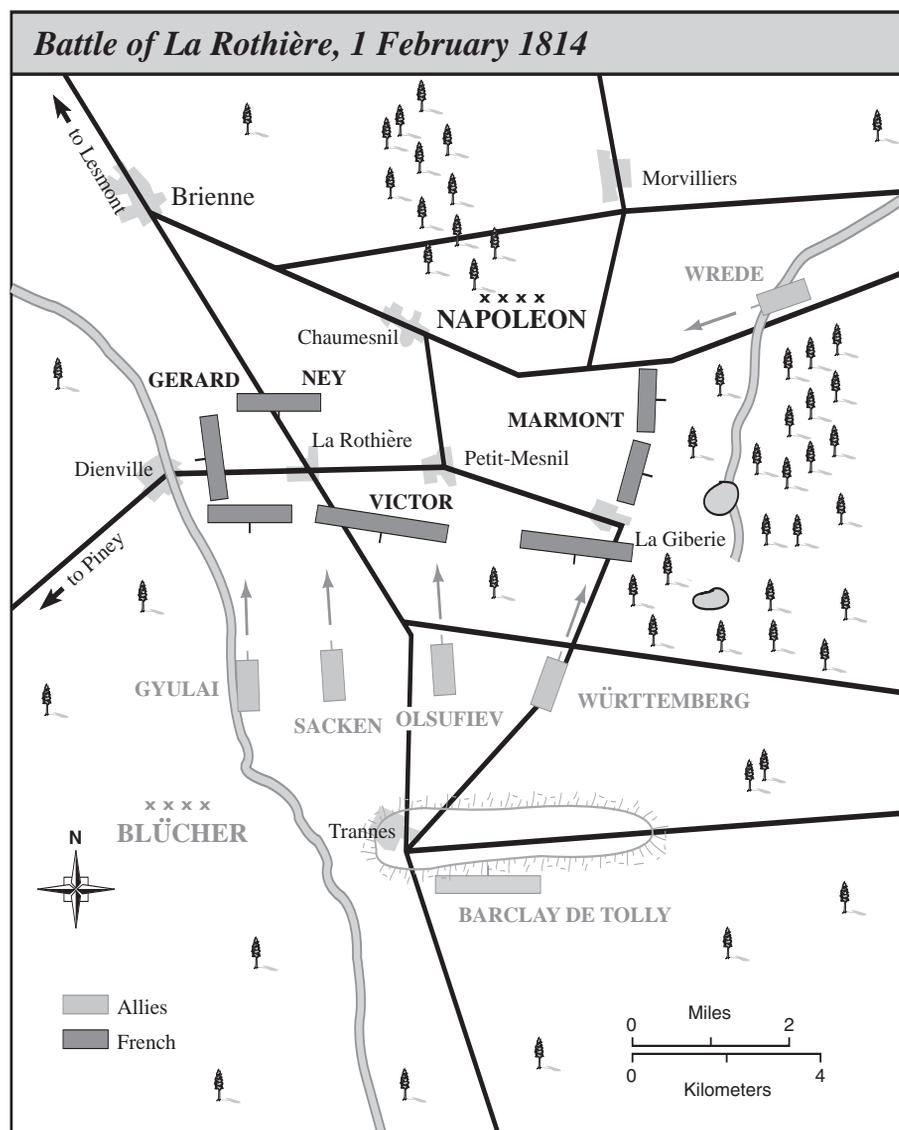
After the Battle of Brienne, Blücher had fallen back to positions north of Trannes, where he had good fields of fire to his front on high ground. During the next two days both sides rested their forces and Napoleon uncharacteristically remained inactive. *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, the Allied commander in chief, gave Blücher two corps, those of *Feldzeugmeister* Ignaz Gyulai Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska and Prince Eugen of Württemberg, to strengthen his forces. Meanwhile the Bavarians under Wrede were to operate on the right flank of the Allied force. Blücher planned his attack for the morning of 1 February. Schwarzenberg could have committed more forces to the attack, but political decisions made it inadvisable to allow the Prussian commander enough troops to destroy Napoleon's forces. Gyulai and Württemberg were ordered not to pursue beyond Brienne. The combined strength of the Allied forces was around 80,000, whereas Napoleon had only 45,000 men under his command. The weather was poor, with frigid temperatures and frequent snow squalls.

Blücher planned to attack the four villages of Dienville, La Rothière, Le Petit Mesnil, and La Giberie with the troops of generals Gyulai, Fabian Osten-Sacken, and Württemberg. Württemberg's troops advanced through the woods to their front and attacked La Giberie, which was held by troops under Marshal Auguste de Marmont. This assault pushed the French out of the village. However

the French rallied and counterattacked, retaking La Giberie. In the center, Marshal Claude Victor held La Rothière and was faced by the cavalry of Osten-Sacken and General Zakhar Dmititrievich Olsufiev's Russian troops. Osten-Sacken had problems in bringing up his artillery, owing to the condition of the ground, and the mud had also prevented Württemberg from making full use of his guns. General Etienne Nansouty, commanding the French cavalry in the center, took advantage of this to launch a charge meant to catch Osten-Sacken in the act of fully deploying his artillery. However the cavalry were driven off by some of the guns firing canister.

By now Osten-Sacken had fully deployed his troops, and his guns began to bombard La Rothière. Within a short time the town was ablaze, and he ordered his troops to begin an assault. The French were almost evicted from the village, but were reinforced and assailed once again by Russian troops. In the fighting that followed Osten-Sacken was nearly captured. On either side of La Rothière a cavalry battle raged between the French cavalry under General Emmanuel de Grouchy and Nansouty and Osten-Sacken's dragoons and hussars. In the melee that followed, some of Osten-Sacken's forces managed to overrun four batteries of horse artillery of the Imperial Guard. However, the French still held La Rothière by the end of the battle.

On the right flank of the French position General Maurice Etienne, comte Gérard held Dienville. Gyulai's Austrian troops were given the task of attacking this village. Gyulai wished to capture the bridge here, but Gérard had time to barricade it. Despite the fact that many of his troops were conscripts, he was able to hold his position. By around 4:00 P.M. Wrede with his Bavarian troops were in a position to attack the left flank of Napoleon's army. Marmont was able to turn his forces to face this threat, but could not prevent the Bavarians from taking the woods of Ajou to their front. There was some confusion in this action as some of Württemberg's cavalry mistook Bavarian cavalry for the enemy and charged them. Württemberg quickly became aware of Wrede's advance and requested



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 55.

his assistance in taking the village of Chaumesnil. To do this Wrede would have to turn his forces to the south, and this would prevent them from falling on the rear of the French. Such a move could have crushed the enemy.

Wrede chose to move against Chaumesnil. Napoleon appreciated the importance of holding this village for the safety of his entire force and ordered Marmont to retake it with a division of the Young Guard. Despite the ferocious attack of the French, the Bavarians held on to parts of the village, helped by the poor visibility caused by darkness and the snow. Würtemberg had by now completed the capture of La Giberie and Le Petit Mesnil, but his forces were too exhausted to advance further. At La Rothière, Blücher had been reinforced by a force of Russian grenadiers commanded by General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly. Blücher organized one more assault on the town.

The French had also been reinforced, Marshal Nicolas Oudinot having been ordered by Napoleon to defend the village with further troops drawn from the Young Guard. The clash between these enemy formations was bloody, but eventually the Russians forced the French out. Once more, however, the Allied pursuit was halted, this time by Napoleon deploying a number of guns of the Imperial Guard under the command of General Antoine, comte Drouot.

By the early evening Napoleon had managed to resist all attacks, but he had lost around 6,000 men and a large amount of artillery. Allied forces had lost a similar number. Napoleon, however, knew that if he remained in his position he would be surrounded the next day and crushed. By 9:00 P.M. he had dictated orders for a withdrawal to the north covered by Marmont.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brienne, Battle of; Drouot, Antoine, comte; France, Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Gyulai, Ignaz Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska; Imperial Guard (French); Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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### Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de (1757–1834)

Liberal French soldier and noble statesman, distinguished in the American Revolution as an aide to General George Washington and in the French Revolutionary Wars fighting to defend France from invasion. He was born on 6 September 1757 in Château Chavagnac, Auvergne, to Michel Roche Gilbert du Motier, marquis de Lafayette, and Marie Louise, daughter of Joseph Yves Hyacinthe, marquis de la Rivière. His father was killed at the Battle of Minden in 1759 during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and young Lafayette was taken to Paris for his education in 1768 at the College of Louis Le Grand and the Military Academy at Versailles. Upon his mother's death he inherited a fortune in 1770.

He served at court as a page to Queen Marie Leczinska (wife of Louis XV) and received a commission as a lieutenant in the royal musketeers who defended the king. In 1774 he married Anastasie Adrienne de Noailles. After the American colonies declared their independence in 1776, Lafayette determined to aid the cause of liberty and strike a blow against the British, whom he held responsible for the death of his father. Silas Deane, the American minister in Paris, gave him a letter of introduction to Congress, at the time situated at Philadelphia, and he received a major general's commission in the Continental Army in July 1777, attached to George Washington's staff. Lafayette distinguished himself throughout the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783).

Lafayette served in the Assembly of Notables in 1787, discussing reform measures with King Louis XVI, and in 1789 he represented the nobility from Auvergne in demanding a meeting of the Estates-General. When the French Revolution began, he served in the National Assembly, advocating a constitutional monarchy and supporting the Constitution of 1791. He was appointed commander of the National Guard on 15 July 1789—the day after the storming of the Bastille—serving until 18 September 1791. He was charged with protecting the king and Queen Marie Antoinette. Lafayette advocated the end of feudalism and its privileges, religious toleration, penal code reform, and freedom of the press, but his moderate views made him suspect as the Jacobins rose to power in 1793. He had been rapidly promoted, serving as a lieutenant general from 30 June 1791, and after 6 December 1791 he commanded one of three armies guarding the French frontiers.

Following the declaration of war against Austria on 20 April 1792 he was given command of 52,000 troops to defend France between Philippeville and Lauterburg. A coalition had been formed to invade France, restore the king, and end the Revolution, and Lafayette strove to defend his homeland. While encamped at Maubeuge on 16 June 1792 he wrote a letter to the National Assembly denouncing radical Jacobin policies. He came to Paris on 28 June to defend his views. Finding Paris enflamed and radicalized, Lafayette planned to evacuate the royal family from Paris, but the king was charged with conspiring with the enemies of France and imprisoned in August. Lafayette broke with the Assembly, refusing to follow their directives. The Assembly countered by removing Lafayette from command. He then fled to Belgium, was captured by the Austrians, and was turned over to the Prussians, who imprisoned him at Wesel, then at Magdeburg. He was offered his freedom in exchange for his collaboration, but he refused and was placed in prison at Ohnutz, in Austria. In Britain, Charles James Fox, William Wilberforce, and Richard Sheridan worked for his release. In 1795 Lafayette's wife and two daughters, Anastasie and Virginie, joined him in captivity. In September 1797 he was released as a result of Bonaparte's victories and the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio. Following a brief stay in Holstein and Holland, Lafayette returned to France in March 1800, following the collapse of the Directory, and retired to his castle of La Grange in Brie.

During the Consulate and the Empire, Lafayette refused to become involved in French politics, declining Napoleon's offers of the Cross of the Legion of Honor—which he believed too elitist—a senatorship, and an appointment as ambassador to the United States. He was too much of a constitutionalist to have worked with either the Jacobins or the Bonapartists. So well respected was he in America that President Jefferson offered him the post of

governor of Louisiana in 1805, but Lafayette desired to remain in France. Following Napoleon's escape from Elba and the Waterloo campaign, Joseph Bonaparte sought Lafayette's support, but this was refused.

Following Waterloo, Lafayette worked for Napoleon's abdication, returned to public service as a representative from Seine-et-Marne, attempted but failed to provide Napoleon with an escape to the United States, and from 1818 to 1824 served in the Chamber of Deputies. Visiting the United States in 1824–1825 for fourteen months with his son (named after George Washington) as a guest of President James Monroe, he was received everywhere as a hero who had aided the American Revolution. In honoring him at the White House on his sixty-eighth birthday in 1825, Congress granted him \$200,000 plus 24,000 acres of public lands. Upon his return to France he was elected again to the Chamber of Deputies in 1827–1834. During the revolution in France in 1830 against the Bourbons he supported Louis-Philippe's bid for the throne, believing Louis-Philippe would introduce true constitutional government. Upon Lafayette's death, 20 May 1834, this nobleman of liberal politics was buried in Picpus Cemetery with earth from Bunker Hill sprinkled over his grave.

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*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Directory, The; Elba; French Revolution; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; National Guard (French)

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### La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of (25 March 1814)

The Battle of La-Fère-Champenoise was fought during the campaign in France in 1814 between the bulk of the Allied forces and the isolated French marshals Auguste de Marmont and Adolphe Mortier. Mortier and Marmont were both trying to meet up with Napoleon in Vitry; on the evening of 24 March, Marmont was at Soudé-St. Croix, and Mortier was marching toward him from Vertus. Other French detachments were scattered at Vertus and Sézanne, and the whole of them were boxed in by Allied corps. The

Allied leaders had ignored Napoleon's attempt to draw them east in the Battle of St. Dizier, and, through the knowledge gained from intercepted imperial messages to Paris, sought instead to gain the capital before Napoleon could return there. Tsar Alexander in particular successfully urged sending the troops to Paris rather than chasing down Napoleon in the east.

The first engagement in the battle occurred in the morning, between Allied cavalry forces and Marmont's troops. Throughout the day, the Allies were able to reinforce their cavalry against the combined might of Marmont and Mortier, whose own cavalry was in disarray. The French forces were saved, albeit temporarily, when the Allied commander, Eugen, Prince of Württemberg, decided to await the arrival of his infantry before continuing the attack. In the meantime, the detached French forces under the command of generals Michel-Marie Pacthod and François Amey were attacked on all sides from several elements of the Allied forces, particularly from cavalry and Russian artillery. By the end of the day, the French forces under Marmont, Mortier, Pacthod, and Amey lost about 10,000 men and 60 guns, while the Allies lost a fifth of that number. Marmont and Mortier were pushed back toward Paris against the weight of Allied forces, which at this point numbered around 180,000 men.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; France, Campaign in; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; St. Dizier, Battle of

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### Laffrey, Incident at (7 March 1815)

The encounter at Laffrey, on 7 March 1815, took place on a field 15 miles south of Grenoble. It was Napoleon's first meeting with royalist troops after his escape from Elba. The battalion of infantry sent to bar Napoleon's way defected and opened the road to Grenoble, which rallied to the former emperor. This was the beginning of his triumphal march to Paris.

Before Napoleon's arrival, the prefect, Joseph Fourier, and the commandant of Grenoble, General Jean-Gabriel Marchand, both decided to remain loyal to the king. Even so, there was little they could do to prevent Napoleon's

progress. Signs of defection had already appeared among the garrison at Grenoble. By way of defense, Marchand sent a company of engineers to blow up the mountain bridge at Ponthaut. Shortly afterward, he dispatched a battalion of infantry, commanded by Colonel Delessart, to support the demolition. Napoleon's troops had already secured the bridge, however, and the engineers tore the white cockades from their shakos to join the invaders. Delessart, finding the bridge in enemy hands, withdrew toward Grenoble and bivouacked for the night.

The following day Napoleon's 1,000 troops moved north and found Delessart and his men protecting the road to Grenoble. The result was the famous encounter at Laffrey. The battalion of the 5th Regiment of the Line formed ranks, blocking passage to Grenoble. Napoleon's grenadiers, their muskets pointing to the ground, marched to within 50 yards. For several hours they faced each other, neither wanting to make the first move, which would lead to bloodshed. Knowing that the first military engagement would spark civil war, Napoleon gambled. He walked out from behind his grenadiers to within pistol range of the royal troops. He threw open his coat and said, "Soldiers of the 5th, you can shoot your Emperor if you dare! Do you not recognize me as your Emperor? Am I not your old general?" (Chandler 1966, 1011). His old soldiers could bear it no longer, threw down their weapons, and ran to his side.

In the city, preparations were being made to repel the invaders, but, now that a battalion of their comrades were among the enemy, it was unlikely that the garrison would fire on them. Before their arrival another regiment defected. To the beat of drums, Colonel Charles de Labédoyère formed his 7th Regiment of the Line and charged out the Bonne Gate, the point of Napoleon's anticipated arrival. It was this regiment that Fourier and Marchand had believed would steady the other troops. By nightfall, soldiers on the ramparts were dropping over the wall to join the Emperor. Upon Napoleon's arrival, a crowd of peasants, some said as many as 2,000, arrived carrying torches, pitchforks, and old muskets. They escorted the troops to the city gate and acclaimed Napoleon with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Not a shot was fired; the gates remaining closed only because Marchand had taken the key. Local workmen inside and military engineers outside soon broke the gate down, and Napoleon was carried into town on the shoulders of the inhabitants.

Doug Harmon

See also Elba; Waterloo Campaign

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### Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, chevalier de (1744–1829)

Jean-Baptiste Lamarck was a naturalist and an early champion of the idea that biological species change over time. A younger son of a noble family from southern France, Lamarck joined the French Army in 1760 and retired from it in 1768. He went to Paris where he published a three-volume guide to the plants of France, *French Flora* (1779). Lamarck's great energy and ability won him admission to the Royal Academy of Sciences. He continued to progress through the academy, reaching the highest level of pensionary in 1790, but had to defend his position amid the storm of the French Revolution.

Despite suspicion aroused by his noble ancestry, Lamarck managed the transition from monarchy to republic smoothly, being appointed Professor of Insects and Worms at the inaugural opening of the Museum of Natural History in 1794. The year 1801 saw the fruit of Lamarck's work connected with his professorship, the *System of Invertebrate Animals*. Lamarck strongly believed in the mutability of species, setting him against Georges Cuvier, who believed with equal firmness that species were "fixed," unchanging over time. Cuvier also argued that species frequently went extinct, while Lamarck denied the possibility.

Lamarck's vision of species change (he did not use the word *evolution*) was not random but progressive. Nature drove the creation of a continuous series of ever-more-complex living forms. Lamarck did not regard nature as an autonomous force, nor was he a vitalist who ascribed this drive to complexity to a "life force" not explainable in mechanical terms. Instead he saw the drive to complexity as a function of the circulation of the "subtle fluids," electricity and caloric, the fluid of heat, which combined with the material structure to form living things.

Lamarck is often identified with the idea of inheritance of acquired characteristics, a concept overthrown by modern genetics. This idea was not original to Lamarck, however, and although important was not central to his thought. The concept Lamarck used to explain change was

habit rather than conscious intention. Habit forms channels for the more easy circulation of the subtle fluids along certain paths. The giraffe developed a long neck over generations as the result of the habit of straining to reach the higher branches of trees to eat the leaves. Conversely, lack of use, as in the case of the eyes of the mole, causes the subtle fluids to stop circulating, and eventually the decay of an organ or faculty. Lamarck's theory, for which he provided little evidence, attracted few followers and many opponents. Some opposed the theory's materialism and its denial of the need for a divine designer and creator. Cuvier simply refused to take Lamarck's theory seriously. Despite Cuvier's ridicule, Lamarck's ideas were not forgotten, and they contributed to pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory.

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*See also* Chaptal, Jean Antoine; Science, Exploration, and Technology (contextual essay)

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### Landrecies, Battle of (26 April 1794)

The Battle of Landrecies was the opening encounter in General Jean-Charles Pichegru's spring 1794 campaign against the Allied forces in Flanders. Pichegru hoped to relieve the garrison of Landrecies, which had recently come under siege. The battle was badly fought by the French. The Allies also captured Pichegru's plans for the campaign, permitting them to reinforce the sectors that were to be attacked by Pichegru's Armée du Nord (Army of the North), the principal French army in the field against the forces of the First Coalition.

Pichegru had proven his ability in fighting on the Rhine and hoped to repeat his successes against Allied forces in Flanders. He faced an army composed of contingents from various countries. Britain had supplied a number of cavalry and infantry units and had paid for additional units from several small German states. Austrian units comprised the bulk of the army facing Pichegru, under Friedrich Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg). The Allies had thus far enjoyed success against the French, pushing them back toward the French border until the offensive halted on 20 April. Pichegru responded by ordering the divisions of his right wing to relieve Landrecies. The number of French troops under arms had increased greatly, but many were poorly armed and all lacked training in drill and formations. The

divisions were placed under the immediate command of General Antoine François Ferrand. Ferrand began his approach march on 24 April. On the twenty-sixth, he opened the battle.

Pichegru's plan for Landrecies was simple. The major attack was to be carried out by the division under General René-Bernard Chapuis, composed of 25,000 men. These were to make a frontal attack on the Allied lines. Poor maneuvering delayed Chapuis, giving the Allies time to prepare, and in the interim Anglo-German units under the Duke of York counterattacked. Allied cavalry was especially effective against Chapuis's poorly trained troops, who were unable to form squares, the traditional defense against mounted attack. Chapuis's left wing was routed, and the survivors fled back to Cambrai. Chapuis himself was captured, along with a complete set of Pichegru's plans for the campaign.

While Chapuis came to grief, a flanking column of about 10,000 men under General Jacques Ferrand swung round the Allied left to attack Landrecies from the east. They failed to coordinate their attack with Chapuis's column, allowing the Allies to shift reserves to meet each attack in turn. Ferrand's attack was met by stubborn resistance from Austrian troops under Archduke Charles, leaving the French commander to withdraw to his original position. Landrecies surrendered on 30 April.

French losses at Landrecies totaled around 7,000 men and 40 cannon. Allied losses were approximately 2,000.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Landshut, Battle of (21 April 1809)

The main battle of Landshut took place when a French force under Marshal Jean Lannes was following up the withdrawal of part of the Austrian army under the command of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hiller. Hiller decided to defend the town of Landshut, but was outflanked by Marshal André Masséna. A determined assault on Landshut forced Hiller to withdraw.

There were in fact two engagements at Landshut. The first occurred on 16 April when Hiller pushed a defending

Bavarian division out of the town. Five days later, after the French victory at Abensberg, the left wing of the Austrian army withdrew on Landshut (this force was once more led by Hiller). Napoleon believed that this was the main Austrian army and ordered Lannes to pursue the enemy. Lannes's troops caught up with Hiller on the twenty-first. Hiller had decided to defend Landshut to allow his baggage train to withdraw. At Landshut the Isar River was spanned by two bridges with a small island in the center. Hiller had positioned cavalry outposts to the north of the town. His main force was deployed in Landshut and to the south on higher ground. Early in the morning Hiller was informed that a French force had crossed the Isar upstream at Moosberg. Masséna led this force.

Hiller realized that he would be unable to hold his position for long. At this point his cavalry were forced back by Lannes's troops and the Austrians were pushed back into Landshut. The French now quickly seized the northern bridge over the river, and the Austrians withdrew into the main part of the town to defend the southern bridge. The Austrians tried to set fire to this second bridge, but owing to the rainfall over the previous days, this was only partially successful. However the Austrians did manage to close the gates at the end of the bridge. The French were now faced with attacking across the smoldering bridge. Napoleon ordered his aide General Georges Mouton (later comte de Lobau) to assume command of the attacking grenadiers of the 17th Line. In the face of heavy Austrian fire from all sides, Mouton ordered his men to attack without firing their muskets. The grenadiers reached the gateway and broke it down, allowing Bavarian troops to quickly reinforce the breach.

The fighting now continued in the streets of Landshut itself. However the French had crossed a bridge immediately to the west of the town and were now entering Landshut from the south. Many of the defenders were captured, but Hiller was able to retreat with the bulk of his force toward Neumarkt. Landshut finally fell to the French just after noon. The Austrian force had suffered around 9,000 casualties, but more importantly they had lost a large number of caissons, a pontoon train, and thousands of supply wagons. The victorious French forces spent much of the afternoon ransacking these supplies.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Lannes, Jean; Masséna, André

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### **Langeron, Louis Alexander Andrault (1763–1831)**

Russian general and corps commander. He was born Louis Alexander Andrault, chevalier comte de Langéron (to mention but one of many other aristocratic titles) and enlisted at the age of fifteen as a *sous-lieutenant* in the French Guards (*Gardes Français*). He later served at Caracas and St. Domingue in 1782–1783. In 1786 he was promoted to assistant colonel of the regiment of Médoc and then colonel of the Armagnac Regiment in 1788. He accompanied the Prince of Nassau to Russia in 1789 and the next year entered Russian service as a colonel in the Siberia Grenadier Regiment. Langeron distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Swedes, especially at Bjork, and commanded the Russian left wing in the battle at Rochensalmi. In 1790–1791, he fought the Turks at Ismail, where he was wounded, and at Macin.

With Catherine II's permission, Langeron served in the army of *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) against the French in the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium and Luxembourg), and, on his return to Russia, he was sent as a military observer to the Austrian army in northern France and Flanders in 1793–1794. In August 1795 he transferred to the Malorossiisk (Little Russia) Grenadier Regiment and rose to brigadier in July 1796. He became a major general and *chef* of the Ufa (Ufimsky) Musketeer Regiment in June 1797. Under Tsar Paul, Langeron was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire. He was given the rank of lieutenant general in November 1798 and appointed *chef* of the Riga (Ryazhsky) Musketeer Regiment in May 1799. Langeron became the head of the Brest Inspection in August 1800.

Langeron took part in the campaign of 1805 against Napoleon and commanded Russian troops on the Allied left flank at Austerlitz. He was one of the two generals disgraced after the War of the Third Coalition and was sent to Odessa. In 1806–1811, he served in the (Russian) Army of Moldavia against the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War. He fought at Giurgiu, Silistra, Frasin, Derekoy, and Ruse. Langeron took command of the 22nd Division in August 1810 and temporarily commanded the Army of Moldavia after General Nikolay Kamenski's death. He participated in the decisive battle at Ruse in 1811 for which he was promoted to general of infantry in September 1811. In 1812 Langeron commanded the 1st Corps of the Army of the Danube and took part in the actions at Brest-Litovsk and on the Berezina.

During the campaign in Germany in 1813, Langeron was in charge of the blockade of Thorn and later commanded a corps, with which he participated in various engagements, major and minor, including Königswarte, Bautzen, Zibeneichen, Lowenberg, Holdberg, the Katzbach, Hartau, Bischofsward, and Leipzig. In 1814 he led his corps at Soissons, Craonne, Laon, Rheims, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre. In late 1814 Langeron commanded the 4th and 6th Corps in Volhynia and marched toward the French frontier during the Hundred Days. He had reached the Rhine when Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo and therefore turned back for Russia.

After the war, Langeron was appointed military governor of Kherson and Odessa; commander in chief of the Bug and Black Sea Cossack Hosts; and governor of the Ekaterinoslavl, Kherson, and Tavrida *gubernias* (provinces) on 28 November 1815. He fought in numerous actions during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829. He died as a result of the cholera epidemic that struck in St. Petersburg in 1831.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Craonne, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Katzbach, Battle of the; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Paul I, Tsar; Rheims, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Turkish War; Third Coalition, War of the

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### Lannes, Jean (1769–1809)

The son of a poor family from southwestern France, Lannes had a brilliant military career as a general serving under Napoleon. Short, profane, and ill mannered, the aggressive young officer was in his element on the battlefield. Lannes first distinguished himself as a daring field commander during Napoleon’s Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, then in fighting in Egypt and Syria. From his early years with Napoleon, Lannes made his units the spearhead in the aggressive offensives that characterized the operations of the French army, but he also developed into a skilled practitioner of siege warfare and, at Friedland in

1807, he fought a brilliant defensive battle against overwhelming odds. Napoleon developed a deep personal affection for this valuable subordinate. As a corps commander, Lannes saw action at Austerlitz (1805) and distinguished himself at Jena (1806) as well as at Friedland. Placing himself in the thick of combat in the 1809 campaign against Austria, he personally led the assault on Ratisbon (now Regensburg), only to be killed in action at Aspern-Essling shortly thereafter.

Jean Lannes was born in Lectoure, a small town in Gascony, on 10 April 1769. He came from a modest background, some authorities indicating that his father was a peasant farmer, others suggesting that he had managed to become a poor merchant. In any case, prospects were limited for Jean, the fifth of eight children, and he received only a cursory education. Tutored briefly by an older brother, he soon began his working life as an apprentice to a local dyer. Possibly he served briefly in the pre-1789 army. As France mobilized her young men for war in the spring of 1792, Lannes joined a local battalion of volunteers. Although he lacked formal qualifications, his comrades elected him a lieutenant, and, starting in the spring of 1793 Lannes served in the Army of the Pyrenees against Spain. By December of that year, and only twenty-four years old, he had risen to the rank of colonel.

Following the close of the war against Spain in the spring of 1795, Lannes received orders to join the (French) Army of Italy. He took command of a brigade in November 1795 and the following spring participated in Bonaparte’s campaign against the Austrian and Sardinian forces in the mountains above the Italian Riviera. Napoleon soon came to rely on the aggressive young Gascon to lead rapid and daring offensives such as the march along the southern bank of the river Po to Piacenza. At Piacenza, Lannes was the first French soldier to reach the enemy side of the river. In May 1796, Bonaparte promoted the young man from Gascony to the rank of *général de brigade*. Lannes’s reputation as one of Bonaparte’s reliable commanders grew steadily. He was wounded four times, twice at the Battle of Arcola—he would in fact be wounded ten times during the course of his entire military career—and he took on such dirty but essential tasks as repressing Italian partisans in the rear of the French army as well as putting down French royalist factions back in Marseilles.

A close personal friendship between Bonaparte and Lannes developed in the midst of these military events. Lannes had the notable and rare privilege of addressing Bonaparte using the French familiar form of *tu* rather than the more formal *vous* other senior officers had to use. Bonaparte included Lannes in the expedition to Egypt in 1798, and Lannes was among the small group who accom-



Marshal Lannes commanded a corps in the campaigns of 1805–1807. While serving in Spain in 1809 he captured Saragossa after a horrendous siege. He died later the same year from wounds received during the campaign against Austria. (Drawing by Jean Baptiste Guerin from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

panied the French commander when he returned to France in August 1799.

The characteristics of Lannes's career evident in Italy were underlined by his service in the Egyptian campaign: displaying daring (even reckless) leadership on the battlefield, suffering but ignoring a new collection of combat wounds, and mounting a pitiless response to revolts by the civilian population. After leading a brigade in the initial advance on Cairo, Lannes brutally suppressed a revolt by the population of the Egyptian capital. His forces led the way during Bonaparte's advance into Syria in February 1799, and Lannes suffered multiple wounds in assaulting the enemy stronghold at Acre. A bullet that passed through his cheeks and teeth left Lannes with a lisp in his speech and a wound in his neck, which forced him to tilt his neck for the remainder of his life.

Lannes supported Bonaparte's coup against the Directory in late 1799. When Bonaparte ousted the existing government and positioned himself to establish a one-man dictatorship, Lannes commanded the crucial troops stationed in Paris. After participating in this dramatic politi-

cal event, Lannes underwent a drastic change in his personal life, suing his wife for divorce on the grounds of adultery. Wed in 1795, the couple had experienced troubles from the start. Lannes had married a young woman from a family with which he boarded during the campaign in the Pyrenees. Her flirtations with his fellow officers soon followed, and when he was transferred to Italy, she in turn accused him of breaking their marriage vows with illicit liaisons. The final blow to the marriage came during the Egyptian campaign when Madame Lannes gave birth to a child more than a year after her husband's departure for the eastern Mediterranean.

During the 1800 campaign against Austrian forces in Italy, Lannes played his customary role at the leading edge of Bonaparte's offensive. He commanded the advance guard that marched over the Great Saint Bernard Pass into northern Italy, secured the key mountain route for the French army, then struck boldly at the Austrians at Montebello. Montebello was the first time Lannes had exercised an independent command, and his victory there was incorporated into the honors that Bonaparte, as the Emperor Napoleon I, would grant him in 1804, making him duc de Montebello. At Marengo, Lannes joined in the final offensive led by General Louis Desaix that turned the tide of the battle late in the day from an Austrian victory into a French triumph.

In the early years of the new century, Lannes saw his career take a new turn as he filled the post of French minister to Portugal. His relations with Bonaparte had taken an ugly turn when Lannes, appointed head of the Consular Guard (the forerunner of the Imperial Guard), quarreled with Bonaparte over the funds Lannes had allegedly squandered in outfitting this elite unit. The rough soldier had little experience with dishonest military contractors, and Bonaparte insisted that Lannes reimburse the government for the exorbitant costs paid for the unit's uniforms. Financial help from General Pierre Augereau, an old comrade in arms in the Italian campaign, helped Lannes out of his difficulty. The entire sordid episode combined with Lannes's rough personal manner to make him unwelcome as the French dictator set up court in Paris and moved toward establishing himself as emperor. Nonetheless, Lannes's rough edge served France well during his years in Portugal. He forced the Portuguese to remove government officials hostile to France and bullied the small country into signing a treaty of neutrality with Napoleon.

On 19 May 1804 Napoleon made Lannes one of the first group of generals raised to the rank of marshal. Lannes took command of a corps at Boulogne in March 1805, in anticipation of a Channel crossing and a French invasion of the British Isles. As usual, Lannes was to command the vanguard of the army. When Napoleon, in the

fall of the year, decided to abandon this effort and to strike eastward against the Austrians and Russians, Lannes's V Corps of the Grande Armée led the advance. The campaign brought him both glowing success and frustration. In a brilliant ruse, Lannes and Marshal Joachim Murat persuaded the Austrian troops guarding the key Tabor bridge at Vienna that hostilities had ended. Instead of destroying the mined structure and thereby delaying the French advance, the confused enemy forces allowed Lannes's men to take the bridge intact.

At Austerlitz on 2 December, Lannes held the northern sector of the French position against Russian assaults. To his discomfort, other leaders such as Marshal Nicolas Soult, who led the climactic French assault on the enemy lines further to the south, received credit for the army's triumph. Angered at the small role credited to him in official reports of the battle, Lannes abruptly left the army in disgust and returned to France.

The following year, the Jena campaign against Prussia gave Lannes an opportunity to shine. He took on his customary role as leader of the French advance. His V Corps, along with Augereau's VII, were assigned the task of driving northward from Schweinfurt toward Coburg to engage the Prussians. Lannes's units outpaced the slower Augereau, defeating the Prussians at Saalfeld before leading the successful attack at Jena. Although his infantry was hard-pressed to keep up with Murat's cavalry, Lannes nonetheless hustled his forces northward all the way to Stettin on the Baltic to pursue and destroy remnants of the defeated Prussians.

In the winter of 1806–1807 Lannes led his corps into Poland. The barren country left Lannes's forces without adequate food supplies, and the general himself fell ill, most likely having contracted typhus. His physical condition worsened when he was wounded fighting against Russian forces at Pultusk, north of Warsaw, and Lannes took no part in the Battle of Eylau.

When the campaign resumed in the spring, Lannes received command of a newly formed Reserve Corps. He led this force with particular distinction at the Battle of Friedland on 14 June 1807. The possibility of a Russian retreat from northwestern Poland impelled Napoleon to send Lannes to block the enemy at the river Alle. With only 16,000 men on the west bank of the river, Lannes tempted the enemy commander, General Levin Bennigsen, to halt his retreat in order to throw his force of 60,000 Russians across the Alle in attacks that continued for eleven hours. The French leader proved himself a master of defensive warfare, using the rugged terrain and timely redeployments to hold his thin line until Napoleon and sizable French reinforcements arrived by early afternoon.

In the aftermath of the French victory, Lannes received lavish rewards, including a Polish principality. Al-

though he never returned to Poland and chose not to take the title of prince, Lannes benefited from the territory's yearly revenue of more than 2 million francs. Such wealth permitted the former Gascon dyer's apprentice to maintain a lavish country estate along with an elegant town house. In May 1808 Napoleon named Lannes the duc de Montebello, the title based on his victory in Italy eight years earlier. A reward of a different kind came in the fall of that year when Lannes received the high honor of escorting Tsar Alexander I of Russia to the diplomatic gathering at Erfurt.

Like the majority of Napoleon's subordinates, Lannes took part in France's effort to conquer the Iberian Peninsula. The young Gascon general warned Napoleon about the dangers of involvement in Spain, but the Emperor refused his advice and ordered Lannes to accompany him for the campaign in northeastern Spain in the fall of 1808.

Lannes was severely injured in a riding accident while crossing the Pyrenees. Although still in pain, he participated in the series of sweeping offensives in late 1808 under Napoleon's direct control. The Emperor hoped to crush Spanish resistance by personally directing operations. Fighting in the northeastern sector, Lannes won a victory over a Spanish force at Tudela in November. But Spanish resistance did not collapse, and in January 1809 Lannes received the grim task of capturing the city of Saragossa. The population in this key center of Spanish resistance numbered 50,000. Alongside troops in uniform, combatants included a large number of armed and determined civilians, especially monks and nuns from Saragossa's numerous religious bodies. The city's defenders had already frustrated the efforts of another French force the previous summer.

After firing two of the generals who had failed to produce speedy results in a second assault on Saragossa, Napoleon gave the task to Lannes, providing him with two army corps. Lannes took the job reluctantly, well aware that his talents were best suited to maneuvering on the battlefield and preferably on the offensive. He quickly found that the Spanish defenses were too strong to succumb to ordinary assault; Lannes therefore took the city through a slow, bloody process of street-by-street, even house-by-house, fighting. Despite Napoleon's constant calls for speed, it required fifty-two days of combat as Lannes's engineers destroyed fortified houses to permit the steady advance of the French army. Although Lannes took no comfort in adding this new achievement to his record, the eventual capture of Saragossa demonstrated his military versatility.

Lannes carried the sour memory of Saragossa with him when he returned to Paris in April 1809. While he was happy to be away from the indecisive campaigns and fanatical opposition that characterized the fighting in Spain, he

was uncharacteristically gloomy about his future military career. Carrying orders to join Napoleon in the forthcoming campaign against Austria, Lannes stopped to pay a courtesy call on Empress Josephine. In conversation with Napoleon's wife, the young general confessed to having bad feelings about the new war. Other acquaintances who met Lannes before his departure from Paris likewise found him pessimistic about his chances of surviving the upcoming campaign. Nonetheless, he hastened to his new assignment in Bavaria, arriving without his staff but just in time to join in the first major fighting of the campaign.

Lannes played a major role in the campaign's opening stages. French forces under Marshal Louis Davout, advancing toward the main Austrian supply center at Landshut, had found themselves perilously outnumbered by the concentrated forces of Archduke Charles's Austrian army. Along with Marshal André Masséna, Lannes received orders to rush northward to rescue Davout. In successful fighting near Eggmühl, in the central Danube valley south of Ratisbon on 22 April, Lannes was shaken by a sudden personal loss. An Austrian roundshot (cannonball) cut down, at Lannes's side, his chief of staff General Jean-Baptiste Cervoni, a close friend who had served with Lannes since 1796.

The following day, Lannes performed one of his most remarkable feats of arms at the walls of Ratisbon. In Napoleon's view, the Austrian retreat into the strongly fortified medieval city required an immediate French assault. Lannes directed several attacks, but all failed with heavy casualties in the face of a deep moat, high walls, and fusillades of Austrian musketry. In an inspired example of battlefield leadership, Lannes himself grabbed a scaling ladder and moved toward the enemy's defenses. His newly motivated troops followed and swarmed over the Austrian defenses. Lannes continued to display aggressive leadership in the subsequent street fighting that led to the capture of the city.

In command of II Corps, Lannes led the pursuit of the Austrians eastward along the south bank of the Danube. On 10 May, his forces were the first units in the Grande Armée to reach Vienna, but by that time the bulk of the Austrian army had concentrated opposite the city along the northern bank of the Danube. The French now faced the difficult dilemma of crossing a major river in the face of massive enemy resistance.

The attempt to establish a French bridgehead on the Danube's north bank cost Lannes his life. On 21 May, one day after Masséna's corps had led the way, Lannes's forces crossed the single bridge linking the two banks of the Danube via the large island of Lobau in the middle of the river. Lannes held the village of Essling when a ferocious Austrian counterattack struck the French lines. The Austri-

ans combined their offensive with a successful blow sabotaging the crucial French bridge. When the fighting continued on the twenty-second, Lannes held his ground tenaciously in the face of overwhelming Austrian numbers. Nonetheless, a shortage of ammunition among the units on the northern bank, combined with another Austrian success in severing the French bridge across the river, led Napoleon to order a withdrawal.

In the midst of the French pullout, Lannes saw another old battle companion struck down by artillery fire. While mourning his lost friend, Lannes too was hit. Both of his legs were broken, and, as the wounds later became infected with gangrene, his life began slipping away. He died on 31 May after nine days of suffering. One of the most distinguished of Napoleon's fighting generals to have become a marshal of France, Lannes was the first of the marshals to perish on the battlefield.

Neil M. Heyman

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Arcola, Battle of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Brumaire, Coup of; Cairo, Uprising in; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de; Directory, The; Eggmühl, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Erfurt, Congress of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Landshut, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Middle East Campaign; Montebello, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Peninsular War; Pultusk, Battle of; Pyrenean Campaigns; Ratisbon, Storming of; Saalfeld, Action at; Saragossa, Sieges of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Third Coalition, War of the; Tudela, Battle of

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### Laon, Battle of (8–9 March 1814)

Following the Battle of Craonne, Napoleon believed that Marshal Gebhard Blücher von Wahlstatt (generally known simply as Blücher) and his (Russo-Prussian) Army of Silesia were in full retreat. In fact Blücher had ordered the concentration of his forces around the town of Laon. Napoleon assaulted a strong defensive position, primarily with units of the Imperial Guard. He was heavily outnumbered, and the assault failed. On the second day of the battle the Allies could not take advantage of their success of the previous day, due to Blücher's illness. The French were able to withdraw after some desultory fighting, but they could not afford the losses that they had sustained and Napoleon had only delayed the advance of the Prussians.

After the Battle of Craonne, Blücher made the decision to withdraw to the town of Laon and to order all his forces to converge there. He had a fever at that time and decided that he should fight a defensive battle. Laon was a small town on a hill that dominated the river Ardon. The town was walled, and the land around was broken up by swampy ground. Blücher deployed his infantry in the suburbs of Semilly and Ardon, to the south of the town. His batteries covered the roads leading to Rheims and Soissons. The cavalry under the command of the Russian general Ferdinand Winzgorode were positioned to the west of the town. To the east were the forces of Prussian generals Friedrich Graf Kleist von Nollendorf and Johann Graf Yorck von Wartenburg (commonly referred to as Kleist and Yorck, respectively). In reserve were the troops of Russian generals Fabian Osten-Sacken and Louis Langeron.

Blücher was in a strong position with around 90,000 men, but he believed that Napoleon had a roughly comparable force. In this he was very much mistaken, because the French had fewer than 30,000 men. Napoleon, too, was in error in the way in which he approached the forthcoming battle. He believed that after Craonne, Blücher was in headlong retreat and intended to pursue what he believed was only a rear guard.

On the morning of 8 March, Napoleon ordered his Guard to attack down the Soissons road, toward Laon. Marshal Michel Ney was commanding the vanguard and

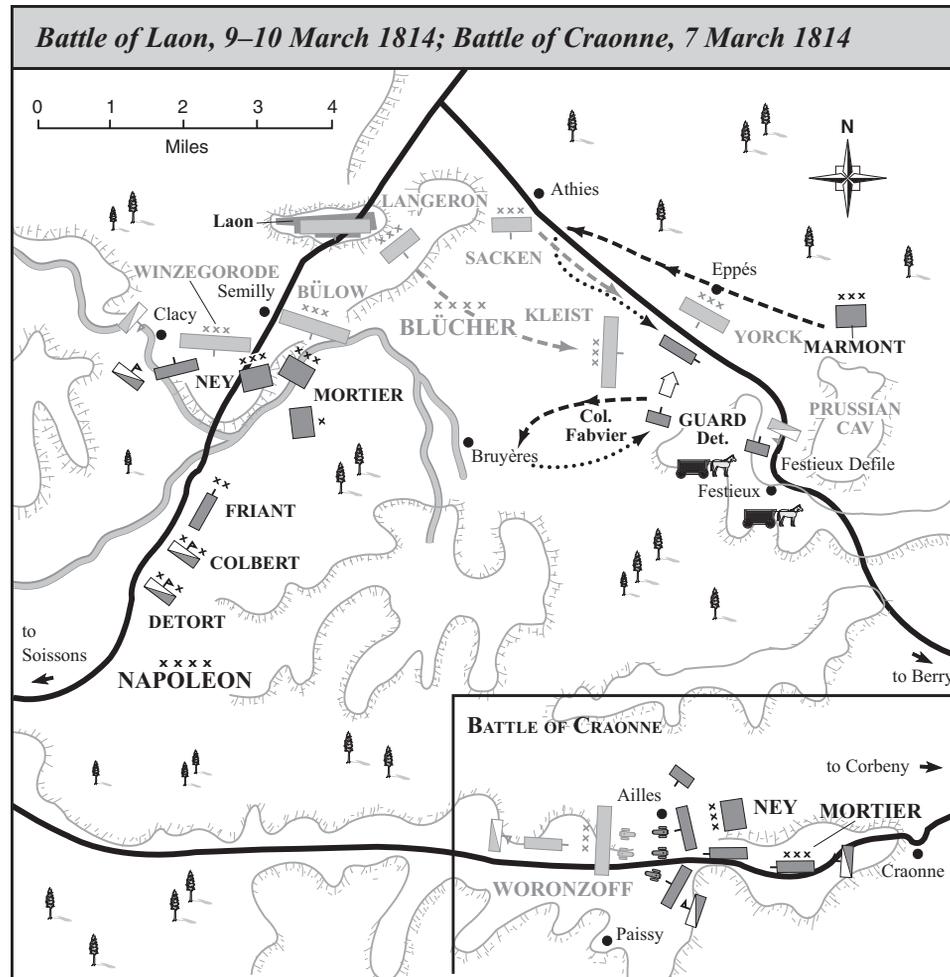
forced away the outlying Cossack patrols. However he could not push beyond Etouvelles. Ney and Napoleon were informed by a French officer who knew the local area that the enemy position at Etouvelles could be turned by making use of a small road leading through a ravine to the west. By early evening a force made up of units of the Guard forced this defile, pushing a number of Russian regiments back as far as Semilly. It was now early morning on the ninth, and in the mist and snow, Ney ordered a general attack toward Laon. The Guard seized Ardon, and at this point Napoleon sent orders to Marshal Auguste de Marmont to advance along the Rheims road, believing that he was about to inflict a further defeat on the Army of Silesia.

Blücher, however, was not to remain inactive for much longer. Fearful that the French had equal numbers to his own army he had maintained a strong reserve at the start of the battle. As the weather began to clear, however, Blücher could discern more of the French dispositions and grew confident enough to launch a counterattack to retake Ardon. The French fought fiercely, and neither side was able to force a conclusion. In addition to this attack, Blücher ordered forces to advance between the two roads that joined at Laon. This move split the French army and prevented communication between the two wings. This was to have important consequences for Marmont's attack along the Rheims road.

Marmont had marched from Berry du Bac, and in the afternoon began to attack the Prussians at Athies, south of Laon. His forces were able to take this village, but could make no further headway toward Laon. By evening Marmont was confident that the fighting on his front was petering out for the day, and he withdrew to spend the night in a local château. He was not able to communicate with Napoleon and had no idea of the position of the French on the western flank of the battlefield.

Blücher on the other hand had now grown in confidence and wanted to maintain contact with the enemy. Therefore between 6:00 and 7:00 P.M. four Allied columns of infantry attacked Marmont's weary corps. The first element of the columns did not open fire, but just advanced at bayonet point. The shock of this assault was too great for Marmont's men, and they broke after only a brief fight. Marmont had more than 3,000 men captured, but more important, he lost 40 guns and 100 ammunition caissons. These supplies were of vital importance to Napoleon.

Next morning Napoleon renewed his attack on the western flank by sending forward Marshal Auguste Mortier to retake Ardon. Ney's troops and the Guard were ordered to support this attack by seizing the village of Clacy. However, the assault had only just begun when news of Marmont's defeat reached Napoleon. He realized that he would not be able to maintain the impetus of the advance and or-



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 987.

dered Ney to hold his position and then cover the withdrawal of the army on Soissons. The Allies should have been able to closely pursue the withdrawing French, but during the night, Blücher's fever had worsened. The Allied commanders were divided in how to proceed. Kleist, believing that General August von Gneisenau, Blücher's chief of staff, was concealing Blücher's death (which in fact had not occurred), resigned his command, and Langeron, the most senior officer after Blücher, refused to contemplate taking over command of the Allied army. As a result the pursuit of Napoleon was very desultory and the campaign in France was prolonged a little further.

Ralph Baker

See also Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Craonne, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Imperial Guard (French); Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Langeron, Louis Alexander Andrault; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Winzgorode

(Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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#### Larrey, Dominique Jean, baron (1766–1842)

Praised by Napoleon as the most virtuous man he had ever met, Dominique Jean Larrey personified military surgery

during the Napoleonic Wars. He is also credited for his equal attention to treating the wounded on all sides.

Dominique Jean Larrey was born on 8 July 1766 in Baudean, a little village in the French Pyrenees near Bagnères-de-Bigorre. Orphaned at age thirteen, he was raised by his uncle Alexis, who was a surgeon in Toulouse. He studied medicine there for six years and was successful enough in examinations to become an *aide-major* (assistant surgeon) in the town's hospital when he was only twenty years old.

Larrey walked to Paris in 1787, two years before the outbreak of the Revolution. He was successful in a competitive examination and entered the navy in 1788 as a *chirurgien-major* (surgeon) aboard the frigate *Vigilante*, for a campaign in Terra Nueva. Once back in Brest, he left the navy and returned in 1789 to Paris, where he put into practice, during the first riots in the Saint-Antoine boroughs, all he had learned about military surgery from Billard, Desault, and Sabatier. In 1791 he was accepted as an *aide-major* for the care of the veterans in the Invalides.

In 1792 Larrey was designated *chirurgien-major* to the (French) Army of the Rhine, and he participated in the campaign of that year. To help the wounded rapidly, he designed "flying ambulances" (*ambulances volantes*), whose purpose of collecting and carrying fallen soldiers from the battlefield in horse-drawn wagons was derived from the "flying artillery." It appears that Larrey was possibly not the only doctor involved in establishing this method. Jean-François Coste, who had served as physician-general to the French army serving in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), in a letter signed on 23 April 1804, claimed a part in the idea: "You were so quick and interested in claiming the creation of the flying ambulances, but in fact it was I who allowed you to put it into practice" (Lemaire 1992, 118).

Larrey married Elisabeth-Charlotte Le Roulx de Laville on 4 March 1794. As chief surgeon to the (French) Army of Corsica, he met General Bonaparte for the first time in Toulon. Some months after, in 1795, he became chief surgeon to the Army of the Pyrenees in Catalonia. He was promoted to professor of surgery to the new Val-de-Grace school of military medicine in 1796 and joined the Army of Italy under Bonaparte's command in 1797. Larrey was the chief surgeon to the Army of the Orient, first during the campaign in the Middle East (1798–1801). During these operations he used camels in place of horse-drawn wagons to carry the wounded. He described his own experience of local diseases, particularly bubonic plague. While serving in Egypt he was made chief surgeon to the Garde des consuls (Consular Guard), the future Imperial Guard, on 2 November 1800. He became an officer in (and the recipient of) a Cross of the Legion d'Honneur on 15 July 1804.



Dominique Larrey, the senior medical officer of the Grande Armée. His tireless efforts to relieve the suffering of the sick and wounded conferred on him an almost legendary status in his own time. (The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Dagli Orti )

Larrey accompanied Napoleon as the chief surgeon to the Imperial Guard on all of the Emperor's campaigns. He personally tried to save the life of Marshal Jean Lannes at Essling in 1809, but without success. He was made a baron on 15 August 1809. During the Russian campaign in 1812, Larrey suffered from frostbite and was the first person to describe the condition identified many years later as trench foot. When Napoleon returned to power after his escape from Elba in 1815, Larrey followed him during the Hundred Days. He was captured by the Prussian army in the aftermath of the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June and could have been shot on the spot had he not been identified and spared.

During the Restoration Larrey narrowly escaped being imprisoned and worked in Paris as chief surgeon to the Gros-Caillou hospital for the Royal Guard. He was appointed chief surgeon at the Invalides and general inspector after the Revolution of 1830. Larrey died at the age of seventy-five in Lyons on 25 July 1842 as he was returning with his son Hippolyte from Algeria, where he had been sent on a short mission.

Larrey's skill at amputation was second to none. In 1803, before the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars, he performed the first hip joint amputation. He claimed to have performed personally around 200 amputations (Larrey 1983–1984, 4:57) within the first 24-hour period following the Battle of Borodino on 7 September 1812. Some of his detractors accused him of abusing this method, but early and quick amputation was thought, with good reason, to prevent infection and to allow easier nursing and evacuation (Larrey 1983–1984, 2:453).

Larrey conceived the system of “triage,” which established priority of care based upon the nature of the injuries without regard to rank or distinction. Because Larrey was in touch with the common soldier, he was loved by the men in the ranks. In his memoirs, he wrote that soldiers helped him to cross the bridge over the Berezina in November 1812, whereas many tens of thousands were left on the enemy bank of the river to die or to be captured.

At the Battle of Bautzen on 20 May 1813, several hundred young conscripts received injuries to their fingers, which were thought by senior officers to be caused by self-mutilation. Napoleon ordered an inquiry, and 2,632 soldiers were medically examined by a commission headed by Larrey. He refused to consider forensic evaluation as evidence of culpability: “The medical doctor must always speak and act as a friend of humanity. He cares for the guilty as well as for the innocent guy and his only concern is the suffering patient. Other considerations are not his business” (Lemaire 1999, 189–196). Larrey's survey provided Napoleon with an explanation of the injuries, based on insufficient drill, as a result of which the executions of the wounded did not take place.

Before his death on the island of St. Helena, Napoleon rewarded his surgeon by leaving him 100,000 francs in his will. The name of Larrey is inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. Larrey's statue stands in Val-de-Grace military hospital, and his grave was transferred to the Invalides in 1992.

*Jean-Jacques Arzalier*

*See also* Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Borodino, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Medical Services; Middle East Campaign; Russian Campaign

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## Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis, comte (1775–1809)

Lasalle was undoubtedly one of history's greatest cavalrymen, whose skill, bravery, and panache have become legendary. He distinguished himself in many of Napoleon's most famous campaigns and battles including Rivoli, the Pyramids, Austerlitz, and Medellín, to name but a few. Marshal Auguste de Marmont famously remarked that during the entire period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, only Lasalle and generals Louis-Pierre Montbrun and François Kellermann (the Younger) knew how to deploy and control massed cavalry.

Born into a noble family in Metz in 1775, Lasalle went on to begin his remarkable military career at the tender age of eleven and by 1795 had become aide-de-camp to the renowned General François Kellermann (the Elder), the victor of Valmy.

However, it was with the infamous “Infernal Brigade” that the genius of France's light cavalry gained lasting acclaim. As a *général de brigade* from February 1805, he fought at Austerlitz and, with his elite 5th and 7th Hussars, comprehensively defeated the pride of the Prussian cavalry, obliged Friedrich Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (commonly known as Prince Hohenlohe) to surrender Prenzlau, and audaciously tricked the heavily armed garrison of Stettin into surrendering with just a small covering force.

Brave to the point of fearlessness, Lasalle inspired a fierce devotion in the men who served under him and expected his troops to meet his own exacting standards of courage. Alongside Napoleon, Lasalle is also said to have possessed the rare gift of “coup d'oeil,” which gave the holder a distinct tactical advantage by enabling them to evaluate terrain instantaneously.

At Golymin in December 1806, for example, he reportedly kept his men under a raging Russian cannonade, despite having two horses killed under him at the front of the brigade. He distinguished himself at Heilsberg in June 1807 and was promoted to *général de division* on 30 December. In 1808 he led a division of light cavalry in Spain, serving at Medina de Río Seco. Leading a single regiment of dragoons at the Battle of Medellín, Lasalle broke a

Spanish square of several thousand men. He was made a Count of the Empire in March 1808. During the campaign of 1809 against Austria, Lasalle fought at Aspern-Essling and at Raab. He was killed in the course of leading a charge at Wagram, a musket ball piercing his forehead.

Despite his intelligence and genteel birth, Lasalle acquired a justified reputation in his younger years for womanizing and rabble-rousing. He was well known for going to extreme lengths to conduct late-night trysts, and in one notorious liaison, he actually infiltrated enemy lines to frolic with the marquise de Sali at Vicenza in 1796. Innkeepers had frequently to be warned to remove mirrors and other breakable items so that the hot-headed cavalry general could not use them as target practice as he entertained his officers.

Lasalle perfectly embodied the romantic image of the hussar as gallant, ostentatious, and ready to fight to the death at any moment. This is encapsulated by his oft-quoted remark that “any French hussar who was not dead by the age of 30 was a blackguard” (Uffindell 2003, 58). He outlived his own maxim by four years, dying at the age of thirty-four. Of Napoleon’s 18,000 casualties at Wagram, Lasalle’s death was arguably the most costly, not only robbing the Emperor of one of his finest commanders but ending the life of one of the most flamboyant and interesting personalities of the period.

Stephen Stewart

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Cavalry; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golymin, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Medellín, Battle of; Medina de Río Seco, Battle of; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Pyramids, Battle of the; Raab, Battle of; Rivoli, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Wagram, Battle of

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### Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte (1768–1828)

Prominent French diplomat and statesman. Lauriston was born to a noble family of Scottish origins in Pondicherry, India, on 1 February 1768. He was the son of General Jacques François Law de Lauriston (1724–1785) and great nephew of John Law, controller general in 1720. Lauriston began service in 1784, later that year serving in the *régiment de Toul* and then under his father for the next several

years. He became aide-de-camp to General Beauvoir in 1791 and served with three different armies in the Rhine theater between 1792 and 1795: Nord; Moselle; and Sambre-et-Meuse. He distinguished himself at the siege of Maastricht and was promoted to *chef de brigade* of the 4e Régiment d’Artillerie à Cheval (4th Regiment of Horse Artillery) on 7 February 1795. Resigning in 1796, he returned to service in 1800 as aide-de-camp to Bonaparte and became *chef de brigade* of the 4e Régiment d’Artillerie à Cheval on 5 March. During the campaign of 1800 against Austria, he distinguished himself at Marengo on 14 June. He served on a special mission to Copenhagen in 1801 and witnessed the British attack on the Danish fleet.

Returning to France, he took part in negotiations with Britain leading to the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and he was selected to convey to England the ratification of the peace. He was promoted to *général de brigade* on 13 September 1802, and served in the Army of Ocean Coasts, which was poised for a descent on the south coast of England. He became the commander of the Legion of Honor in 1804 and the next year rose to the rank of *général de division* (1 February), leading expeditionary forces that embarked with Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve. He briefly served in Martinique, and, returning to Europe, took part in the action off Cape Finisterre on 22 July. He was then appointed governor general of Braunau, east of Munich on the river Inn, during the campaign of 1805. He occupied Ragusa in May 1806 and was made governor-general of Venice in 1807. The following year he was conferred the title of Count of the Empire in May and took part in the negotiations at Erfurt with Tsar Alexander.

He commanded the artillery of the Imperial Guard in Spain in late 1808 and served under Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais against the Austrians in Italy in 1809. He fought at Raab and distinguished himself commanding the famous massed artillery battery of the Imperial Guard at Wagram. In 1810 he helped negotiate Napoleon’s marriage to Marie Louise and escorted the Austrian princess to France. In February 1811 he was appointed ambassador to Russia and joined Napoleon on campaign at Smolensk in August 1812. After the fall of Moscow, he was sent to negotiate peace with Alexander but was turned away by General Mikhail Kutuzov. During the French retreat, he fought with the rear guard. In 1813, Lauriston commanded the observation corps on the Elbe and led V Corps at Möckern, Bautzen, and Leipzig, where he was captured during the retreat.

Lauriston was held captive until May 1814, after the fall of the Empire, and then declared his loyalty to King Louis XVIII. During the Hundred Days, he refused to join Napoleon and remained faithful to the Bourbons. After the Second Restoration, he was decorated with the Order of St. Louis and given a command in the Royal Guard. In 1817,

he was conferred the title of marquis and presided over the electoral college of the Loire-Inférieure; six years later, Lauriston became a Marshal of France after the death of Marshal Louis Davout. During the war in Spain in 1822–1823, he commanded a corps on the Ebro and captured Pamplona. He died in Paris on 11 June 1828.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amiens, Treaty of; Bautzen, Battle of; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Copenhagen, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Erfurt, Congress of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Imperial Guard (French); Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Maastricht, Siege of; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Martinique; Möckern, Battle of; Peninsular War; Raab, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de; Wagram, Battle of

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### Lawrence, Sir Thomas (1769–1830)

The most accomplished British portrait painter of his day, Sir Thomas Lawrence fixed forever the iconic image of the country's leaders as strong, confident men at the time of the wars against French Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. His portraits of beautiful and exquisitely dressed women have been equally enduring as a representation of the elegance of the Regency period.

Lawrence rose to prominence at an early age, owing mainly to remarkable natural ability, though he was also spurred on by family need and his career was helped by a pleasing manner. His father was the improvident landlord of a coaching inn, and Lawrence himself, despite commanding high prices once he was established, was also a poor financial manager and never out of debt. Having demonstrated a great talent for sketching people, Lawrence became the chief support of his family at the age of ten, when his father became bankrupt. Beginning in the fashionable spa town of Bath, he soon moved to London. By 1790 he was acknowledged as a leading artist when he exhibited twelve portraits, including one of Queen Charlotte, at the Royal Academy. He was patronized by George III and after 1811 by the Prince Regent (George IV from 1820), who knighted him in 1814.

During the victory celebrations in London following Napoleon's first abdication in that year (which also marked

the centenary of the Hanoverian succession to the British throne), Lawrence painted the most famous portrait of the newly created Duke of Wellington. The victor of the Peninsular War is depicted in field marshal's uniform (as he appeared at the Congress of Vienna early in 1815), arms folded, gazing self-assuredly at the viewer. In 1817 the duke commissioned Lawrence to paint a huge life-size portrait of him, a depiction of Wellington astride his famous horse, Copenhagen, signaling the general advance at the end of the Battle of Waterloo, a canvas he gave to the secretary of state for war and the colonies, Lord Bathurst. This portrait was used as a model for the equestrian statue of Wellington that has stood opposite Apsley House in London since the 1883.

Lawrence also painted Klemens Fürst von Metternich, Field Marshal Gebhard Blücher von Wahlsatt, and the Russian general Matvei Platov when the Allied leaders were in London for the 1814 festivities. After Waterloo the Prince Regent sent Lawrence to the Continent four times to paint various Allied sovereigns, diplomats, and soldiers connected with the defeat of Napoleon. These were hung, and still remain, in the Waterloo Gallery at Windsor Castle. Of these portraits the acknowledged masterpiece is that of Pope Pius VII, once much harried by Napoleon but depicted in serene old age with the restored art treasures—seen through an arch in the background—a metaphor for the times.

Lawrence died suddenly in 1830, on the eve of European revolutions, the parliamentary reform bill in Britain, and a more prudish taste in art. He received an impressive funeral and was buried with other heroes in the national pantheon of St. Paul's Cathedral.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Bathurst, Henry Bathurst, Third Earl of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; George III, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von; Peninsular War; Pius VII, Pope; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Le Boulou, Battle of (1 May 1794)

The Battle of Le Boulou, fought on the Pyrenean front, resulted in the expulsion of the Spanish army from French

territory. The victor, General Jacques Dugommier, had broken the Allied siege at Toulon the previous year and was a mentor of General Bonaparte. Despite his decisive victory at Le Boulou, Dugommier failed to follow up his success, thus needlessly extending the war with Spain into the following year.

Dugommier had assumed command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees in January 1794, a month after capturing Toulon. More than 10,000 veterans from his army joined him at Perpignan. Dugommier's appointment resulted in improvements among the French troops in the eastern Pyrenees. He instituted strict discipline and increased training. The supply situation also improved somewhat, although the French remained short of many necessities. He reorganized the army, gathering many of the more experienced troops into the same units. Weapons were standardized in various units, and private hunting weapons were replaced with military ones.

Dugommier's job was facilitated by a change in the Spanish command. General Don Antonio Ramón Ricardos had commanded the Spanish in a cautious but competent way. He was called to Madrid for consultation, where he died on 13 March 1794. He was replaced by General O'Reilly, but O'Reilly suffered from seizures on his way to the army and died on the twenty-third. Command ultimately fell to the Conde de la Union, a brave and distinguished soldier, but one who was discouraged by the poor state of the Spanish army in the Pyrenees. He refused command three times before acquiescing.

Dugommier prepared for the campaign by launching a series of probing attacks against Spanish defenses. The Committee of Public Safety ordered him to recover French forts along the Mediterranean coast, which had been captured by the Spanish. When the cooperating fleet failed to appear, Dugommier decided to attack the main Spanish position. Ricardos had established a powerful defensive position around Le Boulou. Their camp was behind the river Tech, with mountains at their back. While the Spanish right was anchored on the sea, their left and center were separated by some distance. Dugommier's plan was to draw the Spanish left forward and slip his main body between the center and right. If all went well, he would be able to cut them off from Spanish territory and crush them.

He launched the campaign on 27 March, with about 35,000 men available for service. The Spanish had a slightly smaller number. The French right was commanded by General Pierre Augereau, with the best troops available. He demonstrated against the Spanish at Ceret and enticed them into crossing the Tech. De la Union moved the troops of the Spanish center to support his left, leaving a gap for Dugommier to penetrate. Thus, on the night of 29 April,

French forces under General Catherine Dominique Pérignon crossed the Tech below Boulou. The next day, he captured two forts overlooking the Spanish camp at Boulou. De la Union realized his position had been compromised and immediately ordered a withdrawal from the Pyrenees back into Spain.

On 1 May, the Spanish left and center were attacked from the front and rear. They lost cohesion and were routed. Spanish losses totaled 1,500 killed and wounded and the same number captured—a decisive defeat. Dugommier captured more than 150 cannon and 1,800 horses and mules. In consequence, Spanish forces were only able to establish a new defensive line between Collioure and St. Laurent on 4 May. Dugommier's army had not suffered many casualties, but was exhausted from marching and fighting. He failed to follow up his success and spent most of the summer reducing Spanish forts along the Mediterranean coast.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; First Coalition, War of the; Public Safety, Committee of; Pyrenean Campaigns; Toulon, Siege of

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## **Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel (1772–1802)**

Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc is best known for marrying Napoleon Bonaparte's sister, Pauline, then leading a disastrous French expedition to St. Domingue (present-day Haiti).

Born on 17 March 1772 to Marie-Jeanne Musquinet and Jean-Paul Leclerc, Leclerc volunteered for the French Army in June 1791. His good social and intellectual background and the dearth of qualified officers immediately catapulted him to the rank of lieutenant in the second battalion of Volunteers of Seine-et-Oise, then as Lieutenant Colonel Jean-François de la Poype's aide-de-camp. Demobilized in September 1792, Leclerc decided to join the 12th Regiment of cavalry as a professional soldier. He first saw combat during the siege of Toulon in 1793, during which he befriended the young Captain Napoleon Bonaparte. After Toulon, he became an adjutant general.

After briefly serving in the Army of the Ardennes, he joined the (French) Army of Italy where he helped halt a

Piedmontese attack in July 1795, then headed the garrison of Marseilles. There, he met Pauline Bonaparte, who was then enamored of Louis Marie Stanislas Fréron. Recruited by Bonaparte during the campaign in Italy in 1796, Leclerc distinguished himself while leading the 10th Chasseurs à Cheval; in 1796, he was promoted to *général de brigade*. He married Pauline Bonaparte near Milan on 14 June 1797 (their son Dermide was born on 20 April 1798).

From 1797 to 1798, Leclerc served as chief of staff of the Army of Italy, then of the Army of England, assembled in Rennes to prepare for a possible invasion of England and to pacify royalist rebels in western France. He was promoted to the rank of *général de division* in 1799 then ordered to reorganize the Army of Italy. During the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire Year VIII (9–10 November 1799), Leclerc led the troops that drove out members of the Council of Five Hundred. Despite this key role, Leclerc was General Jean Moreau's subordinate during the Rhine campaign of 1800.

After taking part in the 1801 expedition to enforce the anti-British blockade in Portugal, Leclerc was ordered by Bonaparte to command an expedition to St. Domingue. The West Indian island, France's most valuable colony, was ruled by Toussaint Louverture, a former slave whose loyalty Bonaparte doubted. Napoleon's secret orders instructed Leclerc initially to pledge his commitment to emancipation, then to round up and deport black leaders, and finally to restore the pre-Revolutionary order in St. Domingue. Leaving France on 14 December 1801, the 19,000-strong expeditionary force arrived at Cape Samana on 29 January 1802.

Toussaint Louverture, officially submissive, secretly ordered his subordinates to prepare for a resumption of hostilities. Leclerc had him arrested on 10 June, then shipped him to France, where he died of neglect at the Fort de Joux in April 1803. Initial military operations developed well, with victories at Ravine à Coulevres in February and at Crête à Pierrot in March 1802.

Leclerc's task nevertheless proved difficult. Black rebels continued fighting despite Toussaint Louverture's arrest, and most black generals loyal to France defected in October 1802. Morale among Leclerc's troops was low, and provisions inadequate; St. Domingue produced little except tropical goods, France was very distant, and whatever food and supplies French authorities sent from across the Atlantic were often spoiled and defective. Starting in April 1802, cases of the deadly yellow fever multiplied: over the following eighteen months, during which period large numbers of reinforcements arrived, 45,000 of the 50,000 to 55,000 French deaths were attributable to disease. On 2 November Leclerc himself succumbed to yellow fever in Cap Français. His successor, General Donatien Rocham-

beau, lingered on the island until November 1803, then left with the survivors of this disastrous expedition.

*Philippe R. Girard*

*See also* Bonaparte, Pauline; Brumaire, Coup of; Council of Five Hundred; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Haiti; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Touissant Louverture; Toulon, Siege of; West Indies, Operations in the  
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### Lefebvre, François Joseph (1755–1820)

A marshal in the French Army, Lefebvre was born in Alsace in 1755 and brought up from age seven by his uncle, a priest, after his father died. Lefebvre rejected the opportunity to take up a life in the Church and instead joined the Garde Français just prior to his eighteenth birthday. Before the Revolution he had already reached the rank of sergeant. The Garde Français having been disbanded on the fall of the monarchy, Lefebvre joined the National Guard and was rapidly promoted.

In 1792 Lefebvre joined the 13e Légère (13th Light Infantry) and served in the armies of the Center and of the Moselle, fighting at Thionville and Arlon. However, in 1793 the Committee of Public Safety decreed that all former members of royal household units were to be relieved of their commands. Lefebvre was saved by the intervention of one of the people's representatives (a sort of commissar).

At the end of 1793 he was under the command of General Louis Hoche and fought at Kaiserslautern and Weissenburg. In 1794 he fought at Fleurus and particularly distinguished himself by leading the French counterattack. During this period General Nicolas Soult, the future marshal, was his chief of staff. Between 1795 and 1797 Lefebvre was transferred to the Army of the Sambre and Meuse in Flanders. By the end of 1797 Lefebvre was seen as one of the most able commanders in the field. Nevertheless, he was now exhausted by his continuous campaigning and requested the Directory to retire him from active service. This was refused, and he was assigned to the Army of the Danube where he was wounded in the arm at Pfullendorf. While recovering he was given military command of the Paris district. When Bonaparte returned from Egypt, Lefebvre took an active part in the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) by leading troops into the Chamber of the

Council of Five Hundred. The following year he was made a senator.

On 19 May 1804 Lefebvre was made a marshal, and in many ways this should have been an honorary title for the military service he had already performed. However, in 1805 he was ordered to Mainz and in 1806 was given command of the infantry of the Imperial Guard. He fought at Jena and was then entrusted with the siege of Danzig, being given command of X Corps. His troops comprised various nationalities but he managed to inspire them to fight off a relief attempt by the Prussians; as a result the city surrendered after a siege of almost three months. Lefebvre was rewarded by being made duc de Danzig. When Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 Lefebvre had the command of IV Corps and was to act with Marshal Michel Ney on the right wing of the advancing army. Unfortunately Lefebvre launched his attack too early, and despite winning a series of victories against the Spanish generals Joaquín Blake and the Marqués de la Romana, Napoleon was critical of his conduct in the campaign.

With the imminent outbreak of hostilities with Austria in 1809, Lefebvre was given the command of VII Corps, composed entirely of Bavarian troops. His men bore the brunt of the early fighting, and he fought well at Abensberg and Eggmühl. The Bavarian troops were now sent to the Tyrol to suppress the revolt there, and Lefebvre was successful against the Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Jellacic Freiherr von Buzim, capturing Innsbruck and defeating the rebel leader Andreas Hofer. Lefebvre was present at Wagram but saw little action. He now returned to his estates, though he was recalled in 1812 to serve in the Russian campaign and once again was given command of the infantry of the Old Guard. His troops were present at Borodino but were not fully committed. In the retreat from Moscow, Lefebvre demonstrated his skills in keeping his troops together, but he suffered a personal disaster when his only son was killed. He served in the campaign in Germany in 1813, leading the Imperial Guard infantry at Dresden and Leipzig.

During the campaign of 1814 in France, Lefebvre fought at Champaubert on 10 February, and a week later personally led two battalions in a charge at Montmirail. During the engagement at Montereau, he had his horse shot from under him. Despite the French success at Arcis-sur-Aube, Lefebvre realized that the French had little prospect of ultimate victory. He reluctantly encouraged Napoleon to abdicate but sought to ensure that France was not divided by defeat, and in a meeting with Tsar Alexander urged that Alsace should remain part of France.

Although he supported Napoleon on his return from Elba, Lefebvre did not fight in the Waterloo campaign and as a result was allowed to keep his peerage by the restored

Bourbon monarchy. He was an able soldier who was not involved in many of the squabbles indulged in by the other marshals, and he remained close to his origins. Before his death in 1820 he spent much of his time helping veterans and their families and giving time and money to a variety of charities.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Alexander I, Tsar; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Blake, Joaquín; Borodino, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Champaubert, Battle of; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Eggmühl, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Hofer, Andreas; Imperial Guard (French); Jena, Battle of; Marshalate; Montereau, Battle of; Montmirail, Battle of; National Guard (French); Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Public Safety, Committee of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Wagram, Battle of; Weissenburg, Battle of

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### Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Charles, comte (1773–1822)

Charles Lefebvre-Desnouëttes served in the French cavalry, rising to the rank of *général de division* by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, at which time he went into exile in the United States to escape a firing squad for treason.

Lefebvre-Desnouëttes's father was a Parisian draper. He ran away from school three times in an effort to join the army. At the start of the French Revolution in 1789 he joined the Parisian National Guard as a cavalry trooper but left after two years of service. In 1791 he reenlisted, this time in the Army of the Alps, and was commissioned as a junior officer in a dragoon unit. He served in several armies on the French frontiers until 1797, when he transferred to Italy. In 1800 Napoleon appointed Lefebvre-Desnouëttes to be one of his aides-de-camp, and he fought

at Marengo later that year. In 1803 he served under Marshal Nicolas Soult and in 1804 returned to Napoleon's staff as an equerry. In 1805 he rejoined the cavalry in time for that year's campaign and fought at Austerlitz with the 4th Dragoon Division under General François Bourcier.

Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was promoted to *général de brigade* in 1806 and became an aide to Jérôme Bonaparte, who commanded VIII Corps. In November 1807 he was promoted to *général de division* in the Westphalian Army and became King Jérôme's Grand Equerry. In 1808 he returned to France and was made a count, after which he left France to serve in Spain.

Upon arriving there, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes's first assignment was as chief of staff to Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières. He fought at Tudela and the siege of Saragossa, where he was wounded. He returned to France for a short time to recover, then returned to Spain with Marshal Jean Lannes after having been promoted to *général de division* (in the French service) and was given command of a division of light cavalry of the Imperial Guard. Later in the year he fought at Somosierra under Bessières. In December he was wounded during the pursuit of Lieutenant General Sir John Moore at Benavente, captured, and imprisoned in England until his escape in 1812.

Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was back in France in time to join the Grand Armée for the invasion of Russia. He was again given command of the light cavalry of the Imperial Guard and was wounded at Vinkovo. When Napoleon retreated from Russia, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes accompanied him back to France. In 1813 he fought at Bautzen under Marshal Adolphe Mortier and later in the year saw action at Meresburg, Altenburg, and Hanau. He fought in most of the battles in France in 1814 during which campaign he was twice wounded. He retained command even after Napoleon went into exile on Elba.

When Napoleon returned from exile in 1815 Lefebvre-Desnouëttes tried to rally units to Napoleon but had little success. During the Waterloo campaign he led a light cavalry division as part of Marshal Michel Ney's left wing and was wounded at Waterloo. Following Napoleon's defeat, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes sailed to the United States. Convicting him in absentia for treason, the new Bourbon government under Louis XVIII decreed he be executed were he ever to return. In 1822 Lefebvre-Desnouëttes returned to Europe but perished short of France when the ship he was aboard, the *Albion*, sank off the coast of Ireland on 22 April 1822.

*Dallace W. Unger Jr.*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Benavente, Action at; Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Elba; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Hanau, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Lannes, Jean; Marengo,

Battle of; Moore, Sir John; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; National Guard (French); Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Saragossa, Sieges of; Somosierra, Action at; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Tudela, Battle of; Vinkovo, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of

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### **Leipzig, Battle of (16–19 October 1813)**

The Battle of Leipzig, also known as the Battle of the Nations, was fought between Napoleon and the three Allied armies that had been approaching the city for several days: the Army of Bohemia (*Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg), the Army of Silesia (General Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher), and the Army of the North (former French marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, now Crown Prince of Sweden). Napoleon suffered a major defeat, which decided the campaign in Germany. He then fell back from Saxony to France.

Rainfall had been heavy that autumn, so the river levels were high and the countryside heavy going. A line of hills offering good defensive positions ran to the south and east of Leipzig. The outlying villages consisted of solid buildings that favored the defense. The terrain north of Leipzig was more level and broken up by rivers and marshes. The causeway to Lindenau, west of Leipzig, was Napoleon's line of communication to France. The rectangular city of Leipzig had four main points of access: the Grimma, Peter's, Neustäder, and Halle gates.

Napoleon's intention was to attempt to defeat each of the Allied armies in detail, winning the decisive battle of the campaign. The Allies wanted to bring Napoleon to bay by concentrating their forces and overwhelming him with their superiority in numbers.

Apart from scattered detachments garrisoning various important towns and cities throughout Germany, Napoleon had concentrated nearly all his forces in the Leipzig area. These included the Imperial Guard; II Corps (Marshal Claude Victor); III (General Joseph, comte Souham); IV (General Henri-Gatien, comte Bertrand); V (General Jacques, comte Lauriston); VI (Marshal Auguste de Marmont); VII (General Jean Reynier); VIII (Prince Józef Poniatowski); IX (Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau); XI (Marshal Jacques Macdonald); I Cavalry Corps (General Marie-Victor-Nicolas de Fay Latour-Maubourg); II (General Horace, comte Sébastiani); III (General Jean-

Toussaint Arrighi de Casanova); IV (General François, comte Kellermann); and V (General Claude Pajol). Napoleon had around 190,000 men with 752 guns.

The Army of Bohemia consisted of the wing of the Russian general Peter Ludwig Graf zu Wittgenstein, the Austrian army, and II Prussian Army Corps (General Friedrich von Kleist). Wittgenstein's wing consisted of the 1st (Russian Infantry) Corps (General Prince Andrey Ivanovich Gorchakov); 2nd (Russian Infantry) Corps (General Prince Eugen of Württemberg); 3rd (Grenadier) Corps (General Nikolay Rayevsky); 5th (Guard) Corps (General Aleksey Ermolov); the Russian Guard Cavalry (Prince Dmitry Golitsyn); General Count Peter Petrovich Pahlen's cavalry corps; and two brigades of Cossacks under Ataman Matvei Platov.

The Austrian army consisted of the vanguard (two light divisions); the corps of *Feldzeugmeister* Hieronymus Graf von Colloredo-Mansfeld, *General der Kavallerie* Maximilian Graf von Merveldt, *Feldzeugmeister* Ignaz Gyulai Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska, and *General der Kavallerie* Johann Graf Klenau; the Reserve under *General der Kavallerie* Friedrich Erbprinz (Hereditary Prince) Hessen-Homburg; and the cuirassier corps under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Nostitz-Rieneck. Schwarzenberg commanded around 180,000 men with 628 guns.

The Army of Silesia consisted of the Prussian I Army Corps (General Johann von Yorck), and the Russian corps of generals Louis Langeron and Fabian Osten-Sacken. It amounted to 65,000 men with 310 guns. The Army of the North consisted of the Swedes under Field Marshal Count Stedingk, a Russian corps under General Ferdinand Winzgorode, and the Prussian III Army Corps of General Friedrich von Bülow: 58,000 men with 242 guns. Moving to join the Allies was the (Russian) Army of Poland led by General Levin Bennigsen: 48,000 men with 134 guns. In all, the Allies had more than 350,000 men at their disposal, along with 1,314 guns.

The preliminary phase of the battle began on 14 October, with the great cavalry action between Marshal Joachim Murat and the vanguard under Wittgenstein at Liebertwolkwitz. Although largely indecisive, this combat committed the Army of Bohemia to the battle.

The battle proper commenced on 16 October, with one action at Wachau and Connewitz to the south of Leipzig and another at Lindenau and Möckern, to its northwest.

In the south, Wittgenstein was deployed along the line from Fuchshain through Grosspösna and Güldengossa to Cröbern. Merveldt and Hessen-Homburg were at Gautzsch, between the rivers Elster and Pleisse. Gyulai was moving against the 3,200 French holding Lindenau, at the western end of the causeway from Leipzig. Blücher was at

Schkeuditz, to the northwest of town. Including Cossacks, more than 200,000 men were available on the sixteenth.

Napoleon had not anticipated Blücher joining the battle that day, so he concentrated his efforts against the Army of Bohemia. The troops at his disposal that day included Lefol's division, Poniatowski, and Kellermann, all deployed south of Leipzig and in echelon along the line from Connewitz through Lössnig and Dölitz to Markkleeberg. Victor and Lauriston were deployed between Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz. Elements of the Imperial Guard were also in reserve here. Augereau was behind Zuckelhausen. Latour-Maubourg and part of the Guard were at Probstheida, while Macdonald and Sébastiani were marching on Holzhausen. Napoleon had 138,000 men and 488 guns deployed against Schwarzenberg.

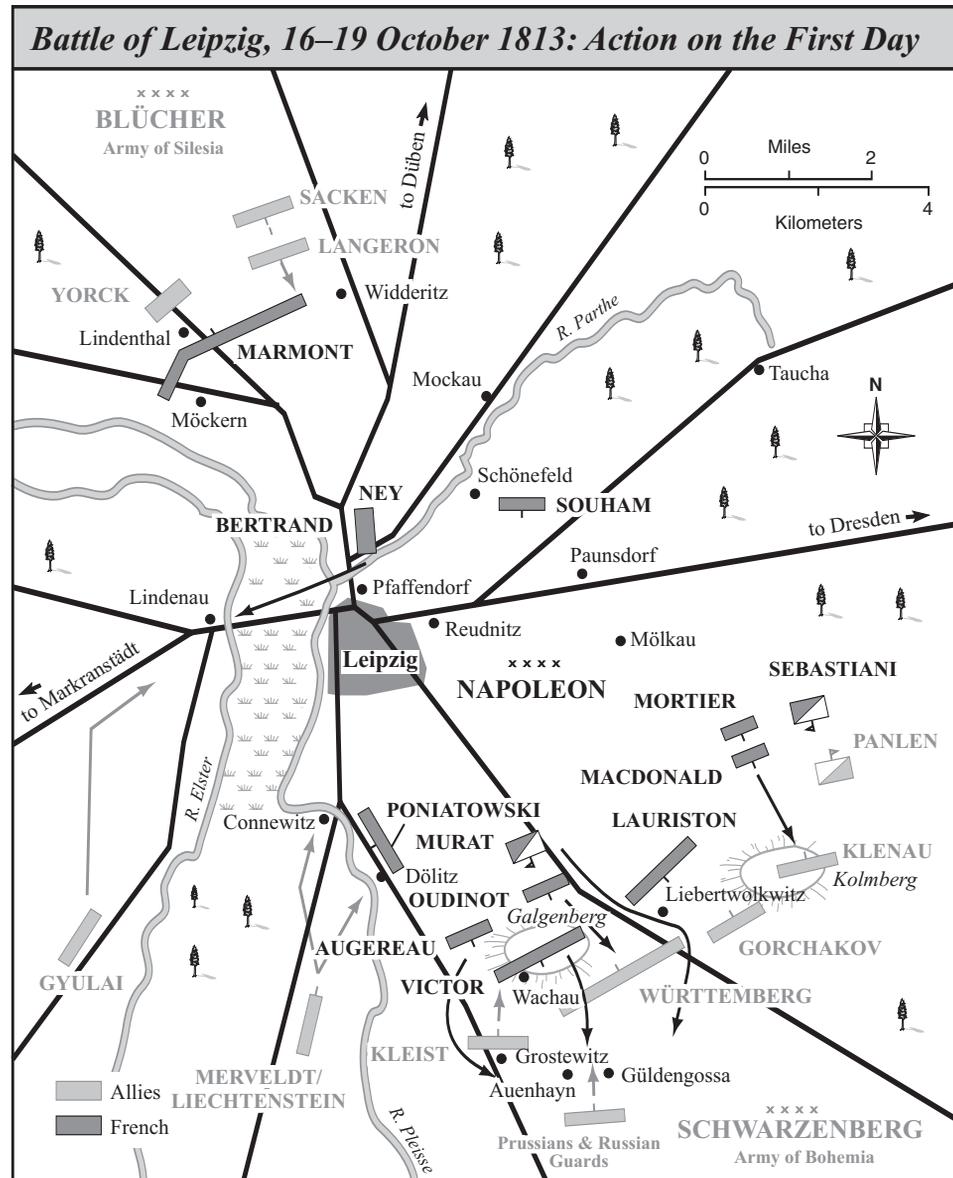
The four columns of Wittgenstein's force moved off on a cold, foggy morning. Klenau was to deploy between Fuchshain and the University Wood and assault Liebertwolkwitz. Gorchakov would support him by advancing between Störmthal and the Wood. Prince Eugen of Württemberg was to attack Wachau from the direction of Güldengossa. Kleist was to move from Cröbern to between Markkleeberg and Wachau, taking both villages and the nearby heights. Pahlen was to support Gorchakov and Eugen. Rayevsky and a brigade of cuirassiers were held in reserve.

The battle opened at 8:00 A.M. with Eugen's advance on Wachau, which he took. However, the French artillery prevented him from breaking out. Victor counterattacked and regained the village by 9:30 A.M. After a firefight, the Allies assaulted the village again at 11:00 A.M. The French counterattacked, driving them out.

Meanwhile, Kleist engaged Poniatowski in Markkleeberg, and by 11:00 A.M., the street fighting had become critical. Gorchakov and Lauriston bombarded each other with their artillery, causing heavy casualties to their infantry. Klenau started his advance to Liebertwolkwitz at 10:00 A.M., moving via the Kolmberg hill to the east. The small French garrison was soon ejected, but a counterattack regained the village.

By 11:00 A.M., the situation on the southern front was critical. The Allies had made little headway, and large French reserves were approaching. Tsar Alexander then committed his last reserves, Rayevsky and the Russian and Prussian Guards. The Austrians were also moving up, but Merveldt was making little progress.

The Allied assault that morning had taken Napoleon by surprise, and he had to commit his reserves prematurely. He sent the artillery of the Young Guard to aid Victor and Lauriston. At 9:30 A.M., Augereau moved to support Poniatowski, and the infantry of the Young Guard and a division of the Old Guard were sent to reinforce Liebert-



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 46.

wolkwitz. Then two divisions of the Young Guard, together with the Guard Cavalry, Latour-Maubourg, and Pajol were sent to support Wachau.

The morning fog lifted. Macdonald took the Kolmberg and moved on Seifertshain on the Allied right, throwing Klenau back in disorder. Only Roeder's timely intervention prevented further pursuit. Liebertwolkwitz now fell to the French, with the Austrians retiring to the Niederholz to its south, where Lauriston attacked them, forcing them to retire further. Gorchakov and Pahlen now fell back so their flank was not exposed. Only Kleist held his positions, but Augereau was sent in against him. Kleist used the last of his reserves in a vain assault on Wachau. He nevertheless held on to Markkleeberg. By

2:00 P.M., the rest of the Allies had been driven back to their initial positions.

Napoleon now prepared to make what he expected to be the final attack. He committed all his artillery to its preparation. The Guard, Victor, and Lauriston massed for the attack, with all the available cavalry in support. Marmont had yet to arrive, as he had been held up at Möckern fighting Blücher. Bertrand had been committed to the defense of Lindenau, and Ney was too far away to intervene. At 2:00 P.M., Napoleon launched his offensive.

A charge by Nostitz saved Kleist from destruction, but he was driven off by Saxon cuirassiers. At 2:30 P.M., General Etienne Tardif de Pommeroux, comte de Bordessoulle's cuirassier division charged through the Allied center, riding



French infantry defend a barricade against a Prussian assault at the Battle of Leipzig, where overwhelming defeat forced Napoleon to abandon his control over Germany. (Print by Valadon, Bousson, Paris, after E. Boutigny from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

down Eugen's infantry and taking 26 guns before continuing into the Russian Guard Cavalry Division and throwing that back as well. Russian cavalry then took the French cuirassiers in the flank, forcing them to retire. Ten squadrons of Prussian cavalry then followed up, driving Bordesouille back to his initial positions and into the French grand battery.

Despite this setback, the French infantry advanced along the entire front but met with a determined defense. Klenau held on to Seifertshain until nightfall. Bianchi's division took the Young Guard and Lauriston in the flank, forcing them to retire. Markkleeberg was recaptured and the Russians pushed on, forcing Napoleon to commit Souham and part of the Old Guard to shore up his crumbling right. By 5:00 P.M. the tide had turned in favor of the Allies. It was evident to Napoleon that the Allies had more reserves than he did, so he broke off his attack.

The second action of the day took place in and around Lindenau and Möckern. At Lindenau, it was Gyulai's aim to threaten Napoleon's line of retreat along the causeway, drawing off parts of Napoleon's reserves that then could not be used on the southern front. Bertrand had to be used to defend the city of Leipzig, when his intervention at Wachau could have decided the battle in Napoleon's favor. Gyulai commenced his attack at 8:00 A.M., on hearing the artillery fire at Wachau. At first, he was successful, taking several villages around Lindenau, but Bertrand's arrival at 11:00 A.M. halted his advance. Bertrand staged a counterattack at 5:00 P.M. and cleared the area.

Blücher's determined advance that day also drew off forces that could have been used on the southern front. Napoleon did not anticipate the arrival of the Army of Silesia that day and had ordered Marmont to Liebertswolkwitz. However, on hearing of Blücher's approach from Halle, Marmont turned his 20,000 men around and moved to face Blücher at the village of Möckern.

At 8:00 A.M. Blücher received a report from Bernadotte that the Army of the North was not going to arrive that day. The sounds of battle could be heard coming from Lindenau and Wachau, so Blücher decided to attack the French to draw their reserves away from the southern front. His assault commenced at 10:00 A.M., forcing Marmont to withdraw his outposts. Langeron advanced on Wiederitzsch, Yorck on Lindenthal and Möckern. Seeing the strategic importance of Möckern, Yorck stormed it at 2:00 P.M. The village changed hands several times that afternoon, with both sides suffering heavy losses in the bitter street fighting. An equally savage contest for Wiederitzsch took place, but by nightfall the French had abandoned it.

Yorck brought up 88 more guns and bombarded Möckern before sending in a brigade under Prince Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. General Jean Dominique Compans's division took back the village after a counterattack. Yorck committed his last infantry reserve, a brigade under Colonel Karl Friedrich Franziskus von Steinmetz, at 5:00 P.M. Marmont drove it off. All that Yorck had left was his cavalry, so he threw them in. Their charge routed Marmont, capturing 35 cannon, 2 colors, 5 ammunition wagons, and 400 men. Yorck was by now a spent force, and Marmont was able to withdraw unmolested.

Marmont reported his losses at 6,000 to 7,000 men. Yorck suffered nearly 6,000 casualties from the 21,000 troops with which he had started. Langeron's losses were 1,500 men, but he took 1 color, 13 pieces of artillery, a large number of wagons, and hundreds of prisoners.

The day ended with Napoleon holding his line in the south, but not having gained the victory he sought. His reserves had been tied down in the northwest, and he now

had no fresh forces to commit to the battle. His losses had been fearful, with Poniatowski losing around one-third of his men and Augereau almost one-half. The remaining corps had also suffered heavily, and ammunition was running out. The Allies were bringing up their reserves, closing the ring around Leipzig, so Napoleon sent an emissary to the Allies to negotiate an armistice.

The next day, 17 October, Napoleon formed up his men in the pouring rain in anticipation of an attack that did not come. Instead, the Allies took the opportunity of resting and resupplying their front line, while allowing their substantial reserves to move up.

That night, Napoleon shortened his front by means of a withdrawal toward Leipzig. His right wing under Murat ran from Connewitz to Probstheida and consisted of Poniatowski, Augereau, and Victor. In reserve behind the right were the Guard and most of the cavalry. In the center, Macdonald drew up between Holzhausen and Steinberg, with Lauriston and Sébastiani in support. His left wing under Ney consisted of the Saxons, General Pierre François, baron Durutte's division, and Marmont, with Souham and most of Arrighi in support. It deployed in and around Paunsdorf. Dombrowski's division and other troops occupied Leipzig, while two divisions of the Young Guard under Mortier held Lindenau. That day, Napoleon had 160,000 men and 630 guns with which to offer battle.

The decisive day of the battle was 18 October. Schwarzenberg had the Allied forces draw up in six columns. The first, under Hessen-Homburg, consisted of Colloredo, Merveldt, and Nostitz, along with the divisions of *Feldmarschalleutnants* Freiherr von Bianchi and Graf von Weissenwolf. It was ordered to move on Leipzig from Markkleeberg. The second, under the Russian general, Mikhail Barclay de Tolly, consisted of Kleist, Wittgenstein, the Russian and Prussian Guards, and the reserves. It was to advance from Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz on Probstheida. The third, under Bennigsen, consisted of the Polish Reserve Army, Klenau, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Graf von Bubna's division, General Wiewprecht von Zieten's brigade, and Platov's Cossacks. It was ordered to move from Fuchshain and Seifertshain on Zuckelhausen and Holzhausen. The fourth consisted of the Army of the North under Bernadotte, together with Langeron and St. Priest. It was to move via Taucha toward Leipzig from the northeast, in collaboration with the Army of Bohemia. The fifth, consisting of the remainder of the Army of Silesia under Blücher, was to approach Leipzig from the northwest. The sixth, under Gyulai, consisted of his own corps, together with the divisions of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Moritz Fürst Liechtenstein and other detachments. It was to advance on Lindenau. The Allies had around 295,000 men with 1,360 guns that day.

The offensive began at 9:00 A.M. Hessen-Homburg took Dösen and Dölitz, but the Young Guard, Poniatowski, and Augereau recaptured Dölitz. Hessen-Homburg was wounded in the fight, and Colloredo took over command. Rayevsky's grenadiers and a division of Russian cuirassiers recaptured it, but the advance had been delayed.

Barclay moved off at 8:00 A.M. but halted within cannon shot of Probstheida to allow Bennigsen to catch up. The French withdrew with little resistance, and Barclay reached his positions by 10:00 A.M. He then moved on to capture Holzhausen and Zuckelhausen, ejecting General Maurice, comte Gérard's division from the Steinberg. Bubna advanced toward Paunsdorf, but Bennigsen halted again to allow the Army of the North to become effectively engaged. The French held the villages of Zweinaundorf, Mölkau, and Paunsdorf.

To the north of Leipzig, Langeron attacked Marmont, while Blücher moved into the suburbs of Leipzig. Napoleon sent a division of the Young Guard to stabilize this front. Bertrand reopened the road to Weissenfels, to the southwest.

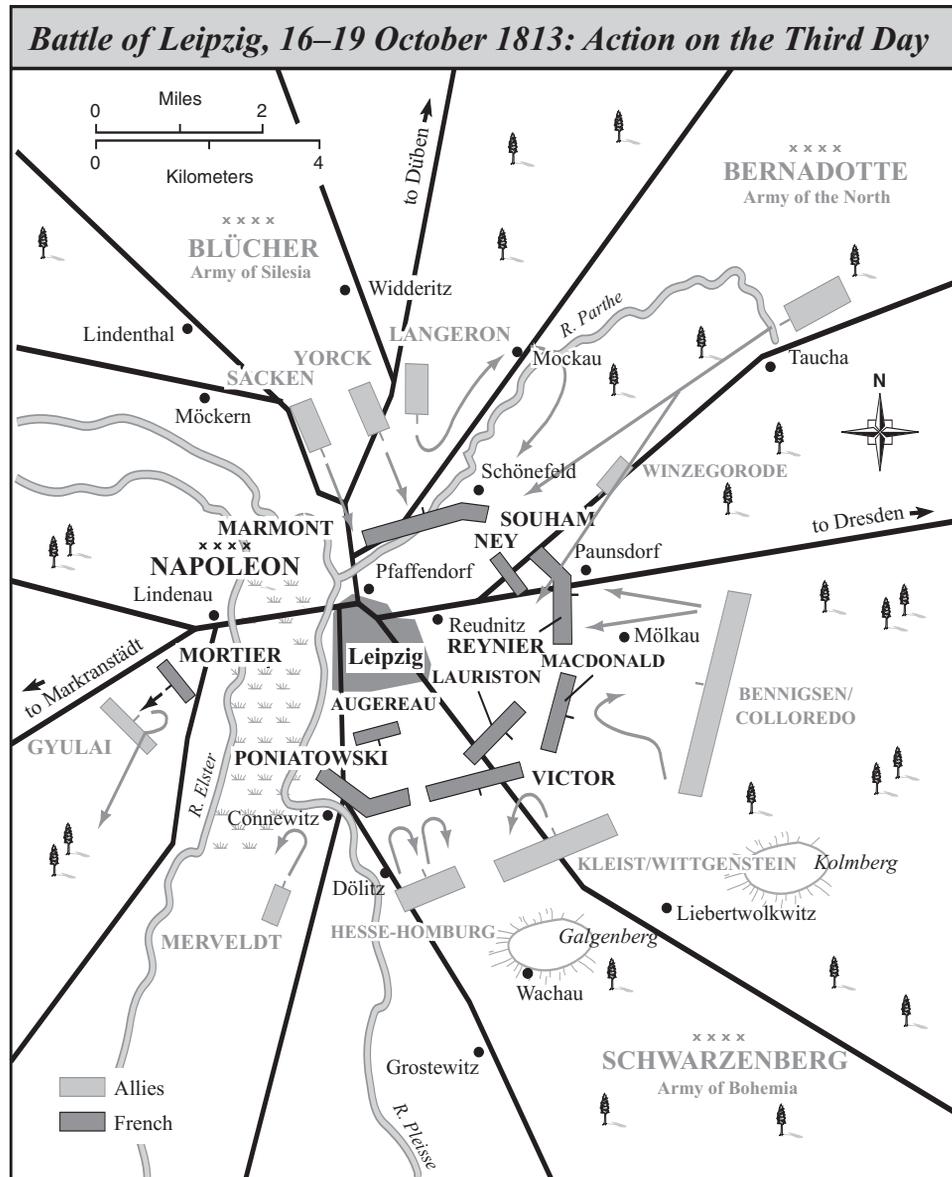
At 2:00 P.M. the day had yet to be decided. The French were far from beaten and still held a strong perimeter around Leipzig. Their line of retreat was still open, and Napoleon had the chance of saving his army from destruction.

Colloredo made no headway that afternoon. Barclay was held up at Probstheida and by nightfall the French had regained it. At Paunsdorf, the Saxon contingent went over to the Allies, as had the Württemberg cavalry earlier that day, but these events had little effect on the overall situation.

Napoleon now decided to withdraw through Leipzig on 19 October. Using the cover of darkness and the morning fog, he pulled back his men into the city. Schwarzenberg formed five columns to storm it. Yorck and Gyulai were to attempt to cut off the French retreat, but they were too weak and exhausted for this. All the Allied reserves had been committed the previous day, and there were no fresh troops left to conduct a pursuit.

The assault on Leipzig commenced at 10:30 A.M. but made little progress as every inch of the city was defended. The Grimma Gate fell to a battalion of East Prussian militia, and a seesaw battle for every street, building, and wall developed. While Napoleon had to defend several entrances to Leipzig, he could only use one for his escape, and this proved to be a great bottleneck. The French baggage trains proved to be a particular hindrance, and many were abandoned. When the bridge across the river Elster was blown up prematurely, part of the French rear guard was cut off. The last men of the garrison tried to swim across the river Pleisse to safety, while others surrendered. Poniatowski drowned while attempting to escape.

News of the victory was brought to the Allied commanders, who then met in the marketplace in the center of



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 50.

the city. The battle was over, but because Napoleon escaped with much of his army, the war would continue. Barring a feeble attempt to stop his retreat at Hanau at the end of the month and a few minor skirmishes, Napoleon reached France unhindered as the Allies were simply too exhausted to do much more.

Losses were horrific. The French are estimated to have lost 15,000 killed and 30,000 wounded, of which 23,000 were abandoned to the Allies, together with 15,000 prisoners. More than 70 generals were killed or wounded; others were taken prisoner. Material losses included 300 guns and 900 ammunition wagons. The Austrians lost 2,000 dead, more than 5,000 wounded, and more than 1,000 prisoners. The Russians lost more than 3,000 dead, nearly 14,000

wounded, and around 2,800 prisoners. The Prussians lost nearly 16,000 dead and wounded, and the Swedes 400. This amounted to more than 46,000 killed, wounded, or missing. The campaign in Germany was now all but over.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Cossacks; Ermolov (Yermolov), Aleksey Petrovich; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Germany, Campaign in; Golitsyn, Dmitry Vladimirovich, Prince; Gyulai, Ignaz Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska; Hanau, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte;

Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Langeron, Louis Alexander Andrault; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Liebertwolkwitz, Action at; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Pajol, Claude Pierre; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Souham, Joseph, comte; Victor, Claude Perrin; Winzegorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf; Zieten, Wieprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von

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## Leipzig Campaign

See Germany, Campaign in

## Leoben, Preliminaries of (18 April 1797)

Preliminary peace agreement between Austria and France signed at the château of Ekenwald near Leoben in Styria (now southeastern Austria) as a prelude to formal peace concluded as a result of the Treaty of Campo Formio six months later. General Bonaparte, following his triumphant

campaign in Italy in 1797, crossed the Alps and advanced directly on Vienna. Defeating Austrian forces on the Tagliamento and the Isonzo, he reached Leoben on 13 April. However, the French army was overextended and exposed to possible Austrian counterattack, and Bonaparte was eager to negotiate an armistice. Hence, he had proposed a truce to Archduke Charles, and an armistice of six days was concluded.

Bonaparte, a mere general, had no authority to conduct diplomatic talks, and the Directory, in fact, expected direct negotiations with Vienna and prepared to appoint Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque and Emmanuel Sièyes to negotiate. However, Bonaparte indicated that he would not accept any interference in his designs. Johann Ludwig Graf Cobenzl, an experienced diplomat who hoped to easily outmaneuver his younger opponent, represented the Austrian side. However, negotiations proved complicated, and Bonaparte showed himself a skillful negotiator, who often resorted to threats and faked outbursts of anger to achieve his goals.

In the end, the French obtained the left bank of the Rhine and laid the foundation for the creation of the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy. To compensate Austrian losses, Bonaparte committed his government to cede to Austria the continental possessions of the Venetian Republic as far as Oglio, with Istria and Dalmatia. The Treaty of Campo Formio confirmed the preliminaries on 27 October 1797.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

See also Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cisalpine Republic; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Constant de Rebecque, Henri-Benjamin; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Second Coalition, War of the; Venetian Republic

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## Levée en Masse (23 August 1793)

The *levée en masse* of 23 August 1793 constituted the call-up of the entire French population to save the country

from invasion and defeat. It was the product of military emergency as France's armies collapsed in defeat at the hands of the First Coalition, morale disintegrated, noble officers resigned and defected, and other methods of recruitment failed to produce the hundreds of thousands of soldiers required. In particular, resort to the levée was an admission that the voluntary principle—to which the Revolutionaries had turned in 1791 and 1792—had proved a failure, and that some form of compulsion was now required. The Convention's declared aim was to provide France with a mass army of three-quarters of a million men. The *patrie* was declared *en danger*, and the people were called upon to make personal sacrifices for the national cause. No one was to be exempt, other than on medical grounds, and though in practice it was single men and widowers aged between eighteen and forty-five who were called upon to fight in the front line, everyone, regardless of age or gender, had a role to play.

In the words of the decree, the entire population was put in a state of requisition. The young men would go into battle; married men would forge arms and transport provisions; women would make tents and clothes and administer to the sick; children would make lint out of old linen; while “the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to arouse the courage of the warriors and preach the hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic” (Kirchberger 1989, 317). The decree—almost unique among the various forms of levy and conscription that were decreed during the Revolution and Empire—made no provision for buying replacements (a system by which a person would take the place of the conscripted party in exchange for a sum of money), nor was there any call for volunteers. Service was to be personal. It was declared to be a function of citizenship, an obligation that fell upon everyone.

The decree was proclaimed in tones of high moral fervor and Revolutionary nationalism, and it left a powerful image of the people in arms, rising spontaneously against tyranny in defense of their country. It would inspire French republicans in the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and the militants of the Paris Commune (1870–1871), just as it would inspire future revolutionaries in Russia, Algeria, Vietnam, and much of South America.

But is that image wholly propagandist? It is certainly true that the levée en masse did produce the soldiers the French armies required, and that this measure, together with structural and tactical reforms, allowed the Revolutionaries to turn a defensive war into one of conquest. No further mass recruitment was required until the end of the decade, in 1799. But while thousands of soldiers joined with apparent enthusiasm and quotas were exceeded in many areas—especially in Paris and in the

frontier regions of the north and east—there were other parts of France where the law was met with resentment and widespread resistance. In regions like the southwest and the Massif Central there was little evidence of spontaneity. It would take more than the levée en masse to persuade everyone that military service was a central tenet of citizenship.

Alan Forrest

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Conscription (French); Convention, The; Desertion; First Coalition, War of the; French Army

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### Liebertwolkwitz, Action at (14 October 1813)

The action at Liebertwolkwitz was the largest cavalry engagement of the Napoleonic Wars and marked the preliminary stage of the decisive Battle of Leipzig. Situated south of Leipzig in Saxony, this combat took place among the villages of Markkleeberg, Wachau, Crostewitz, Cröbern, and Guldengossa. The terrain was open, with gentle slopes leading up to flat-topped hills. The Galgenberg hill to the north of Wachau was the highest point.

Marshal Joachim Murat commanded the French forces in this area, which consisted of II (Marshal Claude Victor), V (General Jacques, comte Lauriston), and VIII (Prince Józef Poniatowski) Corps; IV (General François, comte Kellermann) and V (General Claude Pajol) Cavalry Corps; and General Sigismond-Frédéric, baron Berckheim's division from I Cavalry Corps; in all around 35,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. Other troops were held in reserve behind this line.

General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein commanded the vanguard of the (largely Austrian) Army of Bohemia. Count Peter Petrovich Pahlen's cavalry led the left column at Cröbern, followed by General Bogdan Borisovich von Helfreich's 14th Russian Division, then part of the Prussian Reserve Cavalry under General Friedrich Erhard Leopold von Roeder. It was directed toward Liebertwolkwitz via Wachau. The remainder of Roeder's troopers together with some Russian cavalry led the center column, followed by the 2nd (Russian) Infantry Corps (Prince Eugen of Würt-

temberg). It was directed on Liebertwolkwitz via Gülden-gossa. To the right, the 1st (Russian) Infantry Corps (Prince Andrey Ivanovich Gorchakov) moved up through the village of Störmthal, while on the far right the (Austrian) IV Korps (Klenau) was approaching Liebertwolkwitz. The Allies had around 44,000 men available. Reinforcements were moving up.

Victor covered the line from Markkleeberg to Wachau, and Lauriston from the Galgenberg to Liebertwolkwitz. A grand battery was deployed on the Galgenberg.

The fighting commenced around 11:00 A.M. First, two Russian hussar regiments were sent forward but fell back in the face of heavy fire. Then two French cavalry divisions advanced. The Russian Sumy Hussars charged the leading regiment and drove it back. The second regiment forced the Russians to retire but were themselves repulsed. The Prussian Neumark Dragoons pushed back the second regiment, while the Silesian Uhlans moved against the flank of this column. The French withdrew to their starting point, with the Prussians in pursuit. French reserves, observing the pursuit coming to a halt, were therefore not committed to the fray. On the left, the fighting bogged down, with neither side making much progress or effort.

Liebertwolkwitz was the key to the position. If it were to fall, then the French grand battery on the Galgenberg would be threatened and forced to withdraw, leaving the center of their line open to the Allies. Around midday Klenau staged an assault on this village, where the French had a strong position. After two hours of bitter street fighting, it fell to the Austrians, but French artillery prevented them from breaking out of the village.

Next, the French cavalry staged another attack in the center, but the Prussians again gained their flanks and forced them back. At 2:30 P.M., Murat launched his final attack, which suffered a similar fate.

At 4:00 P.M. the French recaptured Liebertwolkwitz, bringing this action to an inconclusive end. The Allies lost just over 2,000 men, while the French may have lost more.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Germany, Campaign in; Kellermann, François Etienne “the Younger,” comte; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Leipzig, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Pajol, Claude Pierre; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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## **Liechtenstein, Johannes Joseph Fürst zu (1760–1836)**

One of the finest cavalry commanders of the era, the prince fought for the Austrians in 132 actions, losing 24 horses shot from under him. Always at the head of his troops, leading with tactical skill but refusing to sacrifice them unnecessarily, he was idolized for more than 20 years by his men, who acclaimed him “Magister equituum” (master of horse). A trusted commander and close friend of Archduke Charles, Liechtenstein negotiated the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805 at the end of the War of the Third Coalition and the Treaty of Schönbrunn in 1809 at the conclusion of the War of the Fifth Coalition.

Enthusiastic about the military from his youth, he joined the Pappenheim Kürassiers as an *Unterleutnant* at age twenty-one and rose to major in the Harrach Dragoons in 1787. Distinguished service in the war with Turkey (1788–1791) brought promotion to *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant-colonel) of the Kinsky Chevaulégers; he climbed the Cetin fortress wall at the head of his men on 20 July 1790. Fighting in the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium and Luxembourg) in 1793–1794, this cavalry leader displayed his superior tactical and strategic skill at Avesnes-le-Sec on 20 September 1793. Having halted a French advance for four hours with his advance guard, he led the Kinsky Chevaulégers into a large French square, supported by other cavalry to the sides, and took more than 2,000 prisoners. His successful raid on the French camp at Mauberge in 1794 won him promotion to *Generalmajor*.

In 1796 he served in Germany, where he commanded the rear guard and inflicted several defeats on General Louis Desaix. At Würzburg, Liechtenstein directed the light cavalry in outflanking the French line before leading a decisive heavy cavalry charge. In the following year his brigade destroyed a French light cavalry regiment at Rastatt. Moving to Italy in 1799, he fought at the Trebbia (17–19 June), halting General Jacques Macdonald's attack on the last day, and secured the fortress of Coni. Back in Germany in 1800, he led his cavalry to save the remnants of the army after the defeat at Hohenlinden.

Commander of the Allied fifth column at Austerlitz, Liechtenstein pushed his cavalry forward to support the Russian general, Prince Peter Bagration, in the north and covered the retreat. He then was entrusted with the peace negotiations, which concluded with the Treaty of Pressburg. He had succeeded his brother as sovereign of the Principality of Liechtenstein but abdicated in 1806 rather than serve Napoleon as a prince of the Confederation of the Rhine.

After peacetime *General Kommandant* appointments in the Empire, he commanded I Reserve Korps in 1809 and

took Ratisbon (Regensburg), before covering the retreat from Bavaria. Leading the cavalry at Aspern, he slept among his men on the front line overnight. Directing the consolidated Reserve at Wagram, his attack from the west caught Napoleon by surprise. After the Austrian defeat, however, he signed the Treaty of Schönbrunn, following which he was promoted to *Feldmarschall*; he then retired.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Confederation of the Rhine; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Pressburg, Treaty of; Rastatt, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Trebbia, Battle of the; Wagram, Battle of; Würzburg, Battle of

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### Ligny, Battle of (16 June 1815)

The Battle of Ligny took place during the Waterloo campaign in the south of the newly established Kingdom of the Netherlands; today, Ligny is in Belgium. The rival armies were led by Napoleon, commanding the (French) Army of the North (*Armée du Nord*), and Field Marshal Gebhard Lebrecht Blücher von Wahlstatt, commanding the (Prussian) Army of the Lower Rhine. The Prussians held on for most of the day, but a final assault on the village of Ligny that evening broke through the center of their position, leaving Napoleon in possession of the battlefield. However, he did not achieve his objective of destroying the Prussian army as an effective fighting force. Blücher's men escaped to fight another day, at Waterloo, turning the tactical defeat at Ligny into a strategic victory.

Napoleon's forces had crossed the Franco-Netherlands border the previous day, taking the city of Charleroi. His strategy was to drive the two Allied armies apart, achieving local superiority and defeating them in detail. The Allied strategy, involving the Anglo-Allied army under the Duke of Wellington as well as Blücher's Prussians, was to unite their forces rapidly once it was clear that Napoleon was making a serious attack, bringing their superiority in numbers into play to defeat him. For political reasons they could not allow Brussels to fall into the hands of the French, so they had to concentrate their forces to its fore, which meant moving forward to meet Napoleon's attack, a

maneuver that was particularly dangerous when facing a commander as mobile as Napoleon.

The (Prussian) I Army Corps (General Wierprecht von Zieten), covering the frontier around Charleroi, fought a rearguard action on 15 June, allowing Blücher to commence the concentration of his army in the Sombrefe area to fight a holding action against Napoleon. Wellington had made various promises to the Prussians to be in a position to support them with 20,000 men immediately, while bringing up the rest of his army for the decisive battle the next day.

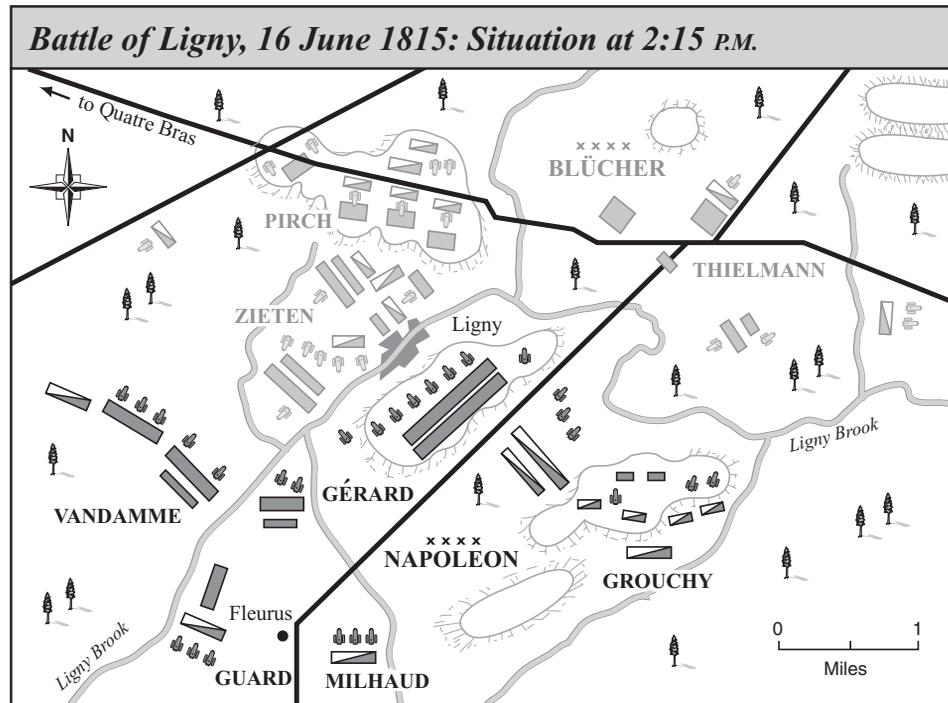
The forces available to Napoleon that day included the Imperial Guard; III Corps (General Dominique Vandamme); IV Corps (General Maurice, comte Gérard); VI Corps (General Georges Mouton, comte Lobau); General Jean-Baptiste, baron Girard's division from II Corps; and the cavalry corps of generals Claude Pajol, Isidore Exelmans, and Edouard Jean Baptiste, comte Milhaud, for a total of around 77,000 men. He also attempted to bring his I Corps (General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon) into play (20,000 men), but because of errors in communication, d'Erlon did not arrive. The quality of Napoleon's forces was good, with a solid cadre of experienced troops.

Three of the four of Blücher's corps, around 83,000 men, arrived in time for the battle. Owing to poor staff work, IV Army Corps (General Friedrich Wilhelm Graf Bülow von Dennewitz) was delayed. Two-thirds of Blücher's men were untried militia and suffering from a lack of food, water, clothing, arms, and ammunition.

The Sombrefe area had been selected in May as a suitable position for a defensive battle. The undulating countryside offered much dead ground, and the tall crops provided concealment. The villages of St. Amand, Ligny, Sombrefe, Tongrinne, Boignée, and Balâtre all featured stone buildings that gave cover. The windmill at Bussy and the church spires in the villages made good observation posts.

Blücher's intention was to fight an aggressive defense, holding up the French long enough for Wellington to arrive. He placed his I Corps in the front line, mainly in the villages of Ligny and St. Amand, and held his II Corps (General Georg Dubislav Ludwig von Pirch) in immediate reserve. The III Army Corps (General Johann Adolph Freiherr von Thielmann) covered the Namur road from Tongrenelle to Tongrinne. Bülow was expected to move up along this road. Napoleon deployed Vandamme and Girard against St. Amand and Gérard against Ligny. Exelmans's and Pajol's troopers stood observing Thielmann.

The battle commenced around 2:30 P.M. Vandamme moved against the village of St. Amand, with Girard coming up in support once the village was being stormed. The Prussians held their ground, so Vandamme attempted to



Adapted from Chandler 1999, 250.

outflank their position by throwing in Girard against the farm of St. Amand la Haye. This maneuver was successful, and the Prussians retired, having suffered heavy losses.

About 3:00 P.M. Gérard commenced his attack on Ligny. Here, too, the fight was bitter, with the Prussians contesting every inch of ground. Attack was followed by counterattack. The French attempted to storm the church in the center of the village. When that attack was not successful, they tried to move around Ligny. By about 4:00 P.M. Gérard held most of the village.

Around the same time, the Prussians launched a counteroffensive at St. Amand. This was undertaken by men of both I and II Army Corps, led in person by Blücher. The French were expelled from all but one farmhouse in the village. During a counterattack, Girard was mortally wounded. The French then moved against the Prussian flank at Wagnelée, forcing them to retire.

About 5:00 P.M. the Prussians staged a counterattack against Ligny, clearing much of the village at bayonet point. The hand-to-hand fighting was particularly vicious here, with quarter neither requested nor given.

Napoleon sent a division of the Young Guard into action at St. Amand. The Prussians then staged their second counterattack, and the village was again contested. The village fell to the French when they attacked it from three sides simultaneously.

About 6:00 P.M. the Prussian 6th Brigade was sent in against Ligny. This attack achieved only limited success, as

the French maintained their hold on the south of the village. Each house had to be taken individually. Much of Ligny was now on fire, and every open space was covered with the wounded. Blücher then committed the 8th Brigade to the battle, which made some initial headway. However, counterattacks by the French slowly drove the Prussians back. They were on the point of losing the village.

The Prussians then staged their final assault on St. Amand, taking the village. They were hoping that Wellington would soon arrive to support them, but their scouts reported the approach of d'Erlon's Corps. The Prussians now held St. Amand.

About 8:30 P.M. Napoleon sent in the Imperial Guard against Ligny, and this attack broke the Prussian center. Blücher attempted to stabilize the situation with a cavalry charge, but he was trapped under a fallen horse and control was lost over parts of the Prussian army. Blücher's chief of staff, General August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau, attempted to direct the Prussian withdrawal on Tilly, close to Wellington's positions, but the Prussians fell back to Wavre, 10 miles to the north.

Although the Prussians were soundly beaten and suffered 25,000 casualties to the French 11,000, they had not been destroyed, and as the French were unable to pursue them in the immediate aftermath of the battle, the Prussians were able to recover and regroup, with the charismatic and dogged Blücher back in command. The Prussians would see action again at Wavre only two days later when,

much more significantly, they were also in position to detach the bulk of their forces to aid the beleaguered Anglo-Allies only a few miles away at Waterloo on the same day.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Imperial Guard (French); Pajol, Claude Pierre; Thielmann, Johann Adolph Freiherr von; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Zieten, Wieprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von

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## Ligurian Republic (1797–1805)

Prior to the French Revolution the maritime republic of Genoa was dominated by a small oligarchy of patricians, most notably the Doria, Spinola, and Durazzo families. During the War of the First Coalition, Genoa remained neutral. The port of Genoa and the city's wealth were too important for Bonaparte, conducting operations in northern Italy at the time, to ignore. In late May 1797 Genoese democrats rebelled against the government, benefiting from Bonaparte's support in arms and in the French military presence in the region. The old oligarchic government was toppled, and a pro-French Ligurian Republic was proclaimed.

On 6 June Bonaparte imposed a new provisional government, consisting of moderate republicans, fourteen members of the bourgeoisie, and eight nobles. On 2 December 1797 the Ligurian population approved a new constitution, modeled on the 1795 French Constitution. It established a Directory and a bicameral legislature. The republic faced major economic difficulties; aside from a decline of its maritime commerce, it was subject to contribution (expropriation of funds), requisitions, and plundering by the French troops.

While the other Italian "sister" republics collapsed in 1799, the Ligurian Republic survived until June 1800. In early April of that year, the Austrians began an offensive against the Ligurian coast with the help of the (British) Royal Navy and on 19 April laid siege to Genoa. General André Masséna, who led the French forces, was determined to resist the Austrians until Bonaparte reached the Po valley and refused an offer by Austrian general von Melas to capitulate. However, conditions in the city deteriorated rapidly, and when it became clear that Bonaparte would not be able to reach Genoa and lift the siege quickly, Masséna surrendered on 4 June. The Austrians allowed Masséna and thousands of French troops to leave the city. The Austrian occupation of Genoa lasted, however, a mere twelve days. Following his victory at Marengo, on 14 June, Bonaparte regained control over northern Italy, including Genoa.

The Ligurian Republic was quickly restored and a new government, comprising pro-French moderate liberals, was established. On 24 June 1802 the Ligurian Republic proclaimed a new constitution. The executive power belonged to a senate presided over by a doge. However, the Ligurian Republic was independent in name only. Bonaparte selected both the senators and doge. Antonio Salicetti, the French representative in Genoa, largely governed the republic. France imposed fiscal impositions and requisitions to support its troops. Moreover, Liguria was forced to provide soldiers and sailors to Bonaparte. After the Peace of Amiens, Genoa had to close its port to British ships, bringing maritime traffic to an almost complete halt.

Clearly, the Ligurian Republic was an anachronism. On 4 June 1805, upon the "request" of the Ligurian Republic, Napoleon annexed that state into the French Empire and divided its territory into the departments of Genoa, Montenotte, and Apennins. After the fall of Napoleon, Liguria was incorporated into the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Cisalpine Republic; First Coalition, War of the; Genoa, Siege of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italy, Kingdom of; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Naples; Sardinia; Venetian Republic

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## Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of (1770–1828)

Robert Banks Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury (1796), second Earl of Liverpool (1808), held high office in the British government almost continuously through the wars against

Napoleon. His prime ministership (1812 to 1827) encompassed the last phase of the conflict, peacemaking, and the turbulent transition to peace after twenty years of fighting.

The son of one of William Pitt's cabinet ministers, Jenkinson was elected to the House of Commons just before he could take his seat at the age of twenty-one. He soon received minor office and proved himself a good orator. When Pitt resigned in 1801 over the inability to follow Irish union with Catholic emancipation, Hawkesbury was one of those persuaded by the departing leader to continue in Henry Addington's administration. Although he had himself favored continuing the war, he found himself as foreign secretary in a government committed to negotiating peace with the French foreign minister, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, and Napoleon, and was naturally criticized by those who felt that Britain had surrendered too much in the Treaty of Amiens (1802).

When Pitt returned to office in 1804, after the renewal of war, Hawkesbury was nevertheless merely moved to the chief domestic department as home secretary. Out of office during Lord Grenville's period in office (the so-called Ministry of All the Talents, February 1806–March 1807), he resumed the same post in the Duke of Portland's government. In 1809 when Spencer Perceval became prime minister, Liverpool (as Hawkesbury was now known) became secretary of state for war and the colonies. He was strongly committed to the Peninsular War but warned the future Duke of Wellington not to take military risks that would undermine support at home. Following the assassination of Perceval in 1812, Liverpool was the unanimous choice of his colleagues to be prime minister.

Although he was personally opposed to altering the political restrictions on Catholics, he dealt with the divisive issue by having no official policy and allowing individual ministers to voice their individual views while carefully balancing the cabinet between the two sides. As head of the government he shared the credit for his country's vital contribution in the Peninsular War, the Battle of Waterloo, and the final defeat of Napoleon, but also the blame for the repression of unrest in the five years following the end of wartime prosperity. The social situation was in no way helped by the Corn Laws, which fixed the price of grain at a high rate to discourage cheaper foreign imports, and abolition of the income tax (paid only by the well-to-do) in 1816, which he was virtually forced to accept by the landowners who controlled Parliament.

In 1821–1823 new ministers brought into the cabinet wanted changes in foreign and economic policy. Liverpool sided with the foreign secretary, George Canning, and supported tariff reduction, including those on grain, to the anger of Wellington and some other colleagues. By the middle of the decade the ministry was divided, particularly

on the Corn Laws and Catholic emancipation. Liverpool was on the verge of retirement when he was forced to resign following a crippling stroke in February 1827. His accomplishment in holding together a talented but temperamental combination of ministers of differing political hues for longer than any of his successors became more obvious in the next three years as his party fragmented, paving the way for the major reform of Parliament in 1832.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Canning, George; Catholic Emancipation; Corn Laws; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Pitt, William; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, prince; Union, Act of; Waterloo, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Loano, Battle of (23 November 1795)

The main engagement of a series of operations that took place from 22 to 29 November 1795, the Battle of Loano was a victory that consolidated the French position in western Liguria and in the Maritime Alps, forcing the Austro-Piedmontese army on the defensive.

Since 1792 Revolutionary France and the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia had been at war for the possession of Savoy and Nice. After two years of indecisive actions in the Piedmontese Alps, the French strategy turned to Liguria. With the exception of the Piedmontese enclaves of Oneglia and Loano, these rugged territories belonged to the neutral Republic of Genoa. In June 1795, the Piedmontese (Sardinian) army, under Austrian general *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli, and the (Austrian) Army of Lombardy, under *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Nikolaus Freiherr De Vins (Allied commander in chief), drove the French back to the line of Borghetto, which stretched for 15 miles from the coast up to the heights dominating Ormea, in the upper Tanaro valley. The Austro-Piedmontese established a position on a roughly parallel line of entrenchments from Loano, on the coast, to Garessio. The Piedmontese were to watch the northern span, from Garessio to the Colle Scravaion. The Austrians held the rest of the line, with strongpoints on Roccabarbena, Toirano, and Loano.

On 21 September, General Barthélemy Schérer replaced General François Kellermann at the head of the Armée d'Italie. He soon received substantial reinforcements in manpower and supplies. Schérer's army could now field 25,000 men, a force strong enough to successfully strike and separate the Allied armies, which on paper numbered 43,000 strong. Strategic consumption had, however, considerably reduced this figure. Bad weather and early snow made life unsustainable in mountain entrenchments, so that several Allied units took shelter in the villages nearby.

The French concentration ended on 22 November, masked by feint movements to winter quarters. The same day a sick De Vins handed over command to General Olivier Graf von Wallis. In the early morning of the twenty-third, the French attack developed along three directions. On the left, Jean Philibert Sérurier led a diversionary action against the Piedmontese in the upper Tanaro valley. Though eventually forced back to his original positions, he succeeded in preventing Colli from detaching troops to the center, where the main blow was to be delivered. In this sector, General André Masséna attacked with 13,000 men. While some Austrian units bravely resisted at Alzabecchi, others panicked and fled back to Bardinetto. For fear of being outflanked, *Generalmajor* Eugène Graf d'Argenteau's troops retreated in disorder, thus exposing the northern flank of the Austrian left wing. The latter faced the attack of General Pierre Augereau's division. With the effective support of gunboats along the coast, and spearheaded by General Jean Lannes, the French made some progress at Toirano and Boissano but could not break the Austrian resistance at Loano. A pouring rain put an end to this indecisive engagement.

Wallis, informed of Argenteau's rout and at risk of being entrapped with his back to the sea, retreated to Finale. On the twenty-fourth, he sent a column with all his guns and wagons up the road to the San Giacomo Pass, only to discover that the defile was already in French hands. Forced to abandon most of their artillery, the Austrians continued their retreat to Acqui along the coast, via Savona. Allied losses at Loano amounted to 50 guns and 5,500 dead, wounded, and prisoners. The French had 1,300 dead and wounded, and 400 prisoners taken by the Piedmontese.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Lannes, Jean; Masséna, André; Sardinia; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph

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## Lodi, Battle of (10 May 1796)

A relatively minor engagement against the Austrian rear guard defending the bridge over the Adda River in the Italian village of Lodi, this battle was nevertheless instrumental in the development of Bonaparte's self-perception and of his public image as a great commander.

After defeating the Piedmontese in his first Italian campaign, Bonaparte turned his attention to the pursuit of the Austrians under *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu. It was necessary to cross the river Adda on a 170-yard-long wooden bridge at Lodi, in defense of which Beaulieu had left a rear guard of some 12,000 men and 14 cannon.

Bonaparte decided to storm the bridge, even though the Austrian guns completely dominated it. He sent a cavalry contingent up the river to cross and then sweep down on the Austrian right flank. He formed his grenadiers into columns in the shelter of the city walls and gave them an inspirational speech. Then, to the cries of “*Vive la République*,” they stormed the bridge. This attack faltered, but generals André Masséna and Louis-Alexandre Berthier soon led another attack across the bridge. In light of the heavy Austrian fusillade on the bridge, many French troops jumped off and opened fire from the shallow part of the river. A counterattack by the Austrians was foiled as French cavalry arrived just as more French infantry attacked the bridge. The cavalry sabered the enemy gun crews and routed the Austrian forces, which left behind their artillery, several hundred dead, and almost 2,000 prisoners.

Bonaparte was a whirlwind of action. Observing from close range and from a church tower, he took personal charge of every detail. He even positioned the cannon along the river, earning for himself the sobriquet “the little corporal” for doing work normally assigned to a soldier of that rank. Bonaparte's strength lay not just in his military skills but in emotional leadership, something that had not been particularly necessary in his previous engagements. He had inspired his men to undertake the rather daunting task of running across a bridge into concentrated Austrian fire.

The Austrian retreat from Lodi opened the road to Milan and gave the French troops new confidence. Lodi was far more important than simply a battle that opened the way to Milan. Beyond its somewhat limited military significance, the battle created a change in Bonaparte's attitude toward his future: He now knew he was a leader. In exile at St. Helena he wrote that it was at Lodi that he first saw himself as able to achieve great things.

Lodi also had an important effect on Bonaparte's troops. It was there that they first observed him in action



The Battle of Lodi, where after seizing the bridge over the Adda, the French defeated the Austrians and proceeded to occupy Milan. (Print by Valadon, Bousson, Paris, after F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 1)

and finally gained complete confidence in him. It was the beginning of the special relationship between Bonaparte and his men; indeed, Lodi marked the beginning of their personal devotion to him that would last some twenty years.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Masséna, André

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### Lonato, Battles of (31 July and 3 August 1796)

During the frantic week leading up to the decisive Battle of Castiglione (5 August 1796), two minor engagements were fought on 31 July and 3 August at Lonato, a small village on the hills southwest of Lake Garda. Both were French victo-

ries that contributed to the success of Bonaparte's plan to repulse the first Austrian attempt at relieving Mantua.

In July 1796 a reinforced Austrian army of 50,000 men under *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser moved south from the Tyrol in three columns. On 28 July while the main body under Würmser pushed down the Adige valley, and another smaller column under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Meszaros Freiherr von Szoboszio advanced on Verona from the east, the right wing (18,000 under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Peter Vitus Freiherr von Quosdanovich), after a tiring march down the Chiese valley, unexpectedly debouched west of Lake Garda. On 30 July Quosdanovich took the city of Brescia, thus severing Bonaparte's line of communication to Milan. By that time, the bulk of the (French) Armée d'Italie (about 42,500, including the force besieging Mantua) had deployed in a central position just south of Lake Garda on both banks of the Mincio River. The serious threat posed to his rear forced Bonaparte to concentrate against Quosdanovich. He then ordered the abandonment of Verona and the raising of the siege of Mantua.

By early morning on 31 July, most of his divisions (led by generals Hyacinthe François Despinoy, André Masséna,

and Pierre Augereau) were across the Mincio moving westward. On its way to Brescia, the French advance guard under Despinoy (about 4,700 men) ran into one of Quosdanovich's brigades (4,000 troops under *General-major* Peter Ott Freiherr von Bartokez) at Lonato. The French were first repulsed and then pursued by some Austrian cavalry up to the hills east of the village. Very soon, however, General Claude Dallemagne's brigade (and possibly General Antoine Guillaume Rampon's) of Masséna's division joined in the fight with some artillery. Overwhelmed, Ott began an orderly fighting retreat back to Ponte San Marco and Brescia, leaving Lonato in French hands. Despite his later claims, it is not clear whether Bonaparte was in command on the spot.

From 1 to 3 August, while Würmsers was advancing to cross the Mincio to come to Quosdanovich's rescue, a confused sequence of movements and countermovements took place in the broken terrain between Brescia and Lake Garda. On 1 August, the Austrians abandoned Brescia and retreated northeast. Aware of Würmsers's advance across the Mincio, Quosdanovich made an attempt to link up with his commander in chief in the Lonato-Castiglione area. Accordingly, on the second attempt he dispatched *Generalmajor* Joseph Ocksay Freiherr von Ocska's brigade (about 3,600 men) to Desenzano on the southern shore of Lake Garda. The following day at dawn, Ocksay attacked and occupied Lonato, defeating General Jean Joseph Pijon's brigade (1,500 troops) and taking many prisoners, including the commanding general, and three guns.

The rest of Masséna's division (9,000 men), with Bonaparte, soon counterattacked with most units deployed in *colonnes serrés* with supporting cavalry and artillery, forcing by sheer weight of numbers Ocksay out of the village and back to Desenzano. To entrap the discouraged enemy, Bonaparte promptly sent a flying column of cavalry and light infantry under General Jean Junot to block the northern exits from that village. Ocksay consequently had to surrender with most of his men.

The defeat at Lonato definitively frustrated Quosdanovich's attempt at linking with Würmsers and, together with other minor reverses, obliged him to retrace his steps back to the Chiese valley and the western shore of Lake Garda. Free from Quosdanovich's threat, Bonaparte was now ready to fall on Würmsers.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Castiglione, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Würmsers, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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### López Ballesteros, Francisco (1770–1833)

A well-known Spanish general in the Peninsular War, Francisco López Ballesteros was in 1808 a junior officer in the Resguardo, or customs guard, in the province of Asturias in northern Spain. In the aftermath of the Spanish uprising he was appointed by the provincial junta established in Oviedo to the rank of first brigadier and then major general, taking command of a division of the Army of Asturias. Assigned to home defense, he took no part in the campaigns of 1808 and saw no action until May 1809 when the French marched on Oviedo. Bypassed by the invaders, Ballesteros led his 10,000 men in a desperate march to save the city but was unable to arrive in time. Doubling back, he therefore struck eastward and stormed Santander, which had been left almost unprotected by the French, only to be defeated by a relief force that arrived the next day. Ballesteros, however, escaped by boat, while his division was reconstituted in Asturias.

Transferred to join the Army of the Left with his new troops later in the year, the Asturian commander next fought in the campaign of Alba de Tormes, before wintering in the Sierra de Francia with the rest of the Duque Del Parque's forces. Brought still farther south to defend Badajoz, the Army of the Left—and with it Ballesteros—spent 1810 skirmishing on the frontiers of Andalucía (Andalusia) against the troops of Marshal Nicholas Soult. From these actions Ballesteros derived little profit, but in March 1811 his fortunes changed. When Soult marched on Badajoz, he and his division—now a tough veteran fighting force—were cut off in the mountains that divide Extremadura from Andalusia (Andalucía). Showing considerable enterprise, Ballesteros spent most of the next few months launching an incessant series of attacks on the French and also made an appearance at Albuera.

With his reputation boosted by a number of minor victories, in August 1811 he and his men were transferred by sea to a new base at Algeciras, in the far south. Continuing to harass the French, they then took a prominent part in the diversionary operations that helped set up the Earl of Wellington's victory at Salamanca in July 1812. Promoted in the wake of the Allied triumph to the command of the Spanish Fourth Army, Ballesteros set up his headquarters at Granada. Lionized by the liberal press, he now considered himself to be one of the foremost commanders in Spain, and in consequence reacted very badly when he heard that Wellington was being made commander in chief

of the Spanish armies. So angry was he, indeed, that he attempted to lead a military revolt against the government, but he received no support and was placed under arrest and banished to Ceuta.

After 1814 he was at first favored by the restored Ferdinand VII, who made him minister of war, but after a short period he was dismissed, as a result of which he joined the liberal cause when revolution broke out in 1820. A moderate, however, he had little stomach for the radicalism of many of the leading liberals and therefore put up little fight against the French army that intervened to rescue the absolutist cause in 1823, choosing rather to flee into exile. Eventually settling in Paris, he died in 1833.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Alba de Tormes, Battle of; Albuera, Battle of; Badajoz, First Siege of; Ferdinand VII, King; Peninsular War; Salamanca, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Losses (French)

The armies of the Revolution and the Empire were the first ones with several million men to pass through their ranks. Recruitment of younger and younger conscripts compensated for the losses suffered. Losses exceeded one million deaths (from all causes) for the whole period. Any evaluation of French losses is difficult since “the necessary documents do not exist [so] we could give only vague conjectures not founded on official records” (Bodart 1916, 131–132). Karl von Clausewitz himself would go on to say, “Reports on the number of persons killed and wounded are never precise, rarely sincere, and most of the time voluntarily truncated” (Clausewitz 1976, 248–251). Indeed, the *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* includes many examples of forgery; the number of 20,000 drowned Allied soldiers in the ponds of Austerlitz, for example, might be an exaggeration of the true total by a factor of one hundred.

In 1900 a member of the staff at the War Office in Paris named A. Martinien, after establishing tables of officers killed and wounded in the Napoleonic Wars, determined that it was an impossible task to extend his research to include the lower ranks (Lemaire 1999, 15). About 10 percent of superior officers of the Republic were killed in action, while during the Empire the proportion rose to more than 20 percent. The total of French and allied offi-

cers killed or wounded in the armies of Napoleon between 1805 and 1815 has been estimated to be approximately 60,000 (Bodart 1916, 122–124).

In 1892 a study by Dumas and Vedel-Petersen offered very different results. According to them, the data compiled by Fröhlich for total civil and military losses between 1801 and 1815 are strangely precise: 5,295,084 deaths (Dumas and Vedel-Petersen 1923, 33). The maximum figure appearing in studies hostile to Napoleon is 5,256,000 military personnel killed during the Empire, among whom 3,097,720 were actually Frenchmen (Soubiran 1969, 12–14). In fact, a million Frenchmen are thought to have died, among which 471,000 recorded deaths can be attributed to combat and disease, while 530,000 soldiers are believed to have gone missing (Houdaille 1972, 27–50).

According to others, the wars cost France 1,070,000 men (306,000 killed and 764,000 wounded) and 265,000 to its allies (65,000 killed and 200,000 wounded). The disability rate among surviving wounded soldiers was approximately 15–20 percent. To this Bodart asserts the need to add 600,000 deaths resulting from disease, cold, and other causes (Bodart 1916, 131–132). The figure of 1,700,000 deaths, given by Hargenvilliers and adopted by some nineteenth-century historians, is an overestimate because of the uncertainty of the fate of those reported as missing.

Among the 1,285,000 killed and missing soldiers of the Empire were 537,000 prisoners and 280,000 deserters (out of 2,025,000 mobilized). Up to 300,000 of them probably returned, without military authorities being informed of the fact (Houdaille 1972, 27–50). Estimates provided by demographers seem to be the most reliable: “400,000 to 500,000 for the Revolution [1792–1803], or a third of the men who served, and for the Empire [1804–1815] from 800,000 to 900,000, that is, a little more than 40 percent” (Corvisier and Delmas 1992, 328–329).

To consider a specific region, at least 4,067 Héraultais (men from the Languedoc area) died or were killed on campaign during the years 1792–1815, a minimum figure established from the “Etat-Civil” register. The department lost 20–30 percent of its mobilized men from 1803 to 1810. Their survival rate became shorter as periods of campaigning grew successively more protracted: More than 60 percent of deaths occurred in the two years that followed a soldier’s call to the colors. In 1813 nearly half of the conscripts died in the first six months (Fangier 1971; Peschot 1971; Robert 1971).

Typical losses (killed and wounded) in battle have been estimated on average at 15 percent in case of victory and at 20 percent in case of defeat (Bodart 1916, 14–15). The Battle of Valmy (20 September 1792) resulted in small French losses (90 soldiers killed and 210 wounded), but losses at Eylau (7 February 1807) are estimated at 31.4 percent of

forces (Bodart 1916, 16), what Lemaire describes as the first battle of the period to qualify as “a bloodbath” (Lemaire 1999, 140). The Russian campaign was a disaster for the Grande Armée with, according to Bodart, the loss of 340,000 out of 680,000 men (Bodart 1916, 126–128), though his figures for the total size of the invading force is almost certainly exaggerated. In the Medical Service, only 275 surgeons out of 824 survived (a fatality rate of 33 percent), and barely more than 30 doctors out of 113 (26 percent) (Lemaire 1999, 179).

The armies of the Empire lost 15.6 percent of their forces through disease as against 5.6 percent in combat (Corvisier and Delmas 1992, 328–329). Typhus wiped out huge numbers. In 1805 in Brünn, during the Austerlitz campaign, this disease alone accounted for 12,000 deaths in the French army. During the siege of Torgau (1 September 1813–31 January 1814) the garrison lost 13,500 men out of a total of 25,000 to disease (Soubiran 1969, 101–102, 309). Typhus was responsible for 25,000 deaths among the 30,000 prisoners of the Grande Armée detained in Vilna in 1812 (Dumas and Vedel-Petersen 1923, 118).

*Jean-Jacques Arzalier*

*See also* Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Eylau, Battle of; French Army; Medical Services; Russian Campaign; Torgau, Siege of; Valmy, Battle of

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## Lough Swilly Expedition (August–October 1798)

In the summer of 1798 the French government (known as the Directory) organized a second expedition to Ireland (the first having been two years earlier) to aid the rebellion of the United Irishmen that had broken out in June. Instead of a large single fleet as had sailed in 1796, this expedition was divided into three small parts, each to be conveyed from a different port. There was no coordination between the separate parts of the expedition, with each commander responsible for organizing and launching his own contingent and each to arrive separately in Ireland. Meanwhile, the British intelligence network was well informed about the preparation of this expedition and its general destination. The first group to reach Ireland, General Jean Joseph Humbert’s force of 1,000 men from Rochefort, landed in Killala Bay on 22 August. The main force of 3,000 men under the command of General Jean Hardy, along with a consignment of 40,000 muskets for the Irish insurgents, sailed from Brest on 16 September, aboard a squadron comprising the *Hoche* (74 guns) and eight frigates commanded by *chef de division* Jean-Baptiste-François Bompard. Also on board was Wolfe Tone, the Irish revolutionary leader.

Despite Bompard’s efforts to avoid Royal Navy patrols and conceal his ultimate destination, two British frigates sighted the French squadron on 22 September. While one frigate shadowed the squadron, the other alerted the British squadron stationed off Ireland. While the trailing frigate eventually lost contact because of poor weather on 4 October, Commodore Sir John Warren’s force of three ships of the line and a heavy frigate joined the chase. On 11 October the French squadron arrived in Donegal Bay and sailed toward Lough Swilly to disembark the expeditionary force. However, Warren’s reinforced squadron of three ships of the line and five frigates had already reached Lough Swilly before Bompard. Bompard turned to flee, while Warren ordered a general chase.

During the night a heavy gale toppled the *Hoche*’s main-topmast, tearing the mainsail. Seeing that the *Hoche* would be unable to escape, Bompard requested that Tone flee aboard one of the frigates, but the Irishman refused to leave his cause to be fought by the French. Tone thus chose to remain on board the *Hoche*, commanding one of its batteries. After a two-hour engagement, the *Hoche* was forced

to surrender. The eight French frigates attempted to escape, but three were taken and, over the next week, the British chased down and captured three of the remaining frigates. Once on shore, Tone was recognized and tried by the British as a traitor, despite his commission in the French Army. Sentenced to be hanged, Tone committed suicide.

*Kenneth Johnson*

*See also* Directory, The; Donegal, Battle of; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; Tone, Wolfe

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### Louis XVI, King (1754–1793)

In 1774 Louis-Auguste, duc de Berry became king of France at the age of nineteen, upon the death of his grandfather Louis XV. He inherited the massive debt accumulated from the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and found himself ruling uncomfortably in an age influenced by the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment propounded by philosophes such as Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire, and Rousseau, whose principles were incompatible with a feudal monarchy. Louis possessed personal virtues, including courage, but few qualities of an inspiring leader. Conscientious and thought by many contemporaries to be genuinely concerned for the welfare of his people, he attempted economic reforms but could not support the efforts of his ministers when faced with intransigent opposition from the nobility and the Church. If Louis XV lost the affection of his people, Louis XVI could not restore it. Despite his goodwill, Louis's equivocal concessions came too late to save the monarchy.

Born on 23 August 1754, Louis as a child was a serious student, of average intelligence, whose favorite subjects included mathematics, history, and geography. He loved books and could read English, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. He held deep Catholic religious convictions with a sense of compassion. An excellent horseman, he kept a diary of his passion for hunting. He also took an interest in mechanical science, fashioning locks and clocks. Louis was neglected until his untimely elevation as the Dauphin and heir. Deeply affected by the death of his parents, and dominated by his two popular brothers, he lacked self-esteem and grew

introspective. Moreover, he was puritanical, repelled by the dominating influences of his grandfather's mistresses on policy. Louis was as wary of his queen, Marie Antoinette, a former archduchess of the Austrian House of Habsburg.

The marriage of Louis and Marie Antoinette in 1770 fortified the defensive alliance between France and Austria arranged by Louis XV and Maria Theresa in 1756 to counter the growing influence of Prussia. The royal couple was guarantor of a policy that neither of their populations fully accepted after two centuries of warfare. In its early years, the marriage was impaired by Louis's awkwardness and ignorance, and his preference for solitude impelled the queen toward capricious diversions, ruinous gambling debts, and extravagant spending on royal residences. Their marriage was consummated in 1773, and the king sired four children, two of whom survived the king and queen, including the heir, Louis-Charles.

His lighthearted queen sought company in close personal relationships with the princess de Lamballe and duchess de Polignac, successive governesses to her children, leading to charges of favoritism and later libels. Personally she was generous and loyal to her friends, dressing fashionably in a role expected of her, with a fondness for diamonds. The queen avoided the stiff formality of the court, offending courtiers, but she nevertheless led an indulgent lifestyle with her intimate circle at a time when France was facing serious economic problems. The queen came to symbolize the abuses of the monarchy, and she suffered deeply from scorn and sexual libels. The scandal of a public trial over the fraudulent purchase of an expensive diamond necklace in her name by the comtesse de la Motte—who took possession of lavishly expensive items of jewelry and then claimed the queen would pay for them—ruined her, notwithstanding her innocence, and thoroughly discredited the monarchy. Yet, as Louis became increasingly debilitated by protracted bouts of depression, the queen grew stronger, increasing her influence on the king's decisions supporting their royal prerogatives. Not political by nature, she was wedded to the monarchy as a patrimony for her children.

Notwithstanding the near state of bankruptcy plaguing France, a popular treaty of alliance with America in 1778 enabled it to intervene in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) in order to oppose the hereditary enemy of France, Britain. By its involvement in the conflict, France intended to restore the balance of power lost as a result of the Seven Years' War. But Louis also feared the loss of France's lucrative colonies in the West Indies if Britain succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. The American Revolutionary War became global, stretching from North America and the West Indies to India. Forty thousand French troops were poised to invade England itself.

The comte de Rochambeau commanded a French expeditionary army in America and with Washington's army defeated the British at Yorktown after Admiral François Joseph de Grasse achieved a signal naval victory there. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 ensured political independence for the infant republic, though the commercial advantages sought by France never materialized. The overall cost of the war to the French budget is estimated, in today's terms, at 5 billion euros, which necessitated further borrowing. Louis later credited much of the economic problems on the "exorbitant but honorable war" in America.

The reign of Louis XVI was otherwise marked by a series of economic and political crises stemming from proposals for tax reform initiated by the king and his ministers to address a looming bankruptcy. More than 40 percent of the budget was devoted to servicing the national debt; the expenses of the court alone accounted for nearly 7 percent of the total. The commoners and peasantry shouldered virtually the entire national debt. The nobility and Church, pillars of the monarchy, successfully resisted a succession of liberal-minded finance ministers unable to extend the tax burden to the privileged classes, who countered by calling for restraint in the court's extravagance.

The king's defiant responses to the Assembly of Notables, the parlement of Paris, and finally the Estates-General, all resentful of arbitrary power, converted the issue into a debate on the legitimacy of the king's authority. The troubles were exacerbated by a severe winter followed by eighteen months of poor harvest, causing a shortage of bread that touched ordinary people visibly. The king vacillated when faced with opposition from the nobility and clergy, dismissing his ministers in turn, only to appoint new ones who urged similar reforms. Finally, the Third Estate, a self-styled commons representing the laboring and productive classes in the Estates-General, declaring itself the sole representative of the people, on 17 June 1789 broke with the First and Second estates, the chambers representing the clergy and nobility, to adopt a constitution with legislative powers. Presented with a fait accompli, the king dispatched troops to Paris and Versailles to ensure public order while threatening the newly formed National Assembly with a possible coup d'état.

On 14 July, sizable elements of the Parisian population reacted violently, storming Les Invalides and the great royalist fortress, the Bastille, in search of arms and powder to defend itself, forcing the king to retreat and acknowledge a de facto constitutional monarchy. The Revolution became increasingly violent, as diverse factions competed for influence and brought the movement's most radical elements into ascendancy in an assembly determined to eliminate the last vestiges of feudal absolutism. The palaces of Versailles and then the Tuileries were stormed by mobs that

sought through plunder and occupation to remove any remnant of royal prestige and authority.

In 1792, war was declared against Austria and Prussia to repel an invading army intent on restoring the Bourbon monarchy, though its progress was checked as a consequence of the decisive French victory at the Battle of Valmy. Members of the royal family attempted a furtive flight but were arrested at Varennes, and an atmosphere of anti-royalist hysteria enraging the people finally sank the fortunes of the monarchy. The king was deposed, and a republic established. The king and queen were imprisoned and tried for treason, notably for conspiring with foreign powers to save the monarchy. Louis was guillotined on 21 January 1793, followed by Marie Antoinette on 16 October. The heir to the throne, Louis-Charles, subjected to pitiless abuse and neglect in the Temple Tower, died two years later.

Louis XVI was as much a victim as a king, neither accommodated by the nobility and church to solve the economic and political crises facing the nation, nor accorded the right to do so by the Assembly. Unwittingly sacrificed by the former to preserve their privileges, he was deposed by the latter for their collective folly consonant with the nascent democratic principles of the Age of Reason.

*John Beresford Welsh*

*See also* France; French Revolution

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### Louis XVIII, King (1755–1824)

When Bonaparte seized power in 1799, royalists hoped he would pave the way for a restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, in the person of the pretender Louis XVIII. In the event, this younger brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI would only succeed to the throne in 1814, after Napoleon's first abdication. By the time of his belated accession, contrary to the famous jibe that he lived in the past, Louis XVIII had finally learned a little and forgotten something of the old regime. His recent sojourn in Britain had perhaps mellowed him, for under the Revolution there were few hints of any moderation.

One of the first émigrés to leave France, in 1789, the comte de Provence, as he was then known, was a die-hard reactionary who refused to compromise with the principles of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*. Indeed, on the eve of the Revolution he urged his older brother to yield nothing to the mounting opposition. Not surprisingly, the declaration he issued from his exile in Verona (after having taken the title Louis XVIII on the death of Louis XVI's ten-year-old son, Louis XVII, in 1795) was a traditional defense of throne and altar. Only a return to the absolutist and aristocratic system that had served France so well for almost a thousand years, he argued, could save the country from its dire predicament.

In the wake of the Terror, the moment for restoration appeared ripe. Yet such an unbending appeal to the past disappointed most resurgent royalists, who desired nothing more than a return to the constitutional monarchy of 1791. Though the Republic seemed unworkable, the extremism exhibited by Louis appeared equally unviable. Hence the attraction of Napoleon, who was quick to quash rumors that he might be the French equivalent of General Monck (restorer of Charles II in seventeenth-century England) by stating that Louis would only march to power over thousands of French corpses.

The degree of internal stability that Napoleon achieved and, above all, the reestablishment of the Catholic Church, ensured that Louis remained isolated. The extrajudicial murder in 1804 of the duc d'Enghien—a member of the House of Bourbon—closely followed by the creation of the hereditary Empire, banished all hopes of a monarchical restoration to a post-Napoleonic future, which materialized only with Napoleon's defeat in 1814.

Even then the elderly, and rather portly, Louis had to endure the indignity of scurrying back into exile when Napoleon launched the adventure of the Hundred Days in 1815. It was still more difficult for Louis to shrug off the accusation that he had returned in the baggage train of the victorious Allies, a beneficiary of French defeat. There was also a severe political backlash when Louis was restored for a second time, but he resisted pressure from the so-called ultra-royalists and began to consolidate a liberal parliamentary monarchy. It was the more reactionary policies of his younger brother and successor, Charles X, that brought the Bourbons crashing down for good in 1830.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Emigrés; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; France; French Revolution; Louis XVI, King; Terror, The

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## Louise, Queen (1776–1810)

Born 10 March 1776, Louise was the daughter of Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Frederika of Hesse-Darmstadt. On 24 December 1793 she married Crown Prince Frederick William (Friedrich Wilhelm) of Prussia, who inherited the Prussian Crown in 1797, and proved to be an ideal consort, producing nine children and becoming popular with the Prussian Army as well as becoming her husband's closest friend and adviser. Napoleon, hoping to keep Prussia neutral, attempted to win Louise's favor with gifts, including a lace gown ostensibly sent from Josephine, although by 1805 Louise was at the center of a Prussian court faction determined to fight Napoleon, whom she characterized as a "monster." In the process of educating herself to be queen, Louise's reading in history and politics led her to champion educational and military reforms, and she advised her husband to dismiss ministers like Heinrich vom Stein and Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg in favor of progressive and aggressive men.



Queen Louise of Prussia. An enthusiastic advocate for war with France in 1806, she was described by Napoleon as "the only man in Prussia." (Unsigned print from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

Louise was present on the field at the Battle of Auerstädt on 14 October 1806 and fled Prussia to Memel under the protection of Tsar Alexander I. Louise and Alexander formed a close friendship that aided Prussian-Russian diplomatic and military relations, although Napoleon viciously caricatured them in French propaganda as Horatio Nelson and Lady Emma Hamilton, imputing an adulterous relationship. After taking Berlin, Napoleon also quoted passages of Louise's seized personal correspondence in an army bulletin in an attempt to smear her. Louise appeared during the treaty negotiations at Tilsit, in a failed attempt to secure concessions from Napoleon, although she did win his sympathy with her beauty and regal poise—something of a change from Napoleon's description of her the year before as “the only real man in Prussia” (quoted in Fremont-Barnes 2002, 16).

Louise did not live to see Napoleon's defeat, instead dying of a pulmonary embolism on 19 July 1810 during a visit to her family in Strelitz. In her honor, Frederick William III in 1813 instituted both the Iron Cross for military valor and the *Luisenorde* decoration for Prussian women. In 1870 Louise's son, Wilhelm I, stopped at her tomb to vow revenge on France before deploying for the Franco-Prussian War.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Auerstädt, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Hamilton, Emma, Lady; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Jena, Battle of; Josephine, Empress; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Prussia; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tilsit, Treaties of

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### Louisiana Purchase (3 May 1803)

On 3 May 1803 in Paris, U.S. minister to France Robert R. Livingston, U.S. secretary of state James Monroe, and French foreign minister François Barbé-Marbois signed the Louisiana Purchase treaty (antedated to 30 April), under which France ceded the Louisiana Territory to the United States. Under two additional conventions signed the same day, the United States agreed to pay 60 million

francs in addition to assuming 20 million francs of private claims held against France, for a total of \$15 million.

The Louisiana Territory had first been claimed by René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle in 1682, then was split at the Treaty of Paris (1763) between East and West Louisiana, with Britain and Spain, respectively, as the new colonial masters. The territory included the whole or parts of present-day Arkansas, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wyoming.

The First Consul of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, had initially seemed eager to reestablish a French presence in North America. At the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (7 October 1800), Spain agreed to retrocede Louisiana to France; Bonaparte also, and unsuccessfully, demanded that Spain sell the Floridas. In 1801 he sent an expedition to St. Domingue (present-day Haiti) to reassert French authority over a colony that had become effectively independent under the rule of Toussaint Louverture. In 1802 Bonaparte gave the Duke of Parma the Italian province of Etruria, thus fulfilling an essential clause of the Treaty of San Ildefonso. He then ordered 3,000 French troops to assemble in Rotterdam and depart for Louisiana. Owing to difficulties in finding enough transport ships, however, followed by harsh winter weather, the force was not ready to sail until early 1803.

French policy then changed dramatically in the spring of 1803. In March of that year, Bonaparte ordered that plans to occupy Louisiana be put on hold. In April, when Livingston made a proposal to purchase New Orleans, the port of which was essential to the economic well-being of the territory through which the Mississippi passed, Bonaparte offered not only the city but the rest of Louisiana as well. The Louisiana Purchase was negotiated in a few weeks and ratified by the U.S. Senate on 20 October. Exactly a month later, France officially assumed control in New Orleans, only to pass the province over to the United States on 20 December, with a similar ceremony taking place on 9 March 1804 in St. Louis.

Explanations for Bonaparte's decision to sell Louisiana are twofold. First, in January 1802, he received the news that the commander of the French expeditionary force in St. Domingue, General Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, had died of yellow fever. This confirmed that the French attempt to restore slavery to France's most valuable colony, already plagued by tropical diseases and Haitian resistance, would probably end in failure, thus diminishing the value of France's other New World colonies. Second, deteriorating relations between Britain and France—nominally at peace from the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens (25 March 1802) to the renewal of war (18 May 1803)—along with costly preparations for a cross-Channel invasion

force, meant that the French Navy would be better employed in home waters rather than in protecting far-flung colonies. The French treasury, moreover, was in dire need of the extra funds, which the sale of Louisiana provided.

*Philippe R. Girard*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Haiti; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; San Ildefonso, Treaty of; Toussaint Louverture; United States

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## Lowe, Sir Hudson (1769–1844)

British officer who served as governor of St. Helena during most of Napoleon's final exile on that island from 1815 to 1821.

An Irishman who had seen service mostly in the Mediterranean throughout the Napoleonic period, Hudson Lowe had little in his military career to recommend him for any important position, but the British government nevertheless appointed him to the sensitive post of governor of St. Helena, and he arrived there in April 1816. Lowe was somewhat lacking in the social graces but was well meaning; in terms of his assignment, he proved unimaginative, lacking in initiative, and concerned with following instructions precisely, without regard to the circumstances of the moment.

Lowe made some effort to establish good relations with Napoleon, but he was adamant in restricting his captive's freedom of movement. He was obsessed with the fear, perhaps misplaced, that Napoleon might somehow escape the island. Though St. Helena was very remote, and any approaching ship would have been visible for days, Lowe was nevertheless convinced that somehow Napoleon would

find a way to get off the island, and in so doing ruin Lowe's career. Lowe thus placed increasingly severe restrictions on Napoleon's mobility and insisted that he show himself each day to a British officer.

For his part, Napoleon, whose defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815 had led to his exile, was furious at having to tolerate what he considered to be insulting restrictions on his movements. For a man who had been Emperor of the French and master of much of Europe besides, Lowe's seemingly niggling infringements on his freedom of movement seemed particularly galling to Napoleon. However, the British refused to allow him to be addressed as such, claiming that the only legitimate title he had was that of general. Lowe could have bent or ignored that political decision, but instead he insisted on enforcing it. He even refused to allow delivery of letters or packages addressed to the "Emperor." Over the years, the two men engaged in a trivial and demeaning war of words. Napoleon died a bitter man, some arguing that much of the blame rests with the approach taken by Lowe toward his uniquely important prisoner.

After Napoleon's death, Lowe continued his military service, attaining the rank of colonel in 1844. He was a career military man of some success, but his legacy is that of a petty jailer of one of history's great personalities.

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*See also* Elba; St. Helena

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## Lübeck, Storming of

*See* Fourth Coalition, War of the

## Luddites

The Luddites, named after legendary leader Ned Ludd, was a secret organization of skilled workers formed to protest the use of machinery in England's textile industries during the early nineteenth century. The organization's efforts were concentrated in the nation's industrial areas (mainly northern and central England) between 1811 and 1816. Supporters of the cause contended that the recent economic downturn, which was characterized by unemployment, low wages, and a general sense of disillusionment,

was attributable to the rise of machines and the demise of skilled labor.

The majority of Luddites were expert craftsmen whose livelihoods were based upon their ability to cut and manipulate woolen cloth. Such expertise had been highly sought and rewarded by mill owners, and as such croppers received top wages. Yet, in an effort to expand their own profits, mill owners soon discovered that even the crudest machine could more swiftly and cheaply produce the needed goods. Unemployment ensued as mills in the north and Midlands turned to mechanized manufacturing. To reverse this seemingly dangerous preference for technology over human skill, workers turned their frustration against the machines that had replaced them, destroying power looms, knitting machines, and shearing machines in protest. These actions angered owners, who saw their investments dwindling.

However, the rise of the machine was not the only factor challenging the industrial barons in the textile industries. Britain's struggles with France, not just in terms of military conflict but also economic competition, as evidenced by Napoleon's Continental System, which sought to place a ban on British goods across Europe, had, in fact, severely compromised the nation's financial health. Exports sharply declined, creating panic and uncertainty; widespread inflation ensued, particularly in the grain market (where prices were already reeling from a series of poor harvests); and wages dropped. Nonetheless, for these workers, most of whom had received the highest wages for their services, a machine in their local mill was a more tangible and real enemy than the schemes of a foreign dictator.

With little recompense for their demands, Luddite demonstrations grew more violent by 1812, as attacks expanded to mill owners and their personal property. The government, fearing further assassinations, property damage, class hostility, and—given what had happened in France—total revolution, responded harshly. Several key leaders were arrested and a few executed through 1813, and devoid of strong leadership, the organization weakened. Luddism had never been a single, coherent movement, possessing a clear political goal. Its supporters championed a variety of causes, including acceptable working conditions, fair wages, an end to food shortages, and quality control. This ambiguity additionally impaired the movement, and the number of incidents declined. By 1816 the movement all but disbanded. Periodic bursts of class unrest, most notably the Peterloo Massacre (1819), would continue in the immediate aftermath of Britain's peace with France, but the recurrent aggression of earlier years was absent.

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*See also* Continental System; Great Britain

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### **Lundy's Lane, Battle of (25 July 1814)**

One of two principal battles fought in 1814 on the U.S.-Canadian border during the War of 1812.

Seeking to probe British defenses at Fort George in the Niagara theater, the Americans under General Jacob Brown proved unsuccessful in tempting the British garrison of 600 men to venture out and seek battle. Aware, moreover, that British relief forces under Major General Phineas Riall were nearby, Brown chose to withdraw quickly so as to protect his communications. Riall followed close behind, with reinforcements under Lieutenant General Gordon Drummond marching from the west. The Americans spent the night of 24 July camped on the Chippewa battlefield, and early the following morning Riall dispatched a force of 950 infantry to establish a position just north of the Americans along a road known as Lundy's Lane, which passed over a low hill. A church stood atop the hill on the southern side of the road.

In the morning Riall placed his five cannon in the center of the hill with the infantry arrayed in an arc along Lundy's Lane and extending west from the base of the hill. Brown, with 2,600 men, lay 3 miles to the south. Unaware of his numerical superiority, Brown failed to take advantage of this opportunity, and by 4:00 P.M. Drummond was on his way to Riall's position with 500 men, fresh from a raid across the river earlier that day against what he discovered to be the abandoned American camp at Lewiston.

Around 5:00 P.M. the Americans under General Winfield Scott, about 1,100 men in all, began to advance along the Queenston Road. This ran roughly north to meet Lundy's Lane, with the Niagara River and Niagara Falls to its right. Scott's men reached the base of the hill at about 6:00 P.M. Riall, believing himself outnumbered, ordered a withdrawal, but this was countermanded by Drummond who was at that moment arriving with reinforcements. The Americans suddenly faced between 1,600 and 1,800 troops instead of fewer than 1,000, as before. Scott nevertheless carried on with his regulars, striking Riall's center and left, for a brief time hitting the left flank and rear before being repulsed by the reserves. Scott returned to make several determined attacks on Riall's left, driving it back, but the remainder of the line remained firm. The fighting carried on into dusk and then night, making identification difficult for both sides.

Around 9:00 P.M. 1,300 American reinforcements arrived, while 1,200 infantry and some artillery arrived to bolster British strength. By this time the numbers stood at around 2,100 Americans and 3,000 British, but so determined were the American assaults that Drummond thought he faced 5,000 men. About 10:00 P.M. Brown ordered an assault on the British battery of seven cannon. This was captured, while at about the same time the British left was broken and forced back half a mile. A fierce struggle then ensued when the British sought to retake the guns. Both sides fired at one another through the darkness at exceptionally close range. Around midnight both Brown and Scott were seriously wounded and the Americans fled the field in some disorder, abandoning the captured guns. At 9:00 A.M. on the twenty-sixth, the Americans sought to renew the battle with 1,500 men of their total force, but when they reached the British position, about a mile south of the field, they recognized that greatly superior numbers awaited them and withdrew.

Casualties at Lundy's Lane were very high: The Americans lost 171 killed, 572 wounded, and about 100 missing and captured. The British lost 84 killed, 559 wounded, and about 230 missing and captured.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Chippewa, Battle of; War of 1812

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### Lunéville, Treaty of (8 February 1801)

Concluded in 8 February 1801 following Austria's disastrous defeat at Hohenlinden, the Treaty of Lunéville put an end to Austria's part in the War of the Second Coalition. In line with the earlier Treaty of Campo Formio (1797), Austria was again forced to accept France's annexation of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium and Luxembourg) and the left bank of the Rhine and to recognize the independence of its surviving satellite states: the (Dutch) Batavian Republic, the (Swiss) Helvetic Republic, and the (northern Italian) Cisalpine Republic. But now there were further provisions. Austria had to agree not to alter a number of fortresses on the right bank of the Rhine and to give up the Habsburg-ruled duchies of Modena and Tuscany, together with some of the territory it had acquired from Venice in 1797. Of these territories, Modena and the Venetian lands went to the Cisalpine Republic, while in a gesture intended to conciliate Spain, Tuscany was given to the son of the Duke of Parma—a son-in-law of Charles IV—as the Kingdom of Etruria.

As if all this was not bad enough, meanwhile, the Austrians were also made to agree that the Duke of Tuscany

should receive territorial compensation in Germany, from which it followed that the ecclesiastical states that made up Vienna's chief power base in the Holy Roman Empire should be put up for "secularization," or, to put it in plain language, annexation. In principle, Austria had already agreed to this process at Campo Formio in that it had accepted that the rulers of the territories lost in France's annexation of the left bank of the Rhine should also be compensated with territory from within the Empire, a question which was to be resolved as a result of the Imperial Recess of 1802–1803.

But what Lunéville meant was that the reorganization of Germany was now likely to be wholesale rather than partial, for such was Austria's need for territorial compensation that the Prussians must necessarily be drawn in, too. Add to this the fact that Vienna had failed to impose any clause in the treaty to the effect that the emperor—that is, Francis II—should have a controlling interest in the settlement of the new frontiers, or still less that foreign powers should be excluded from the process, and it will be seen that Austria had suffered a shattering blow. And, in effect, gone, too, was Austrian influence south of the Alps. Naples had been promised that no treaty would be concluded without it, but it was now left with no alternative but to accept the terms and thereafter played a much more cautious game in terms of international politics.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Austria; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles IV, King; Cisalpine Republic; Francis I, Emperor; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Naples; Netherlands, The; Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland; Venetian Republic

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### Lützen, Battle of (2 May 1813)

The Battle of Lützen took place in and around the village of Grossgörschen in Saxony during the 1813 campaign in Germany. Here, a flanking attack by a Prusso-Russian force under the Russian general Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein surprised Napoleon's column of 144,000 men marching on Leipzig. The Allies (88,500 regular troops and 5,000 Cossacks) were hoping to defeat Napoleon's army piecemeal, not allowing him to bring his superiority in numbers to bear. After denying Napoleon the possession of Leipzig,

they hoped to drive him back on the Bohemian border, forcing him to surrender. They were unsuccessful and withdrew from the battlefield that evening.

Early on the morning of 2 May the Allies deployed their troops for the forthcoming battle, intending to strike Marshal Michel Ney's corps (consisting of the divisions of generals Joseph, comte Souham, Antoine-François, comte Brenier de Montmorand, Jean-Baptiste Girard, and Etienne Pierre Sylvestre, baron Ricard; and Jean-Gabriel, comte Marchand and François Kellermann's cavalry) as it slept in the four villages of Grossgörschen, Rahna, Kleingörschen, and Kaja, which formed a rectangle about 1 kilometer square. This area was filled with trees and bushes, marshy in places, and cut by ditches. Outside of the villages, the terrain was relatively open. Their forces consisted of the corps of generals Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher and Johann von Yorck (Prussians), and Baron Ferdinand Winzendorode and General von Berg (Russians).

At 11:00 A.M. the Allied forces were deployed in three lines. The first, consisting of Blücher's corps, had generals Wieprecht von Zieten and Joseph Friedrich von Klüx's brigades in the first line, Friedrich von Roeder in the second, and the Reserve Cavalry under Colonel von Dolffs 2 kilometers to the left. In the second line, Berg's corps stood on the right flank, Yorck's on the left. The third line consisted of Winzendorode's infantry under General Prince Eugen of Württemberg, with his cavalry on the left flank toward Domsen. The main army was supposed to form up behind the rear center, but was delayed and did not come up until shortly before 4:00 P.M.

The French forces moving up included the corps of Marshal Auguste de Marmont, General Henri-Gatien Bertrand, Marshal Jacques Etienne Macdonald, and General Jacques Alexandre, comte Lauriston, the Imperial Guard, and the cavalry under General Marie-Victor-Nicolas de Fay Latour-Maubourg. On hearing the sound of heavy artillery fire from Kaja, Napoleon ordered Marmont to accelerate his march to Starsiedel and join Ney's right flank. Bertrand was ordered to Söhesten to attack the Allied left. Macdonald and the I Cavalry Corps were to halt and await developments. The Imperial Guard was to remain in reserve at Lützen. Napoleon was hoping to tie down the Allies frontally and defeat them with a flanking maneuver that would achieve a decisive victory.

Blücher led the attack that commenced about 11:30 A.M., and at about noon Blücher's artillery commenced firing. The Allies considered Ney's men to be the vanguard of a force at Lützen. Reports came in of a cloud of dust over the road from Weissenfels to Leipzig, indicating the direction of Napoleon's army. After bombarding the French encampment for 40 minutes, Klüx's brigade from Blücher's corps was sent to storm the quadrangle of villages. Souham

was overwhelmed, and Grossgörschen fell to the first charge. Klüx easily beat off several local counterattacks.

Meanwhile, the Prussian Reserve Cavalry moved toward Starsiedel, where it surprised Girard. The divisions of generals Jean-Dominique, comte Compans and Jean-Pierre François, comte Bonet from Marmont's corps moved up to Starsiedel and deployed their artillery. Souham then counterattacked and recaptured Grossgörschen. Blücher sent in Zieten to take Kleingörschen, which he did by 1:00 P.M. Klüx then recaptured Grossgörschen. Rahna fell to the Prussians, but Brenier and Ricard counterattacked. Ney threw in Souham and Girard, supported by Brenier, against Kleingörschen. Rahna and Kleingörschen were recaptured, but the Prussians held Grossgörschen.

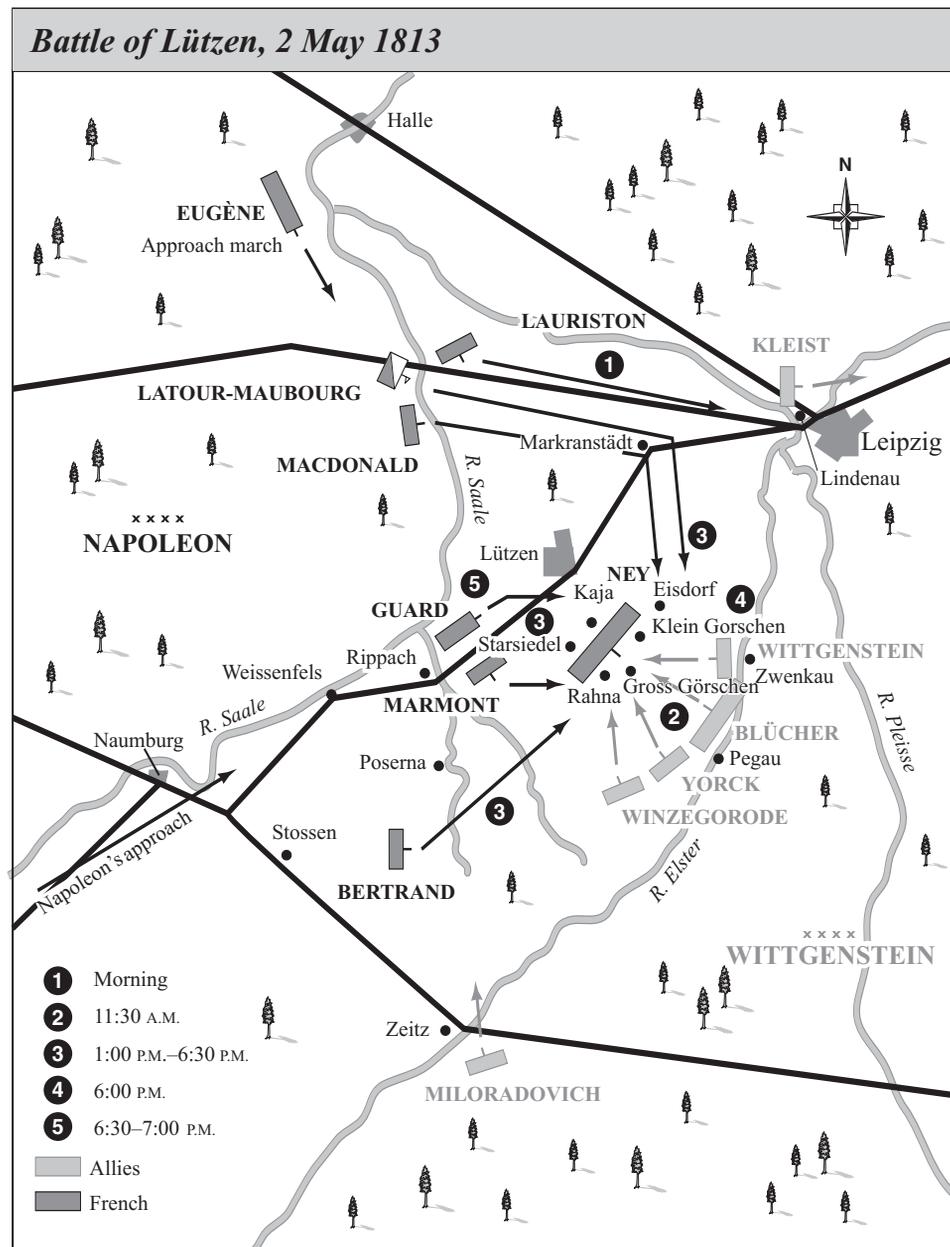
Berg then attacked Starsiedel, his movement coinciding with Ney's counterattack and the loss of Rahna and Kleingörschen to the French. This caused Berg to halt southwest of Rahna, while Blücher's last reserve, Roeder's brigade, moved up, supported by the strong artillery fire. The French abandoned Kleingörschen and Rahna, while the Prussians advanced as far as Kaja.

Shortly after 2:00 P.M. Ney's entire line fell back. Losses were heavy on both sides. One determined charge by the large mass of Allied cavalry might well have settled the issue, but Napoleon now arrived, intending to outflank the Allied position. Because the Emperor's center was in danger of collapse before this maneuver could take effect, Ricard was now sent in and quickly cleared Kaja before moving on Grossgörschen, where his forces took the northern edge of that village before their attack ground to a halt.

On the French right, Marmont, observing 12,000 Russian and Prussian cavalry and Berg's corps, remained largely where he stood. However, his presence was enough to make Wittgenstein delay sending in Yorck and Berg to support Blücher.

Just before 4:00 P.M. the Russian main army arrived and Wittgenstein went over to the offensive, sending in Yorck. General Friedrich Heinrich Freiherr von Hünerbein's brigade moved on Kleingörschen, Colonel Heinrich von Horn's on Rahna, and these fresh troops took Kleingörschen and Rahna for the third time. Close combat took place for about 90 minutes. Ney, Blücher, and General Gerhard von Scharnhorst were wounded, the latter succumbing to an infection from this wound some weeks later. The French regained Kleingörschen and Rahna. The infantry of the 2nd (Russian) Corps under General Prince Eugen of Württemberg then recaptured all four villages, and Ney's corps withdrew beyond Kaja.

Further French forces started to arrive from 5:30 P.M. and moved along the north bank of the Flossgraben, taking positions opposite Kleingörschen. General Charles An-



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 35.

toine, comte Morand's division of Bertrand's corps reached Kölzen. Macdonald's corps moved from Markranstädt toward Eisdorf. Wittgenstein had insufficient men left to oppose them.

About 6:00 P.M. the Young Guard expelled the Allies from Kaja. Napoleon brought up eighty guns, deploying them along the ridge from Kaja to Starsiedel. Macdonald and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry reached Eisdorf. Fressinet's division assaulted that village, while Charpentier's moved on Kitzen. St. Priest's division of the 2nd (Russian) Corps was driven out of Eisdorf. Counterattacks followed, but Gérard regained the village.

Napoleon led the final, decisive attack in the center. Marchand crossed the Flossgraben and took Kleingörschen. Bonnet's division now moved against Rahna, and the Imperial Guard advanced. With Ney's support, four columns under Marshal Adolphe Mortier moved from Grossgörschen on Kaja. The Allies were forced to retreat from the battlefield, although parts of the brigades of Klüx and Zieten disputed Grossgörschen into the night. Blücher's cavalry covered the withdrawal.

Losses were heavy on both sides, the French suffering about 22,000 casualties, 15,000 of which were inflicted on Ney's corps alone. Two generals had been killed, 9 severely

wounded, and 30 regimental commanders' *hors de combat* (out of action). The Allies captured 5 guns and disabled 22 others, losing 2 themselves. The Allies lost about 11,500 men, the Prussians 8,500 of these. Fifty-three Prussian officers were killed, and 244 were wounded.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Germany, Campaign in; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Ney, Michel; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Souham, Joseph, comte; Winzgorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf; Zieten, Wieprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von

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## Lützow, Adolf (1782–1834)

Adolf Lützow was one of the most famous leaders of the independent volunteer units, known as *Freikorps*, raised during the campaign in Germany in 1813. His fame rested not so much on military successes as on the literary works by members of his command. Lützow became a symbolic leader of German nationalism, and the colors worn by his command became the German national colors.

Lützow was born in Berlin in 1782, and he joined the Prussian Army in 1795. He was a lieutenant by 1806 and was present at the Battle of Auerstädt. Following the Prussian defeat, Lützow was determined to continue the fight against the French invaders. He joined the defenders of Kolberg and came under the command of Major Ferdinand Baptista von Schill. Lützow commanded a squadron of Schill's volunteers and distinguished himself in sorties against the French. Although promoted to major, he resigned from the Prussian Army in 1808, in protest against the Peace of Tilsit.

Lützow rejoined Schill in 1809, when the latter tried to spur an uprising in northern Germany against Napo-

leon. Schill marched his regiment into Westphalia in May 1809 but was disappointed when the population remained passive. Lützow was wounded in fighting at Dodendorf and was left behind when Schill retreated to Stralsund. The wound probably saved Lützow's life, as Schill and most of his command were killed by troops under Jérôme Bonaparte.

In 1811 Lützow was restored to his rank in the Prussian Army. After Napoleon's disaster in Russia, Prussian authorities prepared to resume their war against the French. Chief of staff Gerhard von Scharnhorst authorized Lützow to form a *Freikorps* in February 1813. Lützow quickly organized a group known as the Lützow Corps, or the Black *Jägers*, because of their uniform. The unit was composed of all arms, including five cavalry squadrons, three infantry battalions, and eight guns. Total strength was about 3,000 men. Lützow attracted both Prussians and non-Prussians who were pan-Germans. Unlike other *Freikorps* of the time, up to a third of Lützow's unit were educated young men. Nearly all were from urban and middle-class backgrounds. Several members of the *Freikorps* went on to literary careers, including Theodor Korner, Joseph Eichendorff, and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn.

Lützow's mission was to take his *Freikorps* behind French lines and attack their lines of communication. He hoped to spark nationalist uprisings in the smaller German states, as well as to disrupt French supplies. Lützow accomplished little before an armistice was signed on 2 June and took effect on 14 June. As Lützow was on the French side of the demarcation line, he was to be allowed to return to Prussian territory. However, on 17 June, escorting French troops attacked the *Freikorps*, most of Lützow's command was massacred, and only while he and a few companions escaped.

Lützow's *Freikorps* was reconstituted in time for the resumption of fighting in the fall. The unit assumed a more traditional role and distinguished itself in fighting at Göhrde. After Lützow was wounded, the *Freikorps* was dissolved. The infantry became the 25th Prussian Infantry Regiment, and the cavalry formed the 6th Uhlán (lancer) Cavalry Regiment. When Napoleon returned from Elba, Lützow commanded the 6th Uhlans at Ligny. He was captured but escaped after Waterloo.

Lützow was promoted to major general in 1822 and to lieutenant general when he retired in 1830. He and his *Freikorps* became a symbol of German unity and Romanticism, thanks to a poem written by Korner before his death in 1813. By 1818 German nationalists had adopted the colors of Lützow's Black *Jägers* as the national colors: black from their coats, red from their lapels, and yellow from the unit's buttons. Bands of these colors make up the German national flag to this day.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Auerstädt, Battle of; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Ligny, Battle of; Prussian Army; Romanticism; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von; Tilsit, Treaties of; Westphalia

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## Luxembourg

Small, landlocked western European country extending over just 2,500 square kilometers. Located at the junction of the Alzette and Pétrusse rivers, Luxembourg has historically been a place of military significance. The origins of the city are closely associated with the tenth-century castle, a structure that was further fortified in the fourteenth century. The formidable defensive works remained until 1867 when they were dismantled as part of the Treaty of London, an agreement that asserted Luxembourg's territorial and political autonomy. In written history Luxembourg dates from the tenth century, when it was known as Lucil-inburhuc (little fortress). At this time Siegfried, comte des Ardennes, erected a castle (now in Luxembourg city), hence the historical name.

By the start of the sixteenth century Luxembourg was governed by a foreign power, Spain, and from 1506 to 1890, Luxembourg formed part of the territories of numerous European countries: Spain, France, Austria, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. When the French Revolutionary Wars began Luxembourg formed part of the Austrian Netherlands, but it was occupied by the French during their campaigns in Flanders, formally annexed to the Republic in 1795, and recognized as such by Austria by the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. It was not until 1815 that the process of independence in Luxembourg began, a consequence of the forming of a grand duchy by the Congress of Vienna.

Held between October 1814 and June 1815, the Congress acted as a forum for Europe's powers (principally Britain, Austria, Prussia, France, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and German regional representatives) to redraw the Continent's political map following the defeat of Napoleonic France. The primary results of the event, aside from the confirmation of France's loss of those territories it had annexed between 1795 and 1810, included: the enlargements of Prussia and Russia; the reorganization of Germany into a confederation of states; the formation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg; and the establishment

of the Netherlands (modern Holland and Belgium joined together) as an independent kingdom. As part of this Europe-wide development, the Duchy of Luxembourg was granted to the Dutch monarch, William (Willem) I.

*Ian Morley*

*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; Flanders, Campaigns in; France; Vienna, Congress of

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## Lyons, Siege of (August–October 1793)

Lyons (Lyon) was the second-largest city in France during the Revolution and the scene of a serious counterrevolutionary movement against Jacobin radicalism. A French Revolutionary Army was forced to besiege the city for nine weeks in the fall of 1793 before it overcame locally raised forces. Following the city's surrender, nearly 2,000 inhabitants were executed as rebels.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, Lyons had approximately 140,000 inhabitants, a population second only to Paris. The city had grown because of the silk trade but suffered from economic stagnation from 1789. Revolutionaries and royalists fought over control of the city, and various political clubs were formed. After the September Massacres of 1792, the Jacobins took control of the city government. Moderates, headed by members of the aristocracy, mobilized their supporters, and on 29 May 1793 they regained control over Lyons. Inspired by counterrevolutionary movements in cities such as Marseilles and Toulon, as well as by the royalist uprising in the Vendée, the city government refused to submit to national control from Paris, whereupon the National Convention ordered the Armée d'Italie and the Armée des Alpes to detach forces to retake Lyons in the name of the Republic.

Lyons mobilized a force of 3,500 to 4,000 men, organized into battalions based in different sections of the city. Because the population of some sections were more radical and could not raise the assigned number of troops, the initial twenty-eight battalions were eventually reduced to only twenty. A number of cannon were also available from the local armory, and crews were recruited to man these guns. The soldiers' pay was raised by means of voluntary contributions, taxes, and confiscations from churches and rebel inhabitants. Those suspected of trying to subvert Lyons's defenses were subject to arrest and imprisonment or execution. A number of émigré aristocrats fought for Lyons against the National Convention, journeying to the

city from exile in Germany and Switzerland. The military commander of Lyons was Louis-François Perrin, comte de Précý.

The leaders of Lyons, realizing they faced attack by troops loyal to the National Convention, tried to stir up support in the surrounding territory. On 9 July 1,500 armed royalists left on an expedition to secure the neighboring towns. They managed to capture Saint-Chamond, Saint-Etienne, and Montbrison, but many peasants resisted them. Captured supplies were sent back to Lyons. The survivors of the expedition returned to the city on 15 September to find the place already under siege.

The National Convention pressed General François Etienne Kellermann to lead most of his Armée des Alpes against Lyons during July. Kellermann was forced to divide his army between defending the Swiss frontier and sending other detachments to Toulon and Marseilles. In late July, he finally massed 8,000 troops near Lyons. Many were untrained peasant levies, and Kellermann was short of siege artillery. He tried to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the dispute, but representatives sent by the Committee of Public Safety forced him to open siege operations against Lyons in the first part of August. Kellermann's operations were limited to periodic bombardments during August and September. The city was not completely surrounded until 17 September. Even so, Kellermann's army increased in numbers, thanks to reinforcements from Paris. However, because he failed to prosecute the siege energetically

Kellermann himself was replaced by General François Amédée Doppet.

Lyons was short of food by the beginning of October, and many buildings had been damaged or destroyed by the bombardment. The population became discouraged by the lack of outside support. On 8 October representatives of the various sections met and agreed to ask for terms from Doppet. During the night of 8–9 October, Précý and 700 followers tried to cut their way out of the city, being harassed by government troops along their way to the Swiss border. Précý and a small number escaped into Switzerland on 10 October. Lyons had surrendered the day before.

The Committee of Public Safety had intended to destroy the homes of wealthy merchants and aristocrats, but little further damage was done to the city. Nearly 2,000 suspected royalists, however, were arrested and executed between October 1793 and March 1794. When the guillotine was unable to keep up with the work, hundreds were executed by grapeshot and musket fire.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Convention, The; Emigrés; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Public Safety, Committee of; Terror, The; Toulon, Siege of; Vendée, Revolts in the; *References and further reading*

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# M

## **Maastricht, Siege of (September–November 1794)**

Not to be confused with the first bombardment of Maastricht by General Sebastián Francisco de Miranda in 1793, an attempt to take the city that proved abortive, Maastricht was successfully besieged and captured in 1794 by General Jean-Baptiste Kléber. After their victory at Fleurus on 26 June the French sought to acquire a stronghold, as much to consolidate their victory as to provide winter quarters and a depot for the brave and successful, yet ill-equipped, ill-fed, and ill-clothed republican armies in the north. Maastricht was deemed perfect, and Lazare Carnot, one of the *Directeurs* in the government, intervened to press the issue with Pierre-Mathurin Gillet, the *représentant en mission*, or political officer, accompanying the Army of the Sambre and Meuse. On 25 July the siege was ordered, but the exact date of its commencement is not entirely clear.

In mid-September, probably on the seventeenth, the siege commenced. Kléber, commanding around 40,000 troops, offered terms of surrender to both the governor (the Prince of Hesse-Kassel) and to the board of magistrates, independently of each other, accompanied by a threat to bombard the city—overtures that proved unsuccessful. Kléber had started to acquire sufficient firepower and ammunition, a process that, notwithstanding the efforts of Gillet, took until 23 October. Kléber had already started to bombard the city with the artillery he did have at his disposal. Further preparations lasted until 1 November, when at last all batteries were ready to fire. After a renewed ultimatum a final bombardment commenced that lasted until 4 November, when Maastricht and 8,000 Austrian and Dutch troops surrendered.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste

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## **Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre (1765–1840)**

The son of a Scottish immigrant, Macdonald served as an officer in the pre-1789 French army, passed into the Revolutionary armies of the 1790s, and moved on to become a marshal under Napoleon. A quiet and dignified figure, he adapted readily—some historians think too readily—to changes in the political winds. Macdonald's career was marked by political and military missteps as well as by some startling achievements. Although he was eventually elevated to the rank of marshal, his personal ties to military leaders who plotted against Napoleon barred him from holding military commands for several years in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, Macdonald's military performance was inconsistent. He sometimes exhibited striking boldness, but he was then unable to respond to enemy countermeasures. He suffered severe defeats: in the Battle of the Trebbia at the hands of the Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov in 1799 and at the Battle of the Katzbach against General Gebhard von Blücher in 1813. Nonetheless, he reached a peak of success in 1809 at the Battle of Wagram, where Napoleon presented him with a marshal's baton.

Macdonald was an open and vocal critic of Napoleon's military strategy in the 1813–1814 campaign, and in March 1814, along with Marshal Michel Ney, he played a key role in convincing the Emperor the time had come to abdicate. After Waterloo, Macdonald conducted the demobilization of the remnants of Napoleon's army with skill and tact, shielding many officers from the vengeance of France's new political leaders.



Marshal Macdonald. Serving throughout the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, he led major formations in the 1809 campaign against Austria (1809), in Spain (1810–1811), Russia (1812), Germany (1813), and in France (1814). (Engraving by Paul Girardet after Eugène Charpentier, 19th c. The David Markham Collection)

Macdonald was born in Sedan in the Ardennes on 17 November 1765. His father was an emigrant from Scotland who had fled his homeland after the failure of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745–1746. The elder Macdonald joined the French army and married the daughter of one of its officers. Jacques decided to follow his father's occupation, and at the age of nineteen he became a lieutenant in the army of Louis XVI.

In addition to his professional duties, Macdonald pursued a range of cultural interests, including music and art. But he exhibited no deep political convictions beyond a loyalty to the French government of the time, and he moved smoothly from service in the Royal Army to rapid advancement in the forces defending Revolutionary France. Serving in the French campaigns in the Low Countries from 1792 to 1795, he rose from the rank of lieutenant to become a *général de division* in 1794 at the age of twenty-nine. His service here was exemplified by his skillful performance at the head of an infantry brigade during the Battle of Tournai in May 1793.

The outbreak of the War of the Second Coalition in 1798 found Macdonald in Italy where he commanded the (French) Army of Rome. As Austrian and Russian forces reconquered the territory Bonaparte had won in his campaign of 1796–1797, Macdonald moved his troops northward in the spring of 1799 and struck aggressively at the Austrian forces at Modena. Although he suffered a severe wound to the head in the battle, his victory here halted the advance of the left wing of the Austrian forces moving across northern Italy. Macdonald then adopted an overly bold strategy of advancing northward toward the Po. He hoped to sever the enemy's supply lines and possibly to relieve French forces besieged in Mantua. The plan came to grief near Piacenza at the three-day Battle of the Trebbia (17–19 June) against the Austrian and Russian forces under Suvorov. Macdonald found his bold strategy negated by the tenacious offensive conducted by his opponent. The French army, vigorously pursued by Suvorov's forces, retreated in disarray to the coast at Genoa. The Allies soon moved on to occupy northwestern Italy and much of Switzerland.

Macdonald commanded the troops controlling the key roads connecting Paris to Versailles and St. Cloud in the fall of 1799. Thus, he played an important role in helping Bonaparte seize power during the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November). Receiving command of the (French) Army of the Grisons in Switzerland, he expunged memories of his failure at the Trebbia by conducting a successful midwinter passage of the Alps in December 1800. Moving through the snowy Splügen Pass, Macdonald struck at the Austrians in the Adige valley and completed Bonaparte's reconquest of northern Italy.

But Macdonald's political misfortune negated his recent military achievement. His career was blocked by his association with two royalist generals, Jean Victor Moreau and Jean-Charles Pichegru, who conspired to kill or kidnap Bonaparte in 1803. Both Moreau and Pichegru had been Macdonald's superiors in the early stages of his career in the Revolutionary Wars, and they had played an important role in his ascendancy to higher rank. The plot failed, Moreau was forced into exile, and Pichegru was imprisoned and later executed. Macdonald, his guilt unproven, was merely deprived of any command for the next six years. Out of favor with Bonaparte, he spent this period at his country estate, and other leaders played the role he might have done in the great victories of 1805, 1806, and 1807.

The crisis facing Napoleon's forces in the spring of 1809 brought Macdonald back to active service. With campaigns proceeding in Spain, northern Italy, and southern Germany, the Emperor needed every experienced senior commander he could find. Macdonald received orders to serve in the (French) Army of Italy, where he helped Eu-

gène de Beauharnais, the inexperienced French commander on the scene, the viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, and Napoleon's stepson, to recover from early defeats at the hands of the Austrians. Macdonald pushed the enemy out of northeastern Italy, then pursued them to prevent their juncture with the Austrian army of Archduke Charles, facing Napoleon near Vienna.

When Napoleon ordered Eugène's forces to join him at Vienna, Macdonald's troops reached the Austrian capital on 4 July after a frantic forced march. These reinforcements went into action during the first day of the Battle of Wagram on 5 July. Ordered to attack a key Austrian position late that day, Macdonald objected unsuccessfully to an operation he thought had little prospect of success. He noted that there was little daylight left; moreover, the Austrians were in an elevated, entrenched position. When Napoleon insisted on the advance, Macdonald's troops were repelled, then fell back in apparently hopeless disorder.

Macdonald showed his military skill and determination in rapidly restoring discipline to his units. Then, on the sixth, he led those same troops in a relentless advance against the center of the Austrian line. Macdonald directed his force of 8,000 troops forward in a hollow square formation, designed to maximize his control over these relatively inexperienced and recently defeated men. The attack shook the enemy defenses and helped to make the entire Austrian line untenable.

Macdonald's performance at Wagram was the high-point in his mercurial military career. Napoleon rewarded him with the rank of marshal, the only time the Emperor bestowed such an honor on the battlefield. Moreover, the following month, Macdonald was elevated to the Napoleonic nobility with the title of duc de Tarante.

Like most of Napoleon's other subordinates, Macdonald served for a period in Spain. Arriving in April 1810, he took command of the Army of Catalonia and was soon frustrated by his duties. Unable to bring local guerrilla resistance under control, Macdonald was pleased to be allowed to return to Paris on medical leave in July 1811. The following year brought him a minor role in Napoleon's invasion of Russia. Macdonald's X Corps, composed of a French staff and Prussian, Bavarian, and Polish troops, had the task of securing Tsar Alexander's Baltic provinces and shielding Napoleon's northern flank. During Napoleon's retreat, Macdonald had a preview of the difficulties French forces would experience the following year. General Johann von Yorck, the commander of the Prussian troops in X Corps, made a separate armistice with the Russians at Taugoggen on 28 December 1812. This set the stage for Prussia to break its alliance with Napoleon and to oppose him in 1813.

As the French hold on Germany weakened, Macdonald presented Napoleon with a promising alternative to a

campaign designed to maintain control of central Europe. In Macdonald's view, a sound French strategy called for an early withdrawal—perhaps as far as the Rhine—with the evacuation of French garrisons from vulnerable fortresses like Stettin and Torgau. Napoleon rejected such possibilities and decided to defend all of Germany.

When Macdonald took the field in 1813, his performance recalled the events fourteen years earlier at the Battle of the Trebbia. Ordered to hold the southern sector of the French front against General Gebhard von Blücher's Prussian army, Macdonald launched a bold offensive across the river Katzbach in late August. With 100,000 men under his command, Macdonald failed to keep control of his forces at the ensuing Battle of the Katzbach (26 August). Napoleon later commented that, for all his skills, Macdonald was never able to handle large numbers of troops. On this occasion, the Prussian commander struck Macdonald's scattered columns with devastating force, and the French retreat that followed undermined Napoleon's success at the Battle of Dresden. Macdonald nevertheless regained some of his military reputation at the subsequent Battle of Leipzig. His corps conducted a vigorous defense of the city, and the French commander escaped capture only by swimming across the river Elster.

Living to fight another day, Macdonald participated in Napoleon's 1814 campaign against the Allied armies invading French territory. Napoleon found his performance disappointing. In early February Blücher thrust forward, opening a gap between his forces and his Austrian allies, in a reckless attempt to seize Paris. When Napoleon defeated the Prussians at the Battle of Montmirail on 11 February, Macdonald had an opportunity to seize Château-Thierry, cut off the Prussian retreat, and set the stage to annihilate Blücher. But Macdonald was unable to close the trap.

In March, with enemy troops in control of Paris, Macdonald and Ney confronted Napoleon at Fontainebleau with a successful demand that the Emperor cease hostilities. Macdonald went on to help negotiate the terms of Napoleon's abdication.

With the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, Macdonald readily shifted his allegiance to the new rulers of France. He remained loyal to King Louis XVIII during Napoleon's brief return to power in 1815. After Waterloo, Macdonald became the commander of the Army of the Loire. His chief task was the delicate business of demobilizing this force, which contained many of the veterans of Napoleon's Grande Armée. Macdonald conducted this sad task with skill and sensitivity. At a time when officers who had supported Napoleon's return in 1815 were the targets of Bourbon retaliation, Macdonald managed to shield such men at this vulnerable moment for them.

In the ensuing years Macdonald returned to private life. He married his third wife in 1821. Three years later, at the age of fifty-nine, he became the father of a son for the first time. In 1825 he took a sentimental journey to Scotland, where he visited his family's ancestral home. The old general died at the age of seventy-five on 25 September 1840 at his château at Courcelles-le-Roi.

Neil M. Heyman

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brumaire, Coup of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of; Flanders, Campaigns in; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Guerrilla Warfare; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italy, Kingdom of; Katzbach, Battle of the; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Marshalate; Montmirail, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Tauroggen, Convention of; Tournai, Battle of; Trebbia, Battle of the; Wagram, Battle of

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### Maciejowice, Battle of (10 October 1794)

A battle between Polish and Russian forces near Maciejowice (in present-day Poland) that decided the outcome

of the Polish uprising and led to the Third Partition of Poland. Following the Second Partition of Poland in 1793 Russo-Polish relations rapidly deteriorated, culminating on 12 March 1794 when General Antoni Madalinski rejected Russian demands to disband the Polish-Lithuanian army. This sparked a general outbreak of anti-Russian riots throughout the country. The uprising quickly spread through the Polish lands and Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko), a veteran of the American War of Independence (1775–1783), was invited to lead the insurrection. Kościuszko returned to Poland in late March 1794 and called the Poles to arms.

The Polish army achieved a surprising victory over the numerically and technically superior Russian detachment at Raclawice on 4 April. Simultaneously, residents of Warsaw, inspired by the success of Kościuszko's army, rose up against the Russians on 17 April and seized the city after two days of fighting. However, the strategic situation soon worsened for the Poles. A Prussian army invaded Poland on 10 May and, receiving Russian reinforcements, they defeated Kościuszko at Szczekociny on 6 June and General Józef Zajączek at Chelm on 8 June.

Despite losses, Kościuszko's army managed to retreat to Warsaw, where it regrouped. On 15 June the Prussian army captured Cracow (Kraków), but the Russian forces were halted in a series of skirmishes near Warsaw. Although Russo-Prussian forces besieged the Polish capital on 22 July, the siege was unsuccessful. On 20 August an uprising broke out in Greater Poland at the rear of the besieging armies, forcing the Prussians to divert their forces from Warsaw. Simultaneously, Russian forces under General Ivan Fersen were withdrawn toward the Pilica River.

Throughout the summer of 1794 Kościuszko strengthened the defenses around the capital, while Russia equipped a new corps commanded by General Alexander Suvorov and ordered it to join up with Fersen's corps near Warsaw. The Russians captured Vilna in August and defeated General Karol Józef Sierakowski's detachment at Korschin on 19 September. Faced with two converging Russian corps, Kościuszko acted quickly to prevent them from uniting. Leading some 10,000 men, he left Warsaw for Maciejowice, intending to combine his own force with that of General Adam Poninski. However, the Russians captured Kościuszko's first messenger, and although a second courier did get through and prompted Poninski to move, he was too late. On 10 October Kościuszko engaged Fersen's column near Maciejowice, unaware that Suvorov had crossed the Vistula River and was approaching the battlefield. The Poles were overwhelmed and suffered heavy casualties, including Kościuszko, who was captured, injured in both the head and thigh.

The Polish defeat at Maciejowice effectively ensured the defeat of the uprising. The capture of Kościuszko led to an internal struggle for power in Warsaw and the demoralization of the city's population. The Russian army quickly advanced to Warsaw, which it besieged in November and captured after a bloody assault on the Praga suburb. The Third Partition of Poland in 1795 ended the existence of the country until 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles included provisions for the reestablishment of a sovereign Polish state by plebiscite.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Poland, Partitions of; Russo-Polish War; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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### Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich (1752–1828)

In 1805 *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich lost more than 50,000 Austrian troops in the opening moves of the Austerlitz campaign after having been isolated by the rapid advance of Napoleon's army on Ulm in Bavaria.

Mack enlisted in the Austrian Army as a cavalry trooper in 1770 and, making rapid progress, was offered a commission in 1777. Six years later he received his first staff appointment, and during the war against the Turks in 1789 he was made a baron for his services at the siege of Belgrade. Following a return to regimental duties in 1790 he accepted a position as chief of staff to *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) in 1793 and earned widespread praise for his contribution to the victories at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden. He stepped down after the defeat at Tourcoing the following year but returned to the army in 1796 as chief of staff to the Army of the Interior with the rank of *Feldmarschalleutnant*. In 1798 having accepted command of the Neapolitan army, he led it in a disastrous campaign against French-occupied Rome. As public order broke down he surrendered to the French for his own protection and eventually returned home to semi-retirement in April 1800.

France's defeat of Austria in 1800 led to a period of military reform overseen by Archduke Charles. His view that the army was as-yet unprepared for a return to war angered those who supported the necessity of a Russian alliance to protect Austria from French ambitions. In 1804, to back their argument, the war party resurrected Mack's career and presented him as their military expert. His confident but overoptimistic ideas concerning tactical and logistical reform and plans for a rapid mobilization of the army gained influential support from those frustrated by Charles's more sober views. Appointed chief of the quartermaster general staff, Mack pushed through his program of reforms in the first half of 1805, resulting in a state of confusion in the army on the eve of the war of the Third Coalition.

Nominally under the command of the young Archduke Ferdinand, but in reality led by Mack, an Austrian army advanced into Bavaria, taking up a position centered on Ulm on the Danube, to await Russian support. This support did not arrive before Napoleon was able to surround the Austrian position. Isolated and facing disunity among his officers, Mack accepted that the Russians were too far away to help and surrendered the city on 20 October. The campaign cost the Austrian army more than 50,000 men. Released on parole, Mack returned in disgrace to Vienna, where he was court-martialed, stripped of his rank, and imprisoned for two years. His reputation gained some rehabilitation in the postwar years, but he lived out the rest of his life as a recluse.

*Ian Castle*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Ferdinand, d'Este, Archduke; Flanders, Campaigns in; Neapolitan Campaign; Neerwinden, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tourcoing, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at

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### Madrid, Action at (3 December 1808)

Though little more than a skirmish, the action at Madrid played a key role in the Peninsular War. Following the Battle of Bailén in July 1808, the French army of occupation had fallen back to a safe position behind the river Ebro. In the course of the autumn there it was joined by many reinforcements, and at the beginning of November, Napoleon himself. Determined to wipe out the shame of Bailén, the Emperor was bent on the recon-

quest of the Spanish capital. Sweeping aside the armies facing him, he marched on Madrid with 45,000 men. With the city protected only by a scratch force of 12,000 men, most of which was routed on 30 November at Somosierra, by 2 December the French were once again before the city (which lacked even the most rudimentary defenses and had no hope of relief).

Shocked by the invaders' sudden appearance, the populace essayed resistance, barricading the streets and petitioning the authorities for arms. But their efforts at fortification were ineffectual, while the city was gripped by disorders of all sorts. As for the authorities, they were helpless: Possessed of few troops of any sort, all they could do was to stiffen the barricades with cannon and send a small force to occupy the dominating heights occupied by the gardens of the Buen Retiro palace. In short, an easy victory seemed certain, but Napoleon wanted to demonstrate magnanimity, and therefore twice summoned the city to surrender. No response was forthcoming, however, and on 3 December he ordered a partial attack on Madrid's eastern and northern front.

While cannon smashed the defenders' improvised barricades, masses of French troops seized the palace gardens, overran the Buen Retiro itself, and swept across the famous boulevard known as the Paseo del Prado. So rapid was the French progress, indeed, that some troops even captured the barricade at the entrance to the Carrera de San Jerónimo and the adjacent Medinaceli palace. Had they pressed on, the city would have fallen that night, but Napoleon did not want a bloodbath and therefore halted his men. This proved a shrewd move. As he had probably guessed they would, the terrified authorities sued for peace during the night, while the citizens abandoned their arms and fled to their homes. In the early morning of 4 December the invaders entered the city.

However, the war went on; meanwhile, brief as it was, Madrid's resistance proved crucial. Wrongly presaged as the harbinger of a second siege of Saragossa—which had proved a horrendously costly affair—the capital's stand persuaded Sir John Moore to advance into northern Spain rather than to withdraw from Salamanca into Portugal. Because the result of this advance was the campaign of Corunna, it is arguable that the action of 3 December might have changed the course of history.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Corunna, Retreat to; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Saragossa, Sieges of; Somosierra, Action at

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## Madrid Uprising (2 May 1808)

The uprising that convulsed Madrid on 2 May 1808 was a key moment in the history of the Napoleonic empire. However, while the course of events is clear enough, the nature and significance of the Dos de Mayo is open to debate.

In brief, the revolt was sparked off by the tension caused by Napoleon's decision to summon the entire Spanish royal family to Bayonne. The capital was both alarmed and excited, and in the early morning of 2 May, news spread that the Bourbons' last remaining representatives were about to be sent off to France. Immediately a crowd gathered before the royal palace. Growing more and more agitated, it fell into a frenzy and attacked an aide-de-camp of Marshal Joachim Murat who had appeared to supervise the prince's departure. Undaunted, Murat immediately sent a squad of troops to restore order. Opening fire, they quickly dispersed the crowd from the area around the palace, but the sound of their volleys caused a general panic, with hundreds of the city's inhabitants rushing onto the streets in the belief that they were about to be massacred. The few Frenchmen caught on the streets were quickly killed, while a cavalry patrol sent to reconnoiter the city center was cut to pieces in the Puerta del Sol.

But French control was barely shaken. Most of Murat's forces were encamped outside Madrid, and columns of the invaders were soon pouring into the city from all sides. Faced with overwhelming odds, most resistance quickly came to an end. Indeed, only at the army's chief artillery depot did the French face serious opposition. Here a small group of officers headed by Luis Daoiz and Pedro Velarde took over the cannon and beat off a number of French attacks, but in the end they, too, were overrun. In all perhaps 500 Spaniards were killed or wounded, including 113 prisoners who were executed by firing squad. French casualties, meanwhile, numbered a mere 145.

In the wake of these events Spain rose in revolt, the populace being gripped by the belief, first, that the French were bent on their massacre, and, second, that the authorities (who had counseled obedience and done their best to get the people of Madrid off the streets) intended to betray them to the invaders. So much for the actual fighting, and its effects. However, what is less clear is the nature of the rising. For some historians, it was a spontaneous nationalist revolt; for others, it was a premeditated attempt to precipitate rebellion. Such views, however, are difficult to sustain. In fact, the revolt was little more than a mass panic, although it is true that it was both joined by a handful of army officers who were bent on resistance, and later made much use of as an image both by genuine patriots and by ambitious factions eager to secure their own ends.

*Charles J. Esdaile*



Goya's famous painting, *Tres de Mayo* (Third of May), depicting the execution of Spanish insurgents by the French in the aftermath of the uprising of the previous day. (Scala/Art Resource)

*See also* Bayonne, Conference at; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de; Murat, Joachim; Peninsular War  
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### **Magdeburg, Siege of (23 October–11 November 1806)**

Magdeburg was one of the strongest fortifications in Prussia during the War of the Fourth Coalition. After the twin defeats at Jena and Auerstädt on 14 October 1806, around 20,000 troops had withdrawn into the city. The French invested Magdeburg in late October, and Marshal Michel Ney succeeded in forcing the capitulation of the fortress on 11 November.

In the wake of the disasters at Jena and Auerstädt, General Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (better known as Prince Hohenlohe) had retreated to the city with the remains of his force. Marshal Joachim Murat called upon Hohenlohe to surrender, but the main Prussian army continued its withdrawal on 21 October, leaving a large garrison behind. Ney was given the task of subduing the fortress and arrived outside the city on 23 October with his own corps and two regiments of dragoons under the command of General Dominique Louis Antoine Klein. His total force amounted to 18,000 men, facing a garrison of almost 25,000. This disparity in numbers was outweighed by two factors. First, the governor of the city was General Friedrich von Kleist, who at the age of seventy-three was worn out by ill health, and there was some doubt about his resolve to hold the city. Second, the residents of Magdeburg were loath to see their homes bombarded when the defeat of Prussia now seemed inevitable.

Ney completed his blockade when he constructed a bridge on the Elbe above the city and dispatched his light cavalry onto the opposite bank. On 1 November, however, Ney lost Klein's command when it was recalled by Napoleon, who also wanted to withdraw one of Ney's divisions. Ney, however, strongly protested and was able to preserve his corps intact. In fact, throughout the siege the French underestimated the strength of the garrison. On 4 November the garrison launched a sortie, which was easily repulsed. The following day Ney requested permission from headquarters to bombard Magdeburg. This was approved, and orders were given for mortars to be sent to him. Ney then informed Kleist that a bombardment of the city was imminent. Before the arrival of the mortars, the French fired a few shells into the city to warn the citizens.

Kleist received news that Hohenlohe had capitulated at Prenzlau on the sixth, together with the last major Prussian field army. Prenzlau was 130 miles to the northeast of Magdeburg, and the news reached Kleist after Ney permitted a captured Prussian officer access to the city. Kleist considered further resistance to be futile and opened negotiations with Ney. By 7 November an armistice had come into force, and on the following day Kleist surrendered. French troops occupied the gates of the city on the tenth, and the following day the garrison was marched to Bernburg as prisoners of war. The fall of Magdeburg left 600 pieces of artillery in French hands as well as a large quantity of supplies. Kleist was later criticized for his lack of determination in having surrendered the city so quickly.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel

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### Magnano, Battle of (2 April 1799)

First Austrian victory of the War of the Second Coalition in Italy. After the indecisive Battle of Verona, French commander General Barthélemy Schérer made a second attempt to take the city but was decisively defeated by Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova, forcing the French to evacuate the Adige area. Kray was promoted to *Feldzeugmeister*; Schérer was relieved of command.

In late March, Kray concentrated his troops in Verona and awaited reinforcement by Austro-Russian troops. Schérer planned an attack across the Adige, downstream

between Verona and Legnano, marching into position on 2 April. Kray anticipated Schérer's plan and decided to attack the French as they crossed the river. Problems at the crossing point prompted Schérer to change his plan, however; thinking the Austrians were deploying over the Adige to the west of Verona, he decided on an attack by two flanking columns on either side of the city. His left, comprising three divisions of 20,000 men, would attack from the west; the French right, with two divisions totaling 14,000 men, would march from the southeast; while one division, 7,000 strong, would cover the center. These 41,000 men were strung out across 16 kilometers of ground broken up by watercourses, hedges, and embanked roads. Kray divided his 43,800 troops into three columns facing their French counterparts, each about 7,000 strong, and two large reserve columns of 10,000 troops, one behind the center and one out to the west.

The French attacked at 6:00 A.M. but the Austrians did not move until 10:00 A.M. Fighting began in the east as *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Mercandin's Austrian column encountered the French right (generals Claude Victor and Paul Grenier) at Pozzo, and they were defeated when a French cavalry charge ended the infantry stalemate. The Austrian center under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Konrad Valentin Freiherr von Kaim marched unopposed through Magnano and only encountered the French center under General Antoine-Guillaume Delmas at Buttapietra. Alarmed by this fighting, General Jean Victor Moreau, with part of the French left, reinforced the center, and Kaim was pushed back. The rest of Moreau's two divisions halted the advance of the Austrian right under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Zoph, but General Jean Sérurier, with the other division of the French left, found his left flank under fire from the Austrian reserve column under *Generalmajor* Prinz Friedrich Hohenzollern-Hechingen (generally known as Hohenzollern) around Isolalta. The French counterattacked and reached the embankment in front of the village.

Kray now acted to stabilize his faltering advance. A detachment from Verona deployed to support the broken left wing, while Kray directed part of his central reserve into Grenier's left flank as Mercandin's reformed column attacked its front. The French right broke and fled. Meanwhile, Moreau had driven Zoph back and sent extra reinforcements to Delmas, as the French center was assaulted by the Austrian central reserve. Night fell, and the battle ended in an exchange of artillery fire. Both sides had lost about 4,000 troops, but the French had lost another 4,500 prisoners, forcing them to retreat across the Oglio.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Moreau, Jean Victor; Schérer, Barthélemy

Louis Joseph; Second Coalition, War of the; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte; Verona, Battle of; Victor, Claude Perrin

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## Maida, Battle of (4 July 1806)

The Battle of Maida was fought as a result of British assistance given to Ferdinand IV, king of Naples, to protect Sicily, his only remaining unoccupied possession, from French invasion and to contain the spread of French influence in the Adriatic region. The defenses of Sicily were in a fragile state, as large numbers of French troops had occupied Ferdinand's mainland possessions, and Napoleon had deposed that monarch in favor of his brother Joseph Bonaparte.

Major General Sir John Stuart was ordered to command a British expeditionary force to Calabria, in southern Italy. This force was conveyed from Messina, in Sicily, by ships under the command of Rear Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, with orders to assist Ferdinand in the defense of his kingdom. A French invasion force under General Jean Reynier had reached Naples on 15 February 1806, and finding Neapolitan resistance virtually nonexistent, had then turned its attention to Calabria. Leaving Naples on 1 March, the French defeated the Neapolitans at Campo Tenese on the ninth, advancing to the Straits of Messina.

Stuart's force consisted of 5,200 men and 10 guns, but no cavalry. Many of his troops were experienced soldiers, having served in Holland (1799) and Egypt (1801) and endured rigorous training on Malta the previous year. Stuart hoped that the Calabrese would give him support, but there was no sign of the local uprising the British had hoped for. Opposing him was a French force under Reynier consisting of 6,440 men and 4 guns, including 4 squadrons of veteran cavalry.

During the night of 30 June, Stuart's British force landed unopposed in the Bay of St. Euphemia on the Italian mainland. On learning of the landing, the French advanced toward the bay and took up a position overlooking the plain of the small village of Maida. On the morning of 4 July the French attacked by marching over the river Amato toward the British, who had left their camp and were marching onto the plain.

This action is often held up to be a triumph of the British line over the French column, but although the French marched across the river in column, they deployed into line to attack the British, who had done the same. The

British beat off their attacks with a combination of artillery fire and disciplined musketry, followed by determined bayonet charges. The French left gave ground, but their right, supported by cavalry, threatened the British left flank. The outcome was uncertain until the British 20th Foot arrived on the French flank, whereupon Reynier's troops retreated, chased by their opponents, whose pursuit was hampered by the lack of cavalry. British casualties were 327 killed and wounded, while the French lost 700 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 1,000 taken prisoner.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Calabria, Uprising in; Ferdinand IV, King; Middle East Campaign; Naples; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Sicily; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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## Mainz, Siege of (14 April–23 July 1793)

Following the victory at Valmy on 20 September 1792, the French seized the offensive. General Adam Philippe, comte de Custine's Army of the Vosges captured Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Frankfurt in barely a month, mainly because his otherwise easily panicked troops faced little opposition. The fortified city of Mainz, which capitulated on 21 October 1792, was a prize whose loss nine months later came to symbolize a tragedy of illusions and missed opportunities as well as valiant efforts. For contemporaries as well as modern historians, the principal significance of the episode was political rather than military, for the fall of the city was accurately thought to have presaged the French occupation of the Rhineland.

French troops—promising liberation to all peoples seeking assistance—along with the new local Jacobin Clubs set about revolutionizing the left bank of the Rhine. Though led by intellectuals and officials, Mainz Jacobinism was a cross-class movement that found resonance among the lower orders but never quite attracted mass support. As the idealism of its leaders collided with the reality of public skepticism or hostility, frustration and French power-political needs led to ever more coercive measures, recapitulating the transition of the Revolution itself from liberalism to authoritarianism. Finally, the new "Rhenish-German National Convention" declared the city and surrounding territories a republic independent of the Holy Roman Empire (18 March) and then sought union with France, whose republican government, heretofore

forswearing any desire for territorial aggrandizement, now resurrected the old Bourbon objective of enlarging the country to include the “natural” frontiers—the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

Threatened by Austrian forces and contingents furnished by the Holy Roman Empire, however, Custine withdrew the bulk of his troops. The Allies encircled Mainz on 30 March 1793, invested it on 14 April, began bombarding it on 18 June, and took it on 23 July. The departing French pledged not to engage the Allies for one year, and many joined the republican armies of the west, where their skill contributed greatly to the crushing of the Vendean revolt. The fate of their German collaborators was less gentle, ranging from harassment to prison terms, exile, and lynching. The most celebrated primary source is the account by Goethe, who accompanied the besiegers but who displayed great empathy for all participants (especially civilians) and a spirit of reconciliation all too rare among the victors.

The fall of Mainz, combined with other blows that summer, precipitated the *levée en masse* and the commencement of the Reign of Terror. Mainz changed hands several times in 1794–1795, but under the Treaties of Campo Formio (1797) and Lunéville (1801) was returned to France and became the Prefecture of the Department of Mont-Tonnerre. In 1814 Mainz was restored to its sovereign status.

Although one should beware of exaggerating the importance of the revolution in Mainz, it was the first modern German democratic movement. The problems it posed—the strengths and limitations of both force and idealism, the challenge of implanting democracy under occupation, and the dilemma arising when the majority will rejects democracy—remain topics for military and political reflection.

James Wald

*See also* Campo Formio, Treaty of; First Coalition, War of the; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Jacobins; *Levée en Masse*; Lunéville, Treaty of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Terror, The; Valmy, Battle of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Maison, The

Meaning “the house,” Napoleon’s Imperial Headquarters, which reflected his centralized approach to what in today’s terms is known as command and control.

Like most command organizations, the Imperial Headquarters was flexible and changed over the duration of his rule. However, from 1805 onward it included three main parts: the Maison, the general staff, and the administrative headquarters. The only link between these three parts was the Emperor himself. The Maison was originally the part of the king’s household that accompanied him on campaign.

While the Maison fluctuated in size, in 1806 it consisted of approximately 800 men, including grooms, valets, pages, cooks, and personal bodyguards. Individual positions such as the master of the horse to the empress and the governor of the pages were also included in the Maison. Their function was both ceremonial and practical as they accompanied Napoleon in the field.

The Maison itself was divided into three units, including adjutants general, ordnance officers, and the cabinet. The ordnance officers served as junior aides-de-camp under *chef d’escadron* Gaspard Gourgaud. Generals Géraud-Christophe-Michel Duroc and Armand-Augustin-Louis de Caulaincourt oversaw the organization as a whole, dividing their responsibilities between leadership (Duroc) and travel arrangements (Caulaincourt). Upon Duroc’s death in 1813 Caulaincourt took over both of these roles.

Of the three sections of the Maison, the cabinet was the largest and most powerful and can be seen as the direct heir of royal secretariats of the past. Napoleon’s cabinet divided itself further according to area of responsibility: intelligence, or statistical; topographic; and secretarial.

The intelligence, or statistical branch of the cabinet was focused on strategic enemy intelligence. Collection methods included traditional espionage, open-source analysis of newspapers and other enemy publications, and intercepted messages. The “Black Cabinet” (*cabinet noir*), an organization founded by Jean-Baptiste Colbert during the reign of Louis XIV that specialized in opening the mail of lower-echelon ambassadors, also provided deciphered messages. All products of this strategic intelligence collection, which were extensive even in the pre-conflict phases, were passed to Napoleon through the cabinet. One of Napoleon’s senior adjutant generals normally led the statistical branch, which over the duration of the organization’s existence included Anne Jean Savary, among others.

The topographical bureau was first created by Lazare Carnot, who had served in the Directory and as minister of war during the 1790s, but under Napoleon was run by Gen-

eral Louis Albert Bacler d'Albe. Bacler d'Albe was responsible for organizing and preparing the Emperor's campaign headquarters. Maps, enemy and friendly positions, and easy access to intelligence were all a part of the campaign headquarters formed by the topographical bureau.

The secretariat of the cabinet comprised civilian secretaries, librarians, and archivists who worked in what resembled modern office jobs, providing communications, writing orders, and filing paperwork. Generally chosen for their experience, these bureaucratic functionaries often served long tenures within the Maison. The continuity of service of its members is speculated to be the main reason the Maison functioned so well for Napoleon.

*Christine Grafton*

*See also* Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Frioul; French Army; Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo

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## Malborghetto, Battle of

*See* Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

## Malet Conspiracy (October 1812)

Napoleon established the French Empire and married Marie Louise, daughter of the emperor of Austria, to provide for a hereditary heir to his rule. This was largely in response to attempts on his life by conspirators who wanted to reestablish the Bourbon monarchy. Napoleon hoped that an heir would make any effort to kill him futile, because rather than bringing in a king, the French people would turn to his son, perhaps with his wife as regent. The Malet Conspiracy showed Napoleon just how unlikely that scenario was.

General Claude-François Malet had been in and out of trouble, and jail, for much of his career, largely owing to his strong republican views, which led him to oppose an imperial dynasty. Eventually considered mad and fairly harmless, he was allowed to stay in a private Paris asylum for the insane. While there, he became convinced that only he could save France from ruin.

On 23 October 1812 Malet escaped from the asylum and sought out the commander of the 10th National Guard, Colonel Gabriel Soulier. At around 4:00 A.M. Malet informed Soulier that Napoleon had been killed on campaign in Russia and that he, Malet, would be forming a provisional government. Malet had prepared some forged documents that appeared to support his claims, along with his demand that Soulier arrest chief of police Anne Jean Savary, minister of war General Henri Clark, General Jean-Jacques de Cambacérès, and Paris garrison commander General Pierre-Augustin Hulin. Incredibly, Soulier agreed and immediately organized his troops.

Malet led them at once to La Force Prison, where they released generals Victor Lahorie and Emmanuel Maximilien Joseph Guidal. The latter general was sent to arrest Cambacérès and Clark, the former to arrest Savary. The plan began to unravel when Guidal failed to carry out his instructions. Thus the conspirators had taken control of the police leadership, but little else.

Malet went himself to Hulin's headquarters to seize control of the 1st Division, the military unit charged with defending Paris. When Hulin challenged his authority Malet shot him dead, grabbed the seals of the division, and left to take charge.

However, the plan completely failed when Malet was recognized by Colonel Jean Doucet, who knew that Malet had been in an insane asylum and that Napoleon was known to have been alive after the date that Malet said he was killed. Doucet arrested Malet and ordered the troops back to their barracks. The conspiracy was over, and a few days later Malet and many of his co-conspirators were tried for treason and executed.

Napoleon's reign was again secure, but its fragility had been exposed. At no time did anyone even mention turning over the government to Napoleon's son; the hereditary arrangements so carefully made by Napoleon were irrelevant to what was happening. It was a bitter pill for Napoleon to swallow. Told of the episode on 6 November as he was withdrawing from Russia, Napoleon quipped that the French were like women, and one should not leave them alone for too long. Humor aside, Napoleon well understood the ominous message and was determined to get back to Paris as soon as possible. As a result of the conspiracy, Napoleon's bulletins thereafter would frequently end with statements to the effect that "The Emperor's health has never been better."

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques Régis de, duc de Parme; Marie Louise, Empress; Russian Campaign; Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo

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### Maloyaroslavets, Battle of (24 October 1812)

An important battle between French and Russian forces in October 1812. After spending a fruitless month in Moscow, Napoleon finally commenced his retreat on 19 October. His forces had dwindled to some 100,000 men, accompanied by thousands of noncombatants and an enormous baggage train laden with loot. Napoleon planned to move his forces to the western provinces of Russia, where supply stores had been prepared in advance. However, the route from Moscow to Smolensk, via Gzhatsk, was devastated after the French forces had fought their way to Moscow in August and September. Napoleon therefore decided to advance by the Kaluga route toward the unharmed regions in the southwest.

Initially, Napoleon successfully deceived the Russian forces about his plan; however, heavy rains made the roads almost impassable and considerably delayed the French movements on 21–22 October. During the night of the twenty-third, Russian scouts finally realized that Napoleon was moving his entire army southward. Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov immediately dispatched General Dmitry Dokhturov's corps from Tarutino to the little town of Maloyaroslavets, the only point where Kutuzov could join the new Kaluga road and block the French advance. Late in the evening of 23 October, the French advance guard under Eugène de Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, approached Maloyaroslavets, where it launched attacks against the bridge during the night of the twenty-fourth. In fierce fighting, the bridge changed hands several times, and the town of Maloyaroslavets, built entirely of wood, was set ablaze. General Alexis Joseph Delzons, with the 13th Division, initially carried the town, but he was killed in action, and the Russians drove the French back in a counterattack. The French made one last effort and, despite suffering almost 6,000 casualties, regained control of the bridge and the town. Dokhturov withdrew to the heights overlooking Maloyaroslavets.

By the afternoon of 24 October Napoleon brought the rest of his army to Maloyaroslavets, while the main Russian army under Kutuzov appeared in the southern suburbs of the town. General Nikolay Rayevsky with 7th Corps arrived in time to reinforce Dokhturov, while two divisions of Marshal Nicolas Davout's corps supported Eugène. Neither side committed its main forces, however. The fighting was extremely savage, with the town changing hands at

least eight times. Over the course of the day the place was completely destroyed, and the streets were strewn with hundreds of corpses. The fighting ended with the French in control of the burning town, but they failed to secure a bridgehead. On the twenty-fifth, Napoleon conducted a reconnaissance on the southern bank of the Lusha and barely escaped being captured by Cossacks. Although his troops gained a tactical victory, Napoleon realized that he would be unable to break through the Russian army in front of him. After a council of war on the evening of the twenty-fifth, the Emperor began a withdrawal to Smolensk by way of Borodino and Gzhatsk. Remarkably, Kutuzov ordered his army to retreat southward, fearing Napoleon might outflank and defeat him. Thus, both armies simultaneously began retreating in opposite directions.

The Battle of Maloyaroslavets had a crucial impact on Napoleon's campaign in Russia. The French were prevented from reaching the rich provinces in southeastern Russia and were forced to return by a devastated route to Smolensk. The marching and fighting at Maloyaroslavets consumed seven crucial days; a week after the battle the snow began to fall.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Cossacks; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Russian Campaign

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### Malta, Operations on (1798–1800)

Malta is a small island in the Mediterranean Sea, strategically situated between Sicily and North Africa. Ruled from the sixteenth century by the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, by the time of the French Revolution Malta had come increasingly into contact with European countries. Malta's principal city, Valetta (now Valletta), was a cosmopolitan trading center known especially for its Grand Harbor. That harbor drew Bonaparte to Malta in the summer of 1798.

In 1798 Malta's population of 74,000 supported 2,210 regular troops and a militia force of 10,000. The French invading force of 40,000 arrived on approximately 500 ships. The French were off Malta by early June 1798 and landed on the tenth at three points (St. Paul's Bay, St. Julian's Bay, and Marsa Scirocco), meeting little resistance. Bonaparte

had published a declaration setting forth his grounds for invading Malta, but it was clear to all that the real reason was to facilitate the French invasion of Egypt.

At first many of the Maltese welcomed Bonaparte's invading force. In it they saw potential release from the Knights, whose oppressive measures were hated. Bonaparte knew those sentiments, having sent a spy, Henri Poussieluge, to gather such information. Bonaparte stayed on the island for only six days. He departed for Egypt, leaving Malta under the command of General Claude-Henri Vaubois. For a time it seemed to some Maltese that French occupation was a blessing. Malta's church, legal structure, and education system were overhauled, largely through a legislative commission headed by Maltese. But disenchantment soon followed.

The abolition of Maltese coats of arms was resented by many. So, too, were deteriorating economic conditions, brought on by a shortage of currency as Bonaparte extracted from the country large sums of money. Others resented that Bonaparte freed Malta's slaves, most of whom were Turks and Moors. Others still resented increased rents, feared the possibility of conscription, and begrudged wearing the red cockade. On 2 September resentment gave way to organized revolt.

The Maltese overthrew the French forces at Rabat, and the main French force at Valetta came under siege. The Maltese formed a National Assembly and approached the British for military assistance. The British Mediterranean fleet was recovering from the Battle of the Nile, but Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson sent a Portuguese squadron and, in October, arrived himself. The British instituted a blockade of the French at Valletta. At first the blockade was sporadic. There was almost a complete withdrawal in May 1799 when British ships were needed for the blockade of Brest. However, a tightened blockade thereafter—with land forces under the command of Brigadier General Thomas Graham, those at sea under Captain Alexander Ball, and a continued siege by Maltese forces—proved effective. By August, food supplies for the French were desperately low. On 5 September 1800 Vaubois capitulated under terms that dictated the immediate withdrawal of his troops, who were to return to France.

Mark G. Spencer

*See also* Blockade; Graham, Sir Thomas; Middle East Campaign; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Second Coalition, War of the

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### Mannheim Offensive (1799)

Two French offensives and an Austrian counterattack in the later months of 1799 sought to control this strategically important area of the central Rhine valley. In late August and November the French attempted to draw Austrian forces north away from strategically important Switzerland, while in between, the Austrians attempted to link up with the Anglo-Russian expedition in Holland. Mannheim, which guarded a key Rhine crossing and the roads in the Neckar River valley, changed hands three times.

The French garrison at Mannheim (6,000 men) under General Baraguey d'Hilliers advanced to drive the Austrians from Heidelberg, which fell on 2 September, and seize the Neckar valley. Faced with the threat of a French advance into central Germany, the Austrian commander, Archduke Charles, was ordered to leave *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze's corps at Zürich and march north on 26 August with 35,000 men to join the force (20,000 troops) of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Anton Graf Sztáray von Nagy-Mihaly und Sztara (generally known simply as Sztáray) at Veihingen. The archduke arrived on 8 September and the combined force laid siege to the fortress at Philippsburg. Ten days later, they had forced the French back on Mannheim. On 18 September the Austrians advanced in three columns and at Neckerau defeated d'Hilliers, who had been reinforced by General Michel Ney, inflicting 1,600 casualties and taking 1,800 prisoners, at the cost of 900 casualties to themselves, before successfully storming Mannheim. Vienna had intended that the archduke secure links with and aid the Anglo-Russian expedition bogged down in Holland. However, news of General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov's defeat at the second Battle of Zürich (25 September) obliged Charles to withdraw with 30,000 men from the Neckar valley to the Upper Danube.

The French promptly renewed their attacks. Troops from their Mainz garrison crossed the Rhine on 13 October at Rüsselsheim. The commander of the Austrian outposts,

*Generalmajor* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, tried to mass a small force but was defeated by Ney at Bensheim and pushed back to Weinheim. The French recaptured Mannheim and on 16 October took Heidelberg. Following the Brumaire coup of 18–19 November, French war minister Louis-Alexandre Berthier ordered General Claude Jacques Lecourbe, commander of the Army of the Rhine (62,000 men), to attack the Neckar valley, in order to draw Austrian forces away from both the vital French assembly areas in Switzerland and the line of General Jean Victor Moreau's planned offensive with the Army of the Danube.

On his own initiative the energetic Lecourbe had already crossed the Rhine at Mainz on 16 November. Having taken Frankfurt the French reoccupied Mannheim and drove the Austrians up the Neckar. Lecourbe then laid siege to Philippsburg, but he was attacked on 23 and 26 November by superior Austrian forces under Sztáray, who had been reinforced by Archduke Charles. The Austrians were victorious at Sinzheim on 2 December, forcing Lecourbe to evacuate the right bank of the Rhine, and the Austrians reentered Mannheim on 9 December. A decree of 24 November had already formally consolidated the Armies of the Rhine and of the Danube into one force under Moreau.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Brumaire, Coup of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Moreau, Jean Victor; Ney, Michel; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Schwarzenberg; Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, Second Battle of

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### Mantua, Sieges of (1796–1797)

The sieges of Mantua played a key role during the third stage of Bonaparte's campaign in northern Italy in 1796–1797, influencing for eight months (June 1796–February 1797) the development of all military operations. Four times the Austrians failed to relieve Mantua despite a huge expenditure of manpower and equipment that strained their military resources. On the other hand, the constant need to keep a strong blockading force around Mantua prevented Bonaparte from maintaining a sure grasp on northern Italy and prosecuting the war to the

Austrian borders. The fall of Mantua on 2 February 1797 eventually allowed the Armée d'Italie to march to Frioul and sped up the course of events leading to the end of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign and the conclusion of the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Mantua was the southwestern endpoint of a fortress system known as the Quadrilateral that stood between Lake Garda (to the north), and the rivers Po (to the south), Mincio (to the west), and Adige (to the east). A Renaissance city, Mantua lies on the right bank of the Mincio, where the river widens, forming an oblong lake. In 1796 the lake and swampy ground covered the northern, northeastern, and western accesses to the city. To the south and southeast lay another swampy area and a canal. More than anything else, it was this natural protection that made Mantua a formidable stronghold and caused enormous problems to any besieging force, not least the spreading of malarial fevers (the latter, admittedly, plaguing also the besieged).

The city was surrounded by an impressive extension of stone walls, bastions, outworks, and entrenchments, with five main gates. The whole network of fortifications was, however, in poor condition. To the north and the east, two narrow causeways built on dams extended across the lake through drawbridges, leading, respectively, to a Vauban-style citadel and the small suburb of San Giorgio.

The strategic role of Mantua is easy to understand, as it posed a constant threat to the lines of communication of any army conducting operations to the east and the north. In order either to link up with the French armies in Germany or bring war to the Austrian borders, Bonaparte had thus first to dispose of the fortress. On the other hand, Mantua was crucial to any Austrian attempt at retaking Lombardy. In 1796, moreover, the side holding Mantua enjoyed a remarkable political advantage. For those classes still supporting the *ancien régime*, the fall of the fortress to the French would mean the final victory of the Revolution in Italy. For France, the seizing of Mantua would signal the end of Austrian rule over northern Italy to the rest of Europe. The French blockade (and, for a limited period, the sieges) of Mantua took place from 3 June 1796 to the capitulation of the fortress on 2 February 1797, with a short interruption from 1 to 10 August, when *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser succeeded in temporarily relieving the city.

The sieges can be divided into four stages:

1. *3 June–18 July 1796*. After the conquest of Lombardy, on 30 May Bonaparte's Armée d'Italie crossed the Mincio at Borghetto and repulsed *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu up to the Tyrol, thus severing any link

between the Austrian field army and Mantua. By then, the fortress garrison under General Joseph Count Canto d'Yrles, had been brought up to 15,000 men (of whom 1,500 were unfit for service), with 315 pieces of artillery. Supplies for the troops and the 25,000 citizens were estimated to last three months. Bonaparte entrusted General Jean Sérurier's division (9,000 men) with the investment of the fortress, which began on 3 June. For forty-five days the French, under the expert guide of General François de Chasseloup-Loubat, the Armée d'Italie's engineer in chief, were busy completing the encirclement of the fortress and preparing earthworks for the siege artillery emplacements. Bonaparte also ordered the assembly of a boat flotilla to patrol the lake. During this period the Austrians attempted limited sorties and only occasional fighting broke out along the siege lines.

2. *18 July–1 August.* On 18 July the blockade became a bona fide siege, as heavy guns and mortars started striking the bastions and the city. During two weeks of bombardment more than 12,000 explosive projectiles (that is, excluding round shots) fell on Mantua.
3. *1 August–15 September.* Over the night of 31 July–1 August, Würmser's advance from the Tyrol forced Bonaparte hastily to lift the siege. The city was resupplied, and the garrison brought within the walls the siege equipment the French had left behind (179 guns and thousands of shot). After Würmser's defeat at Castiglione on 5 August, however, the link between Mantua and the field army was once again severed. Now without siege artillery, French general Jean Joseph Sahuguet, who had temporarily replaced Sérurier in command, could only make dispositions for a blockade that prevented the Austrians from acquiring supplies from the surrounding area. By then, the garrison had risen to 16,500 (of which 12,200 were fit for service). In early September Würmser's second offensive failed miserably. Defeated at Bassano and cut off from the rest of his army, the Austrian commander in chief nevertheless ably eluded the French pursuit and managed to reach Mantua with around 13,000 men. After two days of fighting before the city ramparts, at La Favorita and San Giorgio, on 15 September Würmser was forced to retire within the fortress.
4. *15 September 1796–2 February 1797.* With Würmser's arrival, the garrison strength rose to almost 30,000 men. More troops, however, meant

more mouths to feed. Shortages in supplies began to tell, and Würmser was obliged to organize foraging sorties. Against disease, however, there was nothing he could do, and in the following six weeks 4,000 men died in the hospitals. Aware that Mantua could not resist for much longer, Austrian officials in Vienna prepared a new campaign. *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberek twice failed to relieve Mantua. In November his advance was checked at Arcola. On 14 January 1797, while Bonaparte crushed the main Austrian army at Rivoli, a secondary Austrian Korps under *Generalmajor* Giovanni, Marquis Provera (5,000 men) succeeded in breaking through the French line on the Adige and arrived before Mantua. Bonaparte, however, immediately rushed back from Rivoli, with General André Masséna's and General Claude Victor's divisions. On the sixteenth, Provera tried to make his way to the citadel and join Würmser. Attacked by superior forces at La Favorita, he was forced to surrender his entire command. Alvinczy's second failure sealed the fate of Mantua, where starvation and disease continued to exact a high daily toll. On 2 February, Würmser accepted the French conditions to capitulate.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Arcola, Battle of; Bassano, Battle of; Borghetto, Battle of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Castiglione, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Masséna, André; Quadrilateral, The; Rivoli, Battle of; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte de; Siege Warfare; Victor, Claude Perrin; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Marengo, Battle of (14 June 1800)

Decisive last-minute victory of Napoleon Bonaparte over the Austrian army in Italy under *General der Kavallerie* Michael Freiherr von Melas, which consolidated Bonaparte's

position as First Consul of France in the wake of his coup d'état the previous November.

Surprised by the Austrian advance toward Genoa in mid-April 1800, Bonaparte had hastily led his army over the Alps in mid-May and reached Milan on 2 June. After cutting Melas's line of communications by crossing the river Po and defeating *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Peter Freiherr Ott von Bartokez at Montebello on 9 June, the French closed in on the Austrian army, which had massed in Alessandria (80 kilometers north of Genoa and equidistant from Turin and Milan). Deceived by a local double agent, Bonaparte dispatched large forces to the north and south, but the Austrians launched a surprise attack on 14 June against the main French army under General Louis-Alexandre Berthier.

Initially, their two assaults across the Fontanone stream near Marengo village were repelled, and General Jean Lannes reinforced the French right. Bonaparte realized the true position and issued orders at 11:00 A.M. to recall the detachment under General Louis Desaix, while moving his reserve forward. On the Austrian left, Ott's column had taken Castel Ceriolo, and its advance guard moved south to attack Lannes's flank. Despite failing to get the cavalry across on his right flank, Melas renewed the main assault and the Austrians broke the central French position. By 2:30 P.M. the French were withdrawing and Austrian dragoons seized the Marengo farm.

Bonaparte had by then arrived with the reserve, and his right under General Jean-Charles Monnier briefly retook Castel Ceriolo, while Berthier's troops fell back on the main vine belts (grape vines slung among mulberry trees). Knowing Desaix was approaching, Bonaparte was anxious about a column of Ott's troops marching from the north, so he deployed his Consular Guard infantry to delay it. After an initial clash around 4:00 P.M. *Oberst* Johann Maria Frimont's Austrian cavalry destroyed the Guard infantry. The French then withdrew steadily eastward toward San Giuliano as the Austrians formed a column to follow them in line with Ott's advance in the northern sector.

Desaix's arrival around 5:30 P.M. stabilized the French position as the 9<sup>ème</sup> Légère (9th Light Infantry) delayed the Austrian advance down the main road and the rest of the army re-formed north of Cascina Grossa. As the pursuing Austrian troops arrived, a mix of musketry and artillery fire concealed the surprise attack of General François Kellermann's cavalry, which threw the Austrian pursuit into disordered flight. The whole French line chased after them to seal *une victoire politique* (a political victory) that secured Bonaparte's grip on power after the coup. It would be followed by a propaganda campaign, which sought to rewrite the battle three times during Napoleon's rule.

Bonaparte had crossed the Alps with his Army of the Reserve (officially commanded by Berthier) in mid-May 1800 and, abandoning General André Masséna in Genoa, captured Milan on 2 June. Once he had crossed the Po, he secured Stradella and cut the Austrian line of communication eastward. As other French forces closed from the west and south, the Austrian commander, Melas, had withdrawn most of his troops from their positions near Nice and Genoa to Alessandria on the main Turin-Mantua road.

**The Austrian plans.** The Austrians planned to fight their way out eastward but—using a local double agent, usually known by his cover of François Toli—attempted to deceive Bonaparte into thinking they would try to march north, cross the Po, and head for Milan, joined by the remaining troops marching up from Genoa. The spy would advise Bonaparte to march via Sale on the northern side of the plain, so that he could be engaged by the Austrian left wing; meanwhile the main force would move through Marengo village in the center, turn north, and fall into the French left flank. Ott arrived from Montebello on 12 June, increasing the Austrian force to 31,000 fit troops, who faced a French force about a thousand stronger under Bonaparte, which arrived at Sale on 13 June.

**The preliminary French moves.** Following his meeting with the spy, Napoleon weakened his forces by sending Desaix with General Jean Boudet's division (5,400 men) south and General Jean François Cornu de Lapoype (3,500 men) north. His view was confirmed when General Claude Victor, supported by General Joachim Murat's cavalry, swiftly evicted *Feldmarschalleutnant* Andreas Graf von O'Reilly's Austrian brigade from Marengo village that afternoon. Victor then deployed General Gasparde-Amedee Gardanne and General Jacques Antoine de Chambarlhac's brigades along the Fontanone stream. Austrian headquarters debated building a bridge to the north to outflank the French, but the lack of pontoons and time forced the Austrians to cross the river Bormida and then launch a single, direct assault across the Fontanone bridge.

**The surprise Austrian attack.** The Austrian attack broke at 8:00 A.M. on 14 June, led by the right wing, which quickly drove the French from Pedrabona farm, then headed south to tackle the French at La Stortiglione farm. Reaching the Fontanone, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Graf Hadik von Futak's four battalions supported by Frimont's advance guard battery along the stream mounted an assault on General Claude Victor at 8:30 A.M. The remaining Austrian troops followed across the Bormida—a brigade under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Konrad Valentin Freiherr von Kaim, grenadiers, and cavalry. At 9:00 A.M., news reached Melas from Acqui that French troops under General Louis Suchet were advancing from the south. Fatefully, the Austrian commander dispatched two Hussar regiments (2,300

men) and two artillery batteries back over the Bormida bridge to reinforce the position 30 kilometers away, delaying the crossing of the Austrian left wing. Meanwhile, Kellermann's cavalry had reinforced Victor's troopers. Lannes's formation went forward; forced into a funnel by the bad ground and Fontanone stream, Hadik's attack came under fire from two sides and failed. Kaim followed up with his larger brigade but was thwarted by 11:00 A.M.

**Stalemate in the center around Marengo.** Bonaparte now realized the real situation and frantically dispatched orders to his detachments to return before setting off with his Guard and Monnier's division. *Feldmarschalleutnant* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde's part of Kaim's brigade had crossed the Fontanone north of Marengo and occupied La Barbotta farm. Lannes arrived and directed Watrin's infantry to drive Bellegarde back. They briefly crossed the Fontanone before Austrian reserve guns drove the French back. A small part of the 6ème Légère (6th Light Infantry) occupied Castel Ceriolo to the north, until Ott's lead units seized it around 11.30 A.M. Ott could not see any sign of the expected main French advance from Sale (to the northeast), so he sent *Generalmajor* Freidrich Freiherr von Gottesheim's reinforced advance guard to outflank Lannes north of Marengo. Melas, too, realized that the main French force was around Marengo, so at noon, a cavalry brigade under *Generalmajor* Giovanni conte Pilatti della Torre di Mombisaggio attempted to cross the steep-sided Fontanone at its southern end to tackle Victor's right. Kellermann spotted them and moved quickly to defeat their attempt.

**The Austrians break out across the Fontanone.** Toward 12:30 P.M. Lannes moved the rest of his force to face Gottesheim in a hook shape, while Kaim attacked again, but this time against Victor's wings. A *Laufbrücke* (small bridge) was thrown over the Fontanone and supported by reserve artillery. *Generalmajor* Christoph Freiherr von Latterman's grenadiers crossed to engage Rivaud's two demi-brigades defending Marengo village, while Bellegarde and Frimont's four squadrons split Watrin off. Although Rivaud retook the village, O'Reilly had taken Stortiglione by 2:00 P.M., and in the north, Ott prepared to send *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Freiherr von Schellenberg's column to support Gottesheim. After securing the Fontanone bridge, Pilatti's cavalry crossed but were again charged and defeated by Kellermann. However, Victor could no longer hold his positions and withdrew southeast to the main vine belt, Lannes mirroring the move. The Marengo farm garrison was abandoned and at around 2:30 P.M. Melas led two cavalry squadrons to capture them.

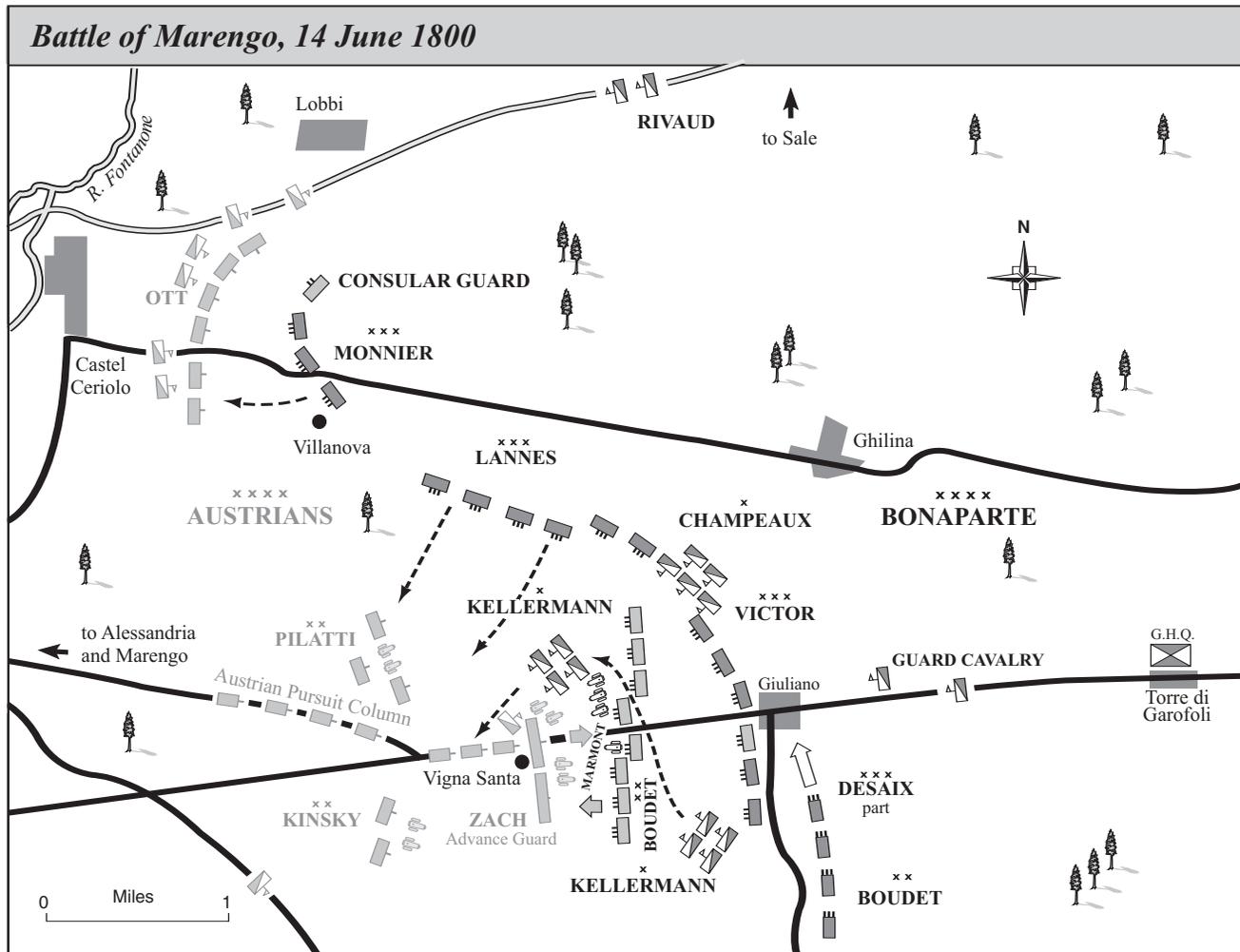
About 20 minutes later, the arrival of Bonaparte reinvigorated his men. Monnier's troops had been sent toward Castel Ceriolo, and after taking the village around 3:00 P.M.

had delayed the advance of Schellenberg's column by attacking its tail before Ott drove them off. As Austrian troops crossed the Fontanone, their guns bombarded the French infantry in the vines. In a bid to delay Schellenberg's advance, Bonaparte committed his main Guard battalion and its artillery, which moved to flank the column. After driving off Austrian dragoons with the aid of General Pierre Clément de Champeaux's remaining cavalry (under Murat), they engaged the head of the column. After a 15-minute firefight around 4:00 P.M. the Guard were surprised and destroyed by Frimont's cavalry.

**The return of Desaix.** A wounded Melas left the field and handed command to Kaim with orders for *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Graf St. Julien, in command of the advance guard, to lead a pursuit of the retreating French. The main Austrian pursuit column formed up around Spinetta, southeast of Marengo, and advanced down the New Road, as Ott moved in parallel in the north. However, delays in the center led to the Austrian army forming a crescent shape with a thinly stretched central sector. The arrival of Desaix's aide-de-camp, General Anne Jean Savary, brought Bonaparte the news that reinforcements would arrive around 5:00 P.M., so he withdrew his troops eastward toward San Giuliano but left small contingents in the high corn to unsettle the Austrians.

Desaix had hastened his advance and reached a small road junction north of Cascina Grossa (3 kilometers west of San Giuliano). Boudet and the 9ème Légère were quickly moved on to the exit from the main vine belt, where they surprised the head of *Feldmarschalleutnant* St. Julien's column. As the Austrian infantry deployed on the south side of the road, the 9ème Légère conducted a steady withdrawal for 30 minutes back to Desaix's position. There he had placed General Louis Charles de Guénand's brigade on the north side while most of the remaining French army (Monnier and Lannes) were forming up north from there. The Austrians deployed three artillery batteries on the north side of the road supported by a dragoon regiment while engaged in an artillery duel with Marmont's improvised battery. Desaix prepared his counterattack, including a request to Bonaparte for cavalry support. As the 9ème Légère halted to face the main Austrian advance and General Auguste de Marmont's guns fired a salvo into the Austrian infantry, Kellermann launched his cavalry in a surprise attack into their flank. At the decisive moment of the battle, Desaix was shot from his horse.

Exhausted after fighting all day, many Austrian infantry surrendered, while the dragoons were too slow to support their guns. As panic spread, Pilatti's Austrian cavalry attempted to intervene but were put to flight. In the confusion, chief of staff *Generalmajor* Anton Ritter von Zach was captured and the gun teams fled, pursued by



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 297.

French cavalry, while their whole infantry line advanced westward. Ott with the Austrian left failed to intervene and found his retreat through Castel Ceriolo blocked by French troops advancing northwest from the center. The fleeing Austrian right threw the weak center into disorder, which was exploited by the French cavalry to drive them back toward the Bormida. Only in the south did *Generalmajor* Franz Freiherr von Weidenfeld's grenadiers delay Boudet's advance long enough for O'Reilly's cavalry to return, and together with Frimont, they mounted a last defense around Marengo village as night fell. Ott fought his way through Castel Ceriolo and back to the Bormida bridgehead. Both sides had sustained about 2,100 casualties with another 2,500 Austrians captured.

**The fruits of victory.** Bonaparte needed to depart for Paris urgently and the next morning sent Berthier on a surprise visit to Austrian headquarters, where an armistice was signed at Alessandria, allowing the Austrian army to evacuate northwestern Italy. Although the war would

briefly resume in the autumn, the victory had secured Bonaparte's political power. A last-gasp victory in reality, it was mythologized in an army bulletin, some international propaganda, and three increasingly glamorized "Official Reports" during his rule. The last of these suggested that he had staged a planned withdrawal retaining control of Castel Ceriolo until reinforcements could arrive to complete the victory. Tales were invented about the Guard and the 72<sup>ème</sup> demibrigade, which had been under his direct control throughout. The Emperor's mount at Waterloo was named Marengo.

David Hollins

*See also* Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Brumaire, Coup of; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Genoa, Siege of; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Lannes, Jean; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Masséna, André; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Montebello, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Propaganda; Savary,

- Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo; Second Coalition, War of the; Suchet, Louis Gabriel; Victor, Claude Perrin
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### Marie Louise, Empress (1791–1847)

Marie Louise was Empress of France from 1810 to 1815, the second wife of Napoleon; she was also daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria, mother of Napoleon II, and ruler of the duchies of Guastalla, Parma, and Piacenza from 1816 to 1847.

Marie Louise Leopoldine Franziska Theresia Josepha Lucia was born, with the titles of Princess Imperial and Archduchess of Austria and Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, on 12 December 1791 in Vienna. Her father was Holy Roman Emperor Francis II (later Emperor Francis I of Austria), and her mother was Maria Theresa of the Two Sicilies. Marie Louise exhibited a pleasant personality. She was educated by tutors, mastered various languages, German literature, geography, and law, and became a master musician. She was taught to be unquestioningly submissive to her father. She married Napoleon out of political expediency; it ended Austria's wars with France.

The couple was married in several ceremonies, one in Vienna on 11 March 1810 and again on 1 April in Paris. Napoleon treated the sensual, self-centered Marie Louise with great respect and consideration, and for a time the marriage proved successful. During the difficult childbirth of the long-awaited heir, Napoleon was prepared to save her life over that of the infant. Their son, François, was born on 20 March 1811 and designated King of Rome. The heir ensured Napoleon's dynastic ambitions.

Marie Louise was unpopular in France. She served as regent in 1814 during Napoleon's military travails, but her inexperience and naïveté led to grievous errors despite her following the advice of a council. In 1814 Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was exiled to Elba. Marie Louise and François were restricted to Château Blois. Caught between husband and father, she fled to Vienna with her son where they lived as semi-prisoners in Schönbrunn Palace from

1814 to 1816. She was never reunited with Napoleon; their son, whom she largely neglected, was raised by his grandfather, a governess, and tutors, and never succeeded to the title of Napoleon II, as intended by his father.

Eight months after leaving France Marie Louise abandoned discretion and found solace with the love of her life, Adam, Graf von Neipperg, the Austrian officer who had escorted her back to Austria. He was well suited to her personality, but their union was deemed scandalous because she was still married to Napoleon. She secretly had two children with him: Albertine and Wilhelm Albrecht. A third child, Mathilde, died in infancy in 1822. Marie Louise was indifferent to the fate of her first child and held Napoleon responsible for their son's situation.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau, approved by the Congress of Vienna, granted Marie Louise the duchies of Guastalla, Parma, and Piacenza in Italy in her own right. She first set foot in her new country on 19 April 1816. She was well liked by her subjects and introduced numerous liberal reforms.

Upon Napoleon's death she married von Neipperg morganatically on 8 August 1821. Von Neipperg died in 1829, leaving her grief stricken. She married again on 17 February 1834 to her chamberlain, Charles René, comte de Bombelles, who was unpopular.

Marie Louise died at Vienna on 18 December 1847. She was buried at the Capucin church crypt in Vienna at her request, beside her father and her son, François, who was later moved to Paris to rest beside his father at Les Invalides.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Elba; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Francis I, Emperor; Napoleon II, King of Rome; Vienna, Congress of

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### Marines

Marines have traditionally been sea-going infantry, able to fight as well on land as on board ship. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, all navies had a complement of marines on board their vessels, and when there was a shortage of such troops, resorted to using soldiers from the army.

On board ship, marines were associated with helping to maintain discipline and enforce regulations below deck,

suppressing mutinies, and performing guard duties. British marines (they received the title “Royal” in 1802) were to stand guard whenever punishment was inflicted. In the Royal Navy it was normal practice to maintain a social barrier between the marines and seamen, to ensure that the former did not form a bond with the seamen in the event of mutiny. However, this policy did not always succeed, as many marines took part in the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in 1797.

Marines played an important role in the amphibious warfare that was a notable feature of the era. Small landing parties could consist of a mix of marines and armed seamen, while for specific operations large detachments of marines would be involved. In 1808 a party of 300 marines from all the Royal Navy ships on the Portugal station were brought together and landed at Figueras in support of a local uprising. A Royal Marine battalion was added to Sir Home Popham’s forces on the north coast of Spain in 1812, taking part in many landings, including the capture of Santander.

Apart from amphibious operations, marines were used extensively on land. They formed garrisons in friendly ports, especially when enemy colonies were captured. In Europe, French marines formed the garrisons of many coastal fortifications. French colonial garrisons also included detachments of these men.

In battle at sea, marines had a number of roles to play. Detachments would be used to fire disciplined volleys of musketry at opposing ships when they came into range; individual marines in the rigging would fire onto enemy decks, aiming at officers and gun crews. Boarding parties would consist of both marines and sailors, and the former would help defend against such onslaughts. On the capture of an enemy vessel, marines played a prominent role in securing the prize and guarding prisoners of war.

The employment of artillerymen from the army on board ship often gave rise to disputes over who had authority over such non-naval personnel. In 1804 the British Admiralty formed the Royal Marine Artillery to man the mortars and guns on bomb vessels, and these troops were landed (often with howitzers) in support of naval operations on land in the Iberian Peninsula and in America during the War of 1812. The French had no marine infantry units as such after 1795, but did have units of marine artillery who were trained and equipped as infantry and expected to perform all the duties of marines. After 1803 many French marines found themselves in the armies marching across Europe, especially in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, as Napoleon sought ever-more troops to bolster his dwindling forces.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* French Navy; Naval Warfare; Nore, Mutiny at the; Peninsular War; Royal Navy; Spithead, Mutiny at; United States Navy; War of 1812

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**Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de (1774–1852)**

Auguste de Marmont, duc de Raguse and Marshal of the Empire, is best known for the betrayal of Napoleon, which took place on 5 April 1814. At that time, Marmont’s entire corps of 12,000 men guarding Fontainebleau was taken over to the Allies, with the immediate result that the Emperor abdicated in favor of his son. In consequence, the French verb *raguser*, from Marmont’s title, has entered the language to mean to betray.

Marmont was born into ancient nobility on 20 July 1774. The future marshal’s father was *seigneur* of Sainte-Colombe, near Châtillon-sur-Seine, and a Knight of the Order of Saint-Louis. It seems that Auguste contemplated a military career from an early age, and when he failed to gain entry into the royal artillery he joined a provincial regiment. In 1790 he became a *sous-lieutenant* in the Chartres Regular Army garrison. At about that time, an uncle of Marmont’s who had gone to the military school at Brienne recommended that he seek out a promising young artillery officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. The two would become friends, the wealthy Frenchman helping the impoverished, brash young Corsican through his family’s hard times. Marmont apparently exhibited a bit of the impressed younger sibling’s attitude toward Bonaparte, five years his senior.

In March 1792 Marmont entered the Châlons Artillery School, and upon graduating he became a lieutenant in La Fère Artillery Regiment, Bonaparte’s old unit. He was posted to the Army of the Moselle; then, as a captain, to the armies of the Alps and later the Pyrenees. At Toulon between 14 and 18 December 1793 Marmont attracted Bonaparte’s attention, and he soon was appointed one of General Bonaparte’s two personal aides. In 1794 and 1795 Marmont served in the (French) Army of Italy, and then in March 1795 he was assigned to a new post in the Vendée.

In February 1796 Bonaparte made Marmont his first aide-de-camp, and the two arrived to assume command of

the Army of Italy on 27 March. In Bonaparte's famous victory at Lodi, Marmont distinguished himself by leading a cavalry charge and personally capturing a cannon. In August Marmont's deployment of French artillery was integral to the French victory at Castiglione. Later that year Bonaparte sent Marmont to Paris with the colors captured at Rovereto, Bassano, Saint-George, Primolano, and Cismona. The ruling Directory promoted Marmont to the rank of colonel. At Arcola Marmont saw that his general had fallen into the mud of the dykes and plunged in after him, probably saving his life.

Marmont spent much of 1798 and 1799 in the Levant, where his superior's Egyptian campaign ultimately proved a disaster for French arms. Marmont, however, returned from the Middle East as a brigadier general: He personally had seized the flag of the Knights of Malta, having been one of the first ashore on that island, and this conspicuous bravery captured Bonaparte's eye. In addition Marmont was responsible for severing the Mamelukes' line of retreat at the Battle of the Pyramids on 21 July 1798, which cost the enemy 1,600 casualties and put the remainder to rout.

Bonaparte rewarded Marmont by making him Governor of Alexandria, while the bulk of the French force headed north for Syria. As elsewhere and at other times in his career, Marmont proved an able administrator, but he was still unable to avert the loss of Aboukir, for which Bonaparte criticized him, probably unfairly. At the campaign's conclusion, Marmont was among those select few to join their chief in abandoning the French army in the Middle East on 24 August 1799.

On 9–10 November 1799 Bonaparte and his supporters overthrew the French government in the coup of Brumaire. Marmont commanded the artillery in the army that would soon win renown on the field of Marengo. Since both Bonaparte and Marmont had been trained as artillerymen, they had special faith in the potential of their arm to decide battles—as, indeed, their experience at Castiglione had already borne out. At Marengo Marmont again employed the artillery to telling effect, and Bonaparte's army won a near-run victory. Marmont thus was delegated the task of negotiating the Treaty of Campo Formio, which brought the campaign of 1800 to a successful close via the reestablishment of French control south of the Alps. On returning to France Marmont undertook the standardization of the artillery, which gave France the world's first modern artillery arm.

In 1804 the Empire was proclaimed and the marshalate resuscitated. Marmont, who was younger than any of those named, felt disappointed not to have been among the new Emperor's first marshals; the explanation seems to have been that Marmont had never yet held an indepen-



Marshal Marmont. Despite scoring several minor victories against the Spanish, he was badly defeated by Wellington at Salamanca. He played a prominent part in the campaign of 1814 in France, but as fortunes turned for the worse urged Napoleon to abdicate. (Drawing by Jean Baptiste Guerin from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

dent command. Still, he was the only non-marshal in command of a *corps d'armée* when Napoleon's new Grande Armée swept eastward in 1805. In the Austerlitz campaign Napoleon decided to use the Imperial Guard and Marmont's corps as his reserve, the significance for Marmont being that it was unlikely he would win his marshal's baton in that episode, either. Marmont's selection to be held in reserve indicates that Napoleon considered his friend to be the corps commander least prepared for combat.

The Austerlitz campaign saw Marmont begin to butt heads with the Imperial Headquarters, specifically chief of staff Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier, over the Napoleonic recourse to "living off the land," that is, the army requisitioning supplies locally rather than establishing supply depots or taking with them on campaign thousands of supply wagons. Marmont's corps played a secondary role in the encirclement of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich at Ulm, then was again assigned a lesser role in the campaign that culminated in the triumph at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805.

Nor would Marmont participate in the other famous battles of Jena (1806) and Friedland (1807). Instead, he was made governor of the new province of Illyria (essentially, Albania and Dalmatia). He arrived at his post, which he would hold for three years, on 7 July 1806. His chief military task there was to make a show of assisting the Turks in one of their perennial conflicts with Russia and thus reduce Russia's contribution to the anti-French coalitions; at one point, he sent 500 artillerymen to assist in manning new shore batteries guarding the Dardanelles, but the Ottoman regime rejected this offer of French assistance. Marmont's 25,000 men were also to stand ready to assist in the defense of the line of the Danube.

In 1806 Russian forces took the Corcyrean harbor of Cattaro, and an Allied force of Montenegrins attacked Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik). The Russian admiral Dmitry Senyavin refused to credit the French insistence that a treaty between France and Russia had been reached in Paris on 20 July, so Marmont faced the necessity of dealing with the Austrian, Russian, and Montenegrin amphibious force. In September 1806 Marmont successfully repelled the Allied expeditionary force, and French control of Ragusa and all of Dalmatia was preserved.

Marmont's administrative successes in Illyria led Napoleon to bestow on Marmont the title of duc de Raguse. During his time there, Marmont and his men built hundreds of miles of roads—including some that are still in use—and established French-style *lycées*. He might have achieved more, but Napoleon counseled that the imperial forces in Illyria must always be prepared to participate in operations elsewhere in Europe. Still, Marmont's superb performance led the Austrian emperor, Francis I, to comment a decade later, "*Domage qu'il ne soit pas resté plus longtemps*" (Too bad that he did not stay longer) (Driault 1927, 19).

The call for Marmont to head north finally came during the War of the Fifth Coalition in 1809. Both poor disposition of French forces by Berthier and more astute Austrian generalship than that to which the French had become accustomed necessitated the augmentation of Napoleon's force by the 15,000 men Marmont had available. After the Battle of Aspern-Essling, Napoleon told Marmont to hasten to him, and Marmont's alacrity in complying with this order pleased the Emperor.

During the crucial phase of the Battle of Wagram, Marmont's corps joined Marshal Jacques Macdonald's in a massive assault on the exposed Austrian center. Marmont's prior work on the French artillery paid off, as Napoleon massed more than a hundred guns to break Archduke Charles's center.

Since Marmont's men essentially had fought only on the battle's final day, they were assigned the key role in the

pursuit, and their performance turned Wagram into a major victory. On 10 July Marmont attacked two-thirds of the retreating Austrian army at Taya, performing the classic pinning function Napoleon expected of his pursuing corps. Marshal André Masséna's corps joined in mauling the Austrian rear guard at Znaim on 10–11 July, and the Austrians sued for peace. On the twelfth, the day of the armistice, Marmont received a marshal's baton, as did two colleagues. A rhyme popular among the army at the time held that, "*La France a nommé Macdonald. L'armée a nommé Oudinot. L'amitié a nommé Marmont*" (France named Macdonald. The army named Oudinot. Friendship named Marmont). Marmont, far from agreeing, believed that his promotion had come too late. He may have been, at age thirty-five, the youngest of Napoleon's marshals, but that did not satisfy Marmont, who felt insulted by the delay of his promotion. Further, there might have been a financial motive behind Marmont's appointment to the marshalate: The younger man had married into one of the leading banking families in France. Since Napoleon needed cash to fund his expensive military establishment and to offset the effects of his trade policies, amicable relations with the duc de Raguse were essential to Napoleon.

Marmont returned to Illyria. French taxes and conscription in time would be introduced into Illyria, over the governor's objections. Marmont allowed Slovene and Croatian to be spoken in schools and used in documents, and he even allowed the writing of Slovene textbooks. Still, as in much of Napoleon's Empire, transportation and educational improvements were not seen by the locals as offsetting the burdens of foreign taxation and conscription into foreign armies, and Marmont had to deal with periodic flare-ups of local resistance, such as the quashing of a Croatian rebellion before his departure for Spain in 1811. By the time the Napoleonic Code was implemented in Illyria, Marmont had already departed.

Marmont was assigned to take command of VI Corps, a unit of Masséna's (French) Army of Portugal, on 9 April 1811. The position Marmont had been assigned was being vacated by Marshal Michel Ney, who had found it impossible to work with the dissolute, though very able, Masséna. Like Ney, Masséna, and others, Marmont would see his military reputation irretrievably damaged by events in Iberia: Within three days of his arrival in April 1811, he found himself in command of the Army of Portugal, which he would lead to a resounding defeat at the hands of the Earl of (later Duke of) Wellington.

The "Spanish Ulcer" arguably would prove fatal to the Napoleonic Empire, and the command structure in Iberia was hardly conducive to battlefield success. First, Napoleon's older brother Joseph ruled Spain as puppet king, and several French armies—whose commanders each had their

own agenda—were posted about the kingdom. As the commanders rarely cooperated effectively, the Emperor constantly intervened from afar to “clarify” matters. In addition, Napoleon saw Iberia as a theater of secondary importance, so, as Marmont soon had reason to lament, even the most essential items were perpetually in short supply.

Marmont’s record in Illyria and Egypt had given reason to believe that he was capable of managing a major independent command, but this was his first opportunity to do so. The Army of Portugal numbered approximately 40,000 men when Marmont assumed command. The transport system was in shambles, and ongoing guerrilla warfare posed great difficulties. On the other hand, Napoleon gave Marmont total control of the organization of his force, including the discretion to relieve generals with whom he did not believe he could work. Marmont’s assignment was to defend Ciudad Rodrigo against any attempt by the Anglo-Portuguese force under Wellington to take that strategic city, and he was assured that in case Wellington moved against it, Napoleon himself would come to take command of the Army of Portugal.

Marmont began his operations in Iberia with a strategic withdrawal from the Spanish-Portuguese border to Salamanca. He and Marshal Nicolas Soult then succeeded in forcing Wellington to abandon his attempt to capture Badajoz, one of the two so-called keys to Iberia. Marmont favored forcing Wellington to fight at that juncture, but Soult desired only to return to his comfortable sinecure in Seville. Thus was lost the French army’s best opportunity to confront Wellington from a position of marked numerical superiority.

After reluctantly mounting an invasion of Portugal, Marmont realized that Wellington intended to strike into Castile, thus bringing Marmont into a general action. The French forces in Spain had been notably weakened in 1812 by the Emperor’s decision to transfer the most outstanding of his generals and units for the invasion of Russia, but Marmont remained confident.

Marmont performed well in what became a contest of maneuver in Spain. Wellington first advanced to meet Marmont, who then began a prolonged attempt to turn Wellington’s flank and sever the Anglo-Portuguese line of communications, which extended back into Portugal. Wellington, on the other hand, hoped to force Marmont to come to blows. The two armies marched within a stone’s throw of each other for days on end. On 22 July 1812, however, the race came to a conclusion at the Battle of Salamanca.

Marmont, on seeing what he thought was dust rising from the British rear, expected another day of hard marching. As he described it in his largely self-exculpatory memoirs, he therefore sent four divisions along the plateau to

the west of the Greater Arapile, with two divisions abreast in front and the other two to follow. Instead, however, General Antoine Louis Popon, baron de Maucune and his division descended from the plateau, which allowed too great a gap to develop between those leading forces. (The point of Marmont’s account is that the fault lay with Maucune, not with Marmont himself.) Wellington, observing the French maneuver from a distance, instantly told his Spanish counterpart, “*Mon chère Aliva, Marmont est perdu*” (My dear Aliva, Marmont is lost) (Longford 1973, 285). Wellington then sent his finest units to cut off Marmont’s lead divisions and destroy them in succession.

Marmont and Joseph Bonaparte agreed that Marmont might at that point have rectified the situation. Yet Marmont did not witness the rout of his army. No sooner did he realize what was happening than he was struck by shell fragments. He regained consciousness only the next day. His right side had been badly injured in two places; eventually, his right arm would have to be amputated. The defeat at Salamanca reduced the Army of Portugal to 20,000 effectives. Soult had to abandon Andalusia, and Marmont was reposted to central Europe, where the fate of the Napoleonic empire in Germany would be decided in 1813.

Marmont fought bravely and well in the campaign of 1813. His performance at Lützen and Bautzen (where only the shortage of horses plaguing the French army prevented a repetition of 1806), and particularly at Leipzig, went far toward restoring the reputation that had been so seriously sullied at Salamanca.

Marmont was bitterly opposed to Napoleon’s entire plan of operations at Leipzig. Still, his corps fought well on 16–17 October. The day might even have been won had not the Württemberger cavalry associated with Marmont’s corps refused to pursue General Johann von Yorck’s corps when Marmont’s men routed its leading division; two days later, the Württembergers would desert. Still Marmont’s corps had faced down General Gebhard von Blücher’s numerically superior Allied force at Möckern.

On 18 October a force of 10,000 Saxon cavalry deserted Ney’s corps, which necessitated a contraction of the entire French line of battle. The outcome of Leipzig had been determined. All that remained was for the disaster of the nineteenth—the premature destruction of the main bridge into the city of Leipzig, and thus the unintentional destruction by French forces of their main line of retreat—to occur. Marmont’s troops had been virtually annihilated at Leipzig, and he sustained another wound.

Napoleon returned to France to endeavor to raise yet another army. Marmont and three other marshals remained in central Europe to lead the tattered remains of the Grande Armée back to France. Marmont let his departing chief know of his displeasure at the mounting human

cost of the seemingly endless war, especially since Napoleon seemed enthused by the prospect of raising a new army.

Champagne became the theater of a midwinter campaign in 1814. Marmont, long dissatisfied with the French armies' de facto policy of living off the land, repeatedly complained that his men had insufficient food. The quality of the new troops, many young boys and most with little training, posed further difficulties. By the end of the campaign, they would lack basic items of clothing, as well.

As in 1796 Napoleon led his small force brilliantly. He took advantage of his interior lines to rain a succession of blows down upon the heads of his far more numerous enemies. Marmont repeatedly demonstrated great bravery and real leadership ability, as when he put 25,000 Bavarians to rout near Troyes on 2 February.

On the night of 6 March Marmont's exhausted men marched toward Laon, to where Napoleon had given the marshal a direct order to hasten. Marmont's men were exhausted and hungry, and Marmont—without taking proper precautions against night attack—spent the night at a château well to their rear. When Blücher attacked them, they were routed very easily; only the presence of 125 members of the Old Guard averted a complete disaster. Marmont had lost 3,200 of his 9,000 men, plus 37 of 45 guns. Napoleon cited “the crass stupidity of the Duke of Ragusa, who behaved himself like a second lieutenant” (Chandler 1966, 991) as the reason for the failure of his maneuvers to bring Blücher to bay against the main French force.

By the end of March Marmont and Marshal Adolphe Mortier had arrived in Paris. They faced 150,000 enemy troops in three bodies. Marmont would perform heroically in the defense of the capital: A dozen men were killed by bayonet at his side, and his hat was pierced by a musket ball. Finally, however, in accordance with Napoleon's instructions, the city was surrendered rather than defended to the bitter end.

Marmont withdrew to Essonnes, on the city's outskirts. There, he was praised by Napoleon for his heroic defense of the approaches to the city, and the two discussed a plan to fall upon their enemies' lines of communication. Soon enough, however, Marmont decided upon a different course of action: Under the prodding of Tsar Alexander, French foreign minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, and others, he took his army over to the enemy on 5 April, five days after he had surrendered the capital.

Marmont thus abandoned his Emperor, his old friend, in the field. Napoleon's abdication quickly followed. During the Hundred Days of 1815, Marmont refused to go to Napoleon's aid, and he was branded a traitor. Although he would remain a marshal during the reigns of Louis XVIII

and Charles X, Marmont was never trusted again. In 1830 he was forced into exile together with the last Bourbon king, and he spent the remainder of his life wandering the scenes of his bygone glory. His death in Venice, on 3 March 1852, was unique among those of Napoleon's marshals in being essentially unlamented.

Kevin R. C. Gutzman

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Arcola, Battle of; Artillery (Land); Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Bassano, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Joseph; Brumaire, Coup of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Castiglione, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Civil Code; Directory, The; El Bodón, Action at; Fifth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Guerrilla Warfare; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lodi, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lützen, Battle of; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Maison, The; Malta, Operations on; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Middle East Campaign; Möckern, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Pyramids, Battle of the; Rovereto, Battle of; Russo-Turkish War; Salamanca, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Third Coalition, War of the; Toulon, Siege of; Ulm, Surrender at; Vendée, Revolts in the; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf; Znaim, Battle of

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## Marseillaise, La

The birth of the French national anthem has its origins in April 1792 when, as troops mobilized for war against Austria, Philippe Frédéric, baron de Dietrich, the mayor of Strasbourg, hosted a patriotic dinner. In response to the complaint that popular Revolutionary songs, such as “Ça ira,” were neither dignified nor suited for marching, a young military engineer and amateur composer called Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle wrote the “War Song of the Army of the Rhine” in just one night. It acquired the name “La Marseillaise” when federated troops from the south transmitted it to Paris shortly before the fall of the monarchy. The dramatic images of family and fatherland in peril (*La Patrie en danger!*) captured the public imagination as they spread around the country—thanks in large part to numerous printed editions of the song, some subsidized by the government.

“La Marseillaise” was part of the new civil religion so central to the Revolution. Like the tricolor flag, it celebrated the whole nation rather than a dynasty, class, or region (just as the French language of the text supplanted both provincial dialects and elite Latin). It featured prominently in ritualized political settings such as civic festivals or meetings of the Jacobin Club but was also sung spontaneously; theaters were required to perform it upon public demand. It was appropriated in medleys and variations and also spawned hundreds of parodies.

The Thermidorians, however, replaced it with the anti-Jacobin “Awakening of the People.” The Convention made “La Marseillaise” the national anthem on 14 July 1795, although the battle with the “Awakening” continued in the streets and theaters into the next year before dissipating. The relevance of the song’s martial themes notwithstanding, Napoleon rejected its Jacobinism, elevating “Watch o’er the Empire” (from 1792) in its place. The fate of “La Marseillaise” fluctuated as regimes came and went, until it again became the national anthem under the Third Republic in 1879.

Rouget de Lisle’s authorship of the music was long a matter of contention—said, for example, to come from an opera by Dalayrac—but is now generally accepted.

François-Joseph Gossec orchestrated the melody, and following the Revolution of 1830, Hector Berlioz dedicated an arrangement to Rouget de Lisle, by then impoverished and forgotten.

Among the artworks that the song inspired is François Rudé’s sculpture on the Arc de Triomphe, *The Departure of the Volunteers* (1833), more popularly known as *The Marseillaise*. The story of the song was popularized in a chapter of Stefan Zweig’s *Tide of Fortune* (1927; English, 1940), and in Jean Renoir’s film, *La Marseillaise* (1938), which both commemorated the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution and urged national unity and vigilance in the face of the new threat of fascism.

James Wald

*See also* Convention, The; First Coalition, War of the; French Revolution; Jacobins; Propaganda

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## Marshalate

Body of twenty-six men endowed with the highest rank bestowed under the French Empire. Just as the aristocracy and their titles were swept away by the Revolution, the ancient dignity of Marshal of France (*Maréchal de France*) was abolished by the Convention in 1793. On the proclamation of Napoleon as Emperor on 18 May 1804, the new Constitution of the Year XII (in deference to the republican calendar) created the dignity of Marshal of the Empire (*Maréchal d'Empire*). In theory the marshalate was a civil dignity, as opposed to a hereditary title or military rank. Nevertheless, only senior military men were eligible, and key military commands invariably went to marshals.

The first promotions to the marshalate were made on 19 May 1804 with fourteen active and four honorary members. They are listed below in order of creation. There was no distinction of seniority among them apart from Louis-Alexandre Berthier who, as chief of staff, acted in the name of the Emperor, and Joachim Murat, Napoleon’s brother-in-law. Napoleon created the marshalate

primarily to consolidate his support within the army, thus defusing potential coups, but also to give prestige to the Empire.

The marshals came from diverse backgrounds socially and politically and from different power groups within the army. The army had a network of personal loyalties among men who had served together, whether in the Pyrenees, on the Rhine frontier, in Italy, in Egypt, or elsewhere. The composition of the marshalate was fairly balanced among the factions and respected the achievements of the Republic, a number of republicans being included.

The marshals were variously rewarded with titles, along with grants of land or money. Many also enriched themselves through speculation. However, the price of fame was heavy: Half were wounded, while marshals Jean Lannes and Jean-Baptiste Bessières were killed in action, and Józef Poniatowski drowned in the river Elster as the army fled from Leipzig on the final day of that battle. After 1815 Michel Ney and Murat were shot by firing squad, Guillaume Brune was killed by a royalist mob, and Berthier died mysteriously after falling from a window.

#### List of Marshals

*Created on 19 May 1804*

**Augereau**, Pierre-François-Charles (1757–1816), duc de Castiglione

**Bernadotte**, Jean-Baptiste-Jules (1763–1844), prince de Ponte-Corvo, roi de Suède (at its invitation)

**Berthier**, Louis-Alexandre (1753–1815), prince souverain de Neuchâtel et de Wagram, duc de Valengin

**Bessières**, Jean-Baptiste (1768–1813), duc d’Istrie

**Brune**, Guillaume-Marie-Anne (1763–1815), comte

**Davout**, Louis Nicolas (1770–1823), duc d’Auerstädt, prince d’Eckmühl

**Jourdan**, Jean-Baptiste (1762–1833), comte

**Kellermann**, François Etienne “the Elder” (1735–1820), duc de Valmy (honorary)

**Lannes**, Jean (1769–1809), duc de Montebello

**Lefebvre**, François Joseph (1755–1820), duc de Danzig

**Masséna**, André (1758–1817), duc de Rivoli, prince d’Essling

**Moncey**, Bon Adrien Jannot de (1754–1842), duc de Conegliano (honorary)

**Mortier**, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph (1768–1835), duc de Trévise

**Murat**, Joachim (1767–1815), grand duc de Clèves et Berg, roi de Naples

**Ney**, Michel (1769–1815), duc d’Elchingen, prince de la Moskowa

**Pérignon**, Dominique-Catherine (1754–1818), marquis de (honorary)

**Sérurier**, Jean Mathieu Philibert (1742–1819), comte (honorary)

**Soult**, Nicolas Jean de Dieu (1769–1851), duc de Dalmatie

*Created on 13 July 1807*

**Victor**, Claude Perrin (1764–1841), duc de Bellune

*Created on 6, 12, 13 July 1809, respectively*

**Macdonald**, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre (1765–1840), duc de Tarente

**Marmont**, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de (1774–1852), duc de Raguse

**Oudinot**, Nicolas Charles (1767–1847), duc de Reggio

*Created on 8 July 1811*

**Suchet**, Louis-Gabriel (1770–1826), duc d’Albufera

*Created on 27 August 1812*

**Gouvion St. Cyr**, Laurent (1764–1830), comte

*Created on 15 October 1813*

**Poniatowski**, Józef Anton (1763–1813), Prince (Polish title, by birth)

*Created on 15 April 1815*

**Grouchy**, Emmanuel (1766–1847), marquis de

*Rohan Saravanamuttu*

*See also Readers may consult entries on individual marshals by referring to their respective names.—Ed.*

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#### Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado” (1775–1825)

Originally a peasant and sometime soldier from Castrillo de Duero in the province of Burgos, Juan Martín Díez was a great hero of the Spanish struggle against Napoleon, and, more particularly, one of the leading commanders of the famous Spanish guerrillas.

The true story of how he became a member of a guerrilla band is unknown, but it seems probable that he had to take to the hills after killing a Frenchman in a fight. Be this as it may, by June 1808 he was attacking couriers traveling

along the high road from Madrid to the French frontier at the head of a handful of followers. According to legend he then fought under General Gregorio García de la Cuesta at Cabezón and Medina de Río Seco, but this is by no means certain, it being more likely that he continued to haunt the Madrid high road. Little better than a bandit, following the French evacuation of Old Castile in the wake of Bailén he was thrown in jail at Burgo de Osma.

In November, however, the French occupied the town, and Martín managed to escape in the confusion. Fleeing westward to his home district, he then reunited his followers, who included his three brothers, and, once again according to legend, proceeded to harass the French in an area stretching from Aranda de Duero to Segovia, it being at this point that he acquired the nickname of “El Empeinado” (roughly, “Stick-in-the-Mud”).

Had matters simply continued in this fashion, Martín would beyond doubt in the end have degenerated into a mere brigand (always assuming, that is, that he was ever anything else). However, whatever may have been his motivation—and it seems almost certain that this was not simple patriotism—the guerrilla leader decided that he would do best if he regularized his position with the Patriot authorities. In consequence, he did all that he could to ingratiate himself with them, and in April 1809 the Junta Central duly rewarded him with the rank of lieutenant. At the same time, meanwhile, unlike many of his fellow irregulars, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the struggle against the French, reasoning, perhaps, that his only hope of advancement was military glory.

For some time he continued to operate in Old Castile, but in September 1809 his growing fame led the Patriot authorities in the province of Guadalajara to offer him command of the forces they had been raising to fight the French. This was all the opportunity that Martín needed. A redoubtable character of considerable talent, he quickly scored a number of successes against the enemy and greatly expanded his command, which he had by 1810 transformed into a brigade of regular troops. Basing himself in the mountains that fringed Guadalajara, Martín for the next two years waged a fierce struggle against the invaders. By August 1812 when the Earl of Wellington liberated Madrid, Martín, by then a brigadier, accompanied him in his triumphal entry into the city.

This, however, was to prove the zenith of his career. Though the French recovered Madrid in November, Guadalajara remained largely free of their presence, and Martín and his men appear to have settled down to enjoy the fruits of victory. Such incursions into the area as the French made were resisted, but no attempt was made to seek them out. Increasingly exasperated, the Patriot authorities responded by depriving Martín of his indepen-

dence: Already theoretically a division of the Second Army, he and his men in August 1813 were ordered to join the Spanish forces besieging the garrison, which the retreating French had left in the Catalan town of Tortosa. So ineffectually was the siege conducted, however, that the invaders were still holding out when the war ended.

The story of the years that followed is not much more edifying. Contrary to legend, Martín did not immediately join the fight against absolutism. Showered with honors, he appears to have been on good terms with the regime. Following the Revolution of 1820, however, he went over to the liberals and in 1821 was given the task of suppressing absolutist rebels in the province of Burgos. The guerrilla, then, was now turned counter guerrilla, but in this role he was singularly unsuccessful, while his command was overwhelmed when the French invaded Spain to rescue Ferdinand VII two years later.

With the liberal armies collapsing on all sides Martín appears to have tried to revert to life as a partisan, but on 22 November 1823 he was captured at Olmos. Put on trial for his life, he was finally led out for execution at Roa on 19 August 1825. However, adventurer and opportunist though he may have been, Martín was not lacking in courage. In a last-minute bid for freedom, then, he broke loose from his captors on the very scaffold. There followed a desperate chase through the streets, but in the end the guerrilla leader was cornered, overcome, and brought back to face the noose.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Espoz Ilundáin, Francisco; Ferdinand VII, King; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Guerrilla Warfare; Junta Central; Medina de Río Seco, Battle of; Merino, Jerónimo; Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier; Peninsular War; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Martinique

Martinique is an island in the Lesser Antilles group of the West Indies, 40 miles long and 15 miles wide. It was one of France’s main colonies in the Caribbean, having been colonized in 1635, and its principal crops were sugar and bananas. The future Empress Josephine was born there in 1763. It was an important French colony both commercially and in wartime, acting as a base for privateers to harass British maritime interests.

The West Indies was a major theater of the war, as it was an important source of sugar, spices, coffee, cocoa, and cotton. The mercantile interest in Britain was represented by the “West India lobby,” which demanded military and naval action to protect their commercial interests. The capture of French and Spanish colonies in the region would deny goods and revenue to those countries and at the same time open up new markets for British trade. However, the campaigns in the West Indies were costly in human lives, as many thousands of soldiers and seamen succumbed to sickness and disease, notably yellow fever.

In 1791 the French Assembly had granted citizenship to the slaves on the French islands of the West Indies. This had angered the French colonists and provoked them into declaring for the royalist cause and seeking British assistance and protection. Rear Admiral Alan Gardner landed nearly 2,000 British troops and French royalists on Martinique in June 1793, intending to march overland and attack the French forts at St. Pierre. Confusion among the royalist contingent caused them to fire on one another, and this persuaded the entire force to fall back to the landing site, where they were all evacuated, the invasion having failed.

The following year saw a determined attack on the island by a strong naval force under Vice Admiral Sir John Jervis carrying 7,000 troops under Lieutenant General Sir Charles Grey, who arrived off the island on 5 February. The landing was made in three places, and by 16 March the whole island had fallen to the British, apart from forts Bourbon and Royal. On 22 March the French governor in Fort Bourbon, Donatien Marie Joseph, vicomte de Rochambeau (son of the noted French general in the American Revolutionary War), capitulated. Martinique remained in British possession until returned to France under the Treaty of Amiens.

During the summer of 1805 Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve briefly used Martinique as a base for his powerful naval squadron that was pursued by Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson across the Atlantic prior to the Battle of Trafalgar. In early 1809 Rear Admiral Alexander Cochrane took a strong naval force plus 10,000 troops under Lieutenant General George Beckwith to attack Martinique again. Opposing them under the command of Vice Admiral Louis Villaret-Joyeuse were 2,400 regular troops and 2,500 militia of dubious quality. The militia put up no resistance, and after a heavy bombardment of Fort Desaix, the garrison of regulars surrendered on 24 February. The island remained British until it was restored to France in 1815.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Amiens, Treaty of; Josephine, Empress; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount;

Privateers (French); Sickness and Disease; Slavery; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de; West Indies, Operations in the

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### Masséna, André (1758–1817)

One of Napoleon's most brilliant and successful subordinates. The two first became acquainted at the siege of Toulon in 1793, and they formed a lasting association during the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797. While Napoleon and his key lieutenant were never personally friendly, Masséna served Napoleon with notable success for more than a decade. During the time Napoleon was in Egypt, Masséna established an independent reputation as a military commander with his brilliant defense of Switzerland against the forces of the Second Coalition in 1799. He added luster to his name the following year when he defended Genoa, pinning down Austrian forces and facilitating Napoleon's victory at Marengo. Another high point in Masséna's career came in the 1809 campaign on the Danube against Austria. When Napoleon sent him to Spain at the close of that year, his arrival was greeted with trepidation by Viscount (later Duke of) Wellington, the British commander. But by then Masséna's best days were behind him. Wellington defeated him decisively, and his career as a battlefield leader came to an end.

Masséna was born on 6 May 1758, in the city of Nice. His birthplace was located in the Italian kingdom of Piedmont, and Masséna grew up in an Italian-speaking environment. His father, a modest merchant, died while André was still a child, and his mother abandoned him. With few prospects in life and virtually no education, the orphaned Masséna went to sea as a cabin boy, and then, at the age of seventeen, joined the French Army. He quickly showed his military gifts, but the pre-Revolutionary army offered only limited opportunities for someone of his background, and he left the service in the summer of 1789 to take up the grocer's trade. Some historians believe this occupation was a cover for Masséna's more compelling occupation as a smuggler.

As an experienced soldier, Masséna rose rapidly in the military forces that emerged after the Revolution of 1789. He served as an instructor to the National Guard at Antibes, and he joined the volunteer army the government raised in early 1791, quickly attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel. Fighting in the Maritime Alps, he became a *général de brigade* in August 1793. A few months later, he took part in the final assault that drove Allied forces from the French port of Toulon. Masséna first met Bonaparte at the siege, and, while the young Corsican's performance here made him a *général de brigade*, Masséna's accomplishments elevated him to the (higher) rank of *général de division*. In future years, Masséna remembered that he had once outranked the young Corsican.

In early 1794 Masséna joined the (French) Army of Italy, and in November 1795 he achieved a major victory in command of two divisions at the Battle of Loano. Although an obvious candidate to become the permanent commander of the Army of Italy, Masséna saw the post go to Bonaparte. The two now began a close collaboration, but their work together was marred by Masséna's open dislike for his new superior and especially for General Louis-Alexandre Berthier, Bonaparte's chief of staff.

The first moves in Bonaparte's Italian campaign in the spring of 1796 relied heavily on Masséna's skills. He pummeled the Austrian army at Montenotte and Dego, while his fellow divisional commander, General Pierre Augereau, struck at the Piedmontese. The two then joined forces to gain a decisive victory over Piedmont at Mondovi, and Masséna's subsequent advance northward pushed the Piedmontese leaders to call for an armistice.

With Piedmont out of the war, Masséna's forces played a key role in Bonaparte's advance to Milan and Verona. During the remainder of 1796 and the early part of 1797, the Austrians launched repeated offensives against the French in northern Italy, and Masséna served Bonaparte brilliantly. The high point of his leadership came in January 1797. Masséna rushed his forces northward from his headquarters at Verona to Rivoli to defeat a dangerous Austrian advance under *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberek, then turned southward to block a second Austrian attack near Mantua. Masséna's troops subsequently led the advance into Austrian territory, stopping only 100 miles short of the enemy capital at Vienna and compelling the Austrians to open peace negotiations.

Masséna's career entered a period of stagnation after these dramatic successes. He remained in Italy, and his reputation was soon stained by word of his rapacious taste for looting. He also failed, as commander of French troops in Rome, to maintain discipline among his troops. Bonaparte did not include him in the small circle of favored subordi-



Marshal Masséna, a long-serving officer of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, is best remembered for the period of his service in Spain and Portugal. (Library of Congress)

nates like generals Jean Lannes and Jean Andoche Junot who joined the expedition to Egypt in the spring of 1798. Masséna received the less prestigious assignment of serving under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Mainz, in the Rhine theater.

The threat posed by the Second Coalition gave Masséna a new opportunity to shine. Austrian troops took the offensive in southern Germany and northern Italy, and the danger was heightened by the imminent arrival of Russian forces. Maintaining a French hold on Switzerland became a key factor in the defense of French territory. Named commander of the newly formed (French) Army of Switzerland, Masséna held a large independent command for the first time. At the order of the Directory he reluctantly advanced into eastern Switzerland in March 1799, but the failure of Jourdan's parallel offensive in southern Germany, the defeat of French forces at Verona, and the arrival of Russian troops under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov gave Masséna the central role in defending France. He was in charge of a 400-mile sector shielding his country's eastern frontier. With an army of 80,000 men, Masséna launched a skillfully planned and executed attack in late September on Austrian and Russian forces at the second Battle of Zürich. His success here disrupted the entire Allied advance and saved France from invasion.

During the closing months of 1799 Masséna returned to Italy to perform brilliantly once again. Bonaparte, who had just seized control of the French government, appointed his former subordinate to pin down the Austrian and Russian forces that had retaken control of northern Italy. He was to defend a line from Genoa to Mount Blanc. At first Bonaparte did not inform Masséna that he intended to cross the Alps and strike France's opponents from the rear.

Pushed back by the Austrians into Genoa in April 1800, Masséna also had to face the power of the Royal Navy, which controlled the seaborne approaches to the city. But the French leader conducted a masterly defense of the city for two months. He ordered sorties against the Austrian forces besieging the city, and when surrender negotiations began he delayed the talks as long as possible. He was forced to capitulate on 4 June only after Genoa's food supply had been completely exhausted. Nonetheless, his efforts had drawn Austrian forces away from the Alpine passes Bonaparte's forces were using. This set the stage for Bonaparte's triumph at Marengo ten days after Masséna's exhausted force of 8,000 men surrendered.

Friction with Bonaparte continued in the aftermath of this success. Bonaparte failed to offer Masséna any credit for his performance at Genoa. Instead, Masséna was relieved of his command and ordered to return to Paris in August 1800. Moreover, Masséna refused to approve of Bonaparte's elevation to the post of Consul for Life in 1802. Thus, it was no surprise when in 1803 Masséna failed to secure a command for the planned invasion of England. The only bright moment during the years following the 1800 campaign came when Napoleon named Masséna one of the first marshals, on 19 May 1804.

In the fall of 1805 Masséna again played a secondary role in one of Napoleon's brilliant offensive campaigns. He returned to Italy to pin down the Austrian forces there while Napoleon conducted the main campaign in Germany and Austria against the Third Coalition. Masséna fought Archduke Charles, the Austrians' most renowned general, to a draw at the Battle of Caldiero, then followed Charles as the Austrian commander moved northward. Masséna's efforts helped prevent Charles from reaching the Austrian and Russian forces facing Napoleon in central Europe. But, once again, Napoleon gave Masséna's role in 1805 no public praise.

In 1806 as Napoleon's Grande Armée won a spectacular victory over the Prussians at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt, Masséna remained in Italy. He helped to establish Napoleon's brother Joseph as King of Naples, and he engaged in a brutal campaign of suppression against Italian guerrillas. In the spring of 1807 after repeated requests, Masséna joined the Grande Armée in northern Poland, the main theater of operations. Napoleon appointed him to

command V Corps, replacing Lannes, who returned to France on sick leave. Masséna participated in the Battle of Friedland, and like others at the top of the army command he received a domain in Poland as a reward for his role in the campaign. His stay in Poland had an unwelcome effect on his health, however, burdening him with a chronic lung disease.

In March 1808 when Napoleon created a new aristocracy, Masséna was named duc de Rivoli. The more logical title for someone of Masséna's eminence should have been duc de Zürich—after his great triumph there in 1799—but Napoleon refused to grant laurels for an action that had not taken place under his overall control. Relations between the two suffered another blow when Napoleon accidentally shot Masséna in the face during a hunting party.

Masséna's military career reached new heights in the campaign against Austria in 1809. In command of the newly formed IV Corps of the Grande Armée, Masséna helped defeat Archduke Charles at Landshut and Eggmühl in Bavaria, then led the pursuit of the Austrians down the Danube, fighting at Ebersberg. Masséna helped save the French army in late May 1809, when Napoleon, without having established the location of the main Austrian army, ordered Lannes and Masséna to take their forces to the north bank of the Danube. Charles struck the outnumbered French with a surprise attack at the villages of Aspern and Essling on the afternoon of 21 May. But Masséna, like Lannes, held steady, counterattacked with vigor, then withdrew skillfully to the French-held island of Lobau in the Danube. Masséna was the last French soldier to leave the Danube's northern shore.

Together with Napoleon, Masséna disguised himself as a sergeant in the French army to reconnoiter Austrian defenses in preparation for a second crossing of the Danube. Although injured in a riding accident and forced to travel in a carriage, Masséna led the new operation across the Danube. In the ensuing Battle of Wagram Masséna showed his effectiveness in combat once again. With the French center in danger in the face of an Austrian attack, Masséna moved his forces to fill the gap. His firm defense permitted General Louis Davout on the French right flank to launch the climactic attack that drove the Austrians from the field. With the defeat of Austria, Napoleon handed out new titles and rewards, and Masséna, already the Duke of Rivoli, was elevated to become the Prince of Essling.

Masséna's final tour of combat duty took place in the Iberian Peninsula, where so many French commanders saw their reputations tarnished. Despite France's occupation of Portugal in 1807 and Spain in 1808, resistance continued, conducted by Spanish and Portuguese regulars and guerrillas supported by a British expeditionary force. Deter-

mined to win a decisive victory over the British, Napoleon appointed Masséna to advance into Portugal to destroy the forces of Viscount Wellington. In April 1810 Masséna received command of the (French) Army of Portugal.

After more than a decade of military successes, stretching from Loano to Wagram, Masséna seemed capable of assuming this challenging independent command. But he took the post with great reluctance. His health had been impaired by the strains of recent years, and he had doubts of how well he could operate with formerly independent subordinates like marshals Michel Ney and Jean Andoche Junot. Upon his arrival at the French base at Valladolid in May Masséna, only fifty-two years old, appeared to many observers to be a sick, enfeebled figure.

The campaign of 1810–1811 presented Masséna with insuperable difficulties. His British opponent created a set of impregnable defenses—the Lines of Torres Vedras—that stretched across the width of Portugal. With command of the sea secured by the Royal Navy, Wellesley had the ability to hold out indefinitely against a French assault. Meanwhile, Masséna had to supply his troops and horses from a countryside the British and their Portuguese allies had stripped of all food and fodder.

Masséna had to cope as well with unrealistic orders from Napoleon, which prevented Masséna from advancing rapidly into Portugal in the early summer of 1810. Instead, the Emperor insisted that Masséna besiege and capture the border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Given his choice Masséna would have used covering forces instead of attacking these two cities, and Napoleon's directives led to months of delay in the advance against Lisbon. Moreover, the army had a total strength of only 65,000 men, which made it impossible to secure French links with Masséna's Spanish bases. Thus, the French lost control of Coimbra, a key locale for the French line of communications, as soon as the Army of Portugal moved through it en route to Lisbon.

Other problems were clearly Masséna's fault. He insisted on bringing his mistress on the campaign, and her disguise in the uniform of a French hussar failed to fool anyone. Finding lodgings for the young woman sometimes slowed the army's advance. When the French confronted Wellington's forces at Busaco on 27 September, Masséna suffered a costly rebuff against Anglo-Portuguese forces. Against the advice of his senior subordinates like Ney, he ordered a costly frontal assault. Only after this initial failure did Masséna's cavalry discover a road to the north of Wellington's line. By the time Masséna began to outflank his adversary, the enemy had slipped away to take refuge in Lisbon.

Masséna reached the Anglo-Portuguese defenses at Torres Vedras in early October 1810. He immediately rec-

ognized that a direct assault could not succeed. After probing the lines on one occasion and then camping in front of them for a month, he understood that Wellington would not risk leaving his secure base to fight the French in the open. With no good options available, the French commander pulled his forces back 30 miles to Santarém. Masséna's forces benefited from the unwillingness of the Portuguese government to destroy all subsistence in this part of the country. Nonetheless, as more than three months went by, the French were reduced to starvation. Cut off from secure areas in Spain and without support from other French leaders like Marshal Nicolas Soult in Andalusia, Masséna had no alternative except to retreat.

The French withdrew from Portugal in March 1811. Masséna conducted the retreat with signs of his old military skills, and despite Wellington's efforts the British were unable to strike a decisive blow against the retreating French. Masséna even formulated an ambitious plan to strike at Lisbon from the south after moving his forces through the rugged Estremadura region in western Spain and crossing the river Tagus at Alcántara. But it immediately became evident that his exhausted forces were in no condition for such an ambitious undertaking, and Masséna turned eastward to return to his Spanish base at Salamanca. He made a final thrust into Portugal in May to lift the siege of Almeida, a border fortress that was being blockaded by the British. This led to a last encounter with Wellington at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro. Even before Masséna's defeat here Napoleon had decided to relieve him, and the news arrived in an insulting letter from Berthier, Napoleon's chief of staff and Masséna's longstanding personal enemy since the Italian campaign of 1796.

Masséna's failure against the British and Portuguese in 1810–1811 can be seen in retrospect as the turning point in the Peninsular War. The initiative in the fighting here now passed into Wellington's hands. Masséna saw his own life take a new turn as well, since he never held a battlefield command again. Nevertheless, although Napoleon had greeted Masséna brutally upon his return to France—reportedly telling him that the Prince of Essling was “no longer Masséna” (Humble 1974, 218)—he still had work for the old soldier. Masséna spent the last years of Napoleon's reign in charge of the military district at Toulon.

After the Emperor's abdication, Masséna remained at his post under Louis XVIII. When Napoleon returned to power in the spring of 1815, Masséna accepted his old leader as the legitimate ruler of France. He showed no particular enthusiasm, however, for the restoration of the Emperor, and after Waterloo Masséna returned to the service of the Bourbon monarchs. Despite his objections he was required to serve as a member of the court-martial trying

Ney, but even this did not make France's new rulers excuse his long service under Napoleon. On 1 January 1816 he was relieved of his command in Toulon. Masséna died on 4 April 1817.

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*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberk; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Auerstädt, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Bonaparte, Joseph; Busaco, Battle of; Calabria, Uprising in; Caldiero, First Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Consulate, The; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; Ebersberg, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Genoa, Siege of; Guerrilla Warfare; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Landshut, Battle of; Lannes, Jean; Loano, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Middle East Campaign; Mondovi, Battle of; Montenotte, Battle of; National Guard (French); Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Rivoli, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Sault, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Toulon, Siege of; Verona, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Maximilian I, King (1756–1825)

First king of Bavaria, ally and supporter of France for much of the Napoleonic Wars.

Maximilian Graf von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, later Maximilian I, or Maximilian I Joseph, was born on 27 May 1756 at Mannheim in the Palatinate as the son of Friedrich Graf von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld and Marie Franziska of Pfalz-Sulzbach, who were members of the royal House of Wittelsbach. After a prescribed education he entered the French Army as a colonel in 1777. He quickly advanced in rank to major general and was stationed at Strasbourg from 1782 until 1789.

On 30 September 1785 Maximilian married Wilhelmine Auguste, Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt. The couple had five children. After his wife died in 1796, Maximilian, on 9 March 1797, married Friederike Karoline Wilhelmine, Margravine von Baden, with whom he had eight children.

When the French Revolution broke out Maximilian switched his allegiance to Austria. He became Duke of Zweibrücken on 1 April 1795 upon the death of his brother Charles II. Maximilian inherited the Electorate of Bavaria from his cousin Karl Theodore on 16 February 1799 when the Sulzbach line died out, becoming Maximilian IV Joseph. He also became Count Palatinate of the Rhine.

As elector Maximilian believed in following Enlightenment ideals. He never truly trusted Austria's intentions and when the Habsburgs forced him into war against France he signed a separate peace treaty with Napoleon in 1801 which, over the course of the next few years, enabled Bavaria to acquire territories that compensated for those (Jülich, Berg, Zweibrücken, and Electoral Palatinate) Maximilian had been obliged to cede according to the Treaty of Lunéville. Napoleon rewarded him for his loyalty with favorable terms in the Treaty of Pressburg on 26 December 1805; he received not only the kingship of Bavaria but also territorial acquisitions in Franconia and Swabia. On 1 January 1806, emulating Napoleon, he crowned himself the first king of Bavaria. Moreover, by sustaining membership in the Confederation of the Rhine, created that year, he significantly increased Bavarian territory.

With the help of his chief minister, Max Josef Graf von Montgelas, Maximilian endeavored to create a lib-

eral state. This was accomplished with a constitution in 1808. Commerce was promoted, agriculture was fostered, the criminal code was renewed, laws were enacted, and economic privileges were equalized. Religious houses were suppressed, and their revenue was shifted to improve education.

Maximilian's daughter, Augusta, married Eugène de Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson. However, he changed his allegiance again, joining the Allies by the Convention of Ried on 8 October 1813, which ensured the integrity of Bavaria in exchange for his participation in the war against Napoleon. In 1816 he also exchanged Salzburg and the area around the river Inn for the more lucrative Palatinate on the west bank of the Rhine. In 1818 he created a charter establishing a bicameral parliament. He lost territory in subsequent treaties. The popular and kindly Maximilian, who loved playing the role of father of the country, died on 13 October 1825 in Munich. He was succeeded by his son, Louis I.

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- See also* Bavaria; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Confederation of the Rhine; Pressburg, Treaty of
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## Maya, Battle of (25 July 1813)

The Battle of Maya was a rare French victory during the Battle of the Pyrenees fought from 25 July to 2 August 1813.

Napoleon's plans for Spain were waylaid after his brother King Joseph lost the Battle of Vitoria on 21 June 1813. His 65,000 men were soundly defeated by a combined British, Portuguese, and Spanish force of 79,000. Napoleon appointed Marshal Nicolas Soult to take over command of the 50,000 French troops and the 70,000-strong (French) Army of Spain. His reorganized the armies and developed a strategy involving a counteroffensive in order to delay the planned actions of his opponent, the Marquis of Wellington, with his Allied force of 100,000 men.

In order to relieve the garrison at Pamplona, Soult had to move through the mountainous terrain of the Maya Pass in the Pyrenees, situated near the French border. Meanwhile, some 6,000 Anglo-Portuguese troops were ordered to drive the French out of Spain.

While British forces were foraging for food early on 25 July, they encountered the 6,000 French under Soult and General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon. The British 92nd Foot was stationed outside Maya. Severe weather caused by relentless rain damaged tents and supplies, ammunition, and equipment. While foraging for wood on 25 July, the 92nd encountered d'Erlon's corps advancing on the right side of the Maya Pass. A fire was set by the Allies to prevent French passage, but to no avail; the numerically superior French could not be checked. Within 20 minutes, some two-thirds of the 92nd was killed. The French advance was held up because stacks of Allied bodies blocked their way. The 6th Foot and Brunswick infantry arrived to offer relief, and the remnants of the 92nd were ordered back. However, when the regimental song "The Haughs of Cromdale" was played the 92nd spontaneously charged the French, without orders. The ferocity of the onslaught caused d'Erlon to withdraw momentarily. The fighting at Maya continued for nine hours, by the end of which the French had suffered 1,000 casualties.

Meanwhile the Allied forces that had been contained in the Roncesvalles Pass were forced to retreat by troops under General Bertrand Clausel. These constituted the only two French victories of the various battles fought in the Pyrenees. Their casualties amounted to 14,000 while the British lost 7,300. Thereafter the Allies were victorious in the subsequent battles, and the French were forced to return to their own soil. The Allies followed up their successes in the Pyrenees and entered France on 8 October 1813.

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- See also* Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Roncesvalles, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Vera, Battles at; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Meaux, Battle of

*See* France, Campaign in

### Medellín, Battle of (29 March 1809)

A heavy Spanish defeat, the Battle of Medellín was one of Marshal Claude Victor's greatest victories. Reinforced by a division of dragoons, in early 1809 Victor's corps of the (French) Army of Spain had been sent to march on Lisbon. On nearing Badajoz, however, he found himself facing the new commander of the (Spanish) Army of Extremadura (Extremadura), General Gregorio García de la Cuesta. A tough and determined soldier, Cuesta was by nature very aggressive, while he also knew that he was feared and distrusted by the Junta Central (the provisional government of Patriot Spain). Having initially fallen back in the face of Victor's troops as they marched southward from the river Tagus, he therefore resolved on an offensive.

On 29 March 1809, then, Victor found himself under attack at the town of Medellín. Although the French commander's troops were much better than those of Cuesta, whose men were mostly raw recruits, his position was not a comfortable one: Caught by surprise, he had the broad river Guadiana at his back, and he was also somewhat outnumbered. Meanwhile, Cuesta had also adopted a sensible battle plan: Deployed in a crescent-shaped formation with their flanks resting on the Guadiana on the one hand and a minor tributary of that river called the Ortiga on the other, his army would be able to launch a concentric attack on the French, and every step that it advanced would thicken its line. To say that there were no faults in this scheme would be foolish: The terrain was open and the initial Spanish line thin, while much would depend on the troops maintaining their alignment as they moved forward. However, if the French were to be attacked at all, it is hard to see what else could have been done.

Initially, indeed, all went well for the Spaniards. Showing much courage, they pressed home their attack and drove back Victor's first line. At this point, however, disaster struck. The exact circumstances are unclear, but some Spanish cavalry suddenly fled and left a gaping hole in the line. Seeing their opportunity, the French pounced: Within moments their dragoons were pouring through the gap and rolling up the Spanish infantry on either side. Caught in flank and rear, the Spaniards broke and ran, suffering appalling casualties in the process: By the end of the day they had lost fully 10,000 men. As for Cuesta himself, he was trampled underfoot by some fugitive cavalry while trying to rally his men (with effects that famously were still to be visible when the British encountered him in the campaign of Talavera four months later). Yet the French profited little from their victory: unable to get Badajoz to surrender, Victor suspended his advance and was eventually forced to withdraw to the Tagus valley for want of supplies.

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*See also* Badajoz, First Siege of; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Junta Central; Peninsular War; Talavera, Battle of; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Medical Services

Medical advances made during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had long-lasting effects that still influence civilian and military medicine today. Through all the surgeries and amputations, surgeons discovered many new techniques and gained a better understanding of the functions of the human body. They made major advancements in the fields of sterilization, vaccination, and treatment of fevers, plagues, diseases, and bacteria. In addition, they developed sanitation codes and procedures for the evacuation of casualties and for surgical methods to deal with wounds.

France led the way in military medicine, enjoying higher amputation survival rates than any other country. French success was probably thanks to Dominique Jean Larrey's newly devised system of ambulance transportation and his emphasis on rapid amputations, coupled with his more advanced medical doctrine and the greater skill of French surgeons. Larrey put great emphasis on mobility and made care readily accessible for the wounded soldier, a principle still used in modern military medicine. The Enlightenment's emphasis on scientific and statistical approaches to medical management encouraged French military surgeons to keep detailed case histories of large groups of soldiers, resulting in new knowledge of the origins and treatment of disease. Because of their battlefield experiences, French army surgeons would become the advocates for future state-run, public health programs.

Military medical services were disorganized and ineffective before the French Revolution. Prior to the development of firearms, individuals usually were able to take care of their own wounds. Muskets, however, produced more serious wounds with greater amounts of tissue damage, while gunpowder increased the chances of infection. Such wounds required immediate and specialized medical treatment, but the system for delivering such services had become tragically inadequate by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

In the French, British, and Prussian armies, the attention and resources given to field medical units depended entirely on the army commander's willingness to provide them. Frederick the Great became more assertive in mili-

tary medical care. Despite his efforts, however, medical treatment for Prussian soldiers remained considerably behind that of other armies at the end of the century. In 1789 there was no formal medical training of any kind in the British Army, which had a medical board but did not require surgeons to provide or maintain specific medical instruments or drugs. Surgeons learned their trade after reporting to their regiments by practicing on the wounded. French soldiers, too, suffered from poorly trained surgeons.

Motivated by the new sense of patriotism, 1,400 French physicians and surgeons volunteered for military service at the outbreak of the War of the First Coalition in 1792. By the end of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in 1815, more than 8,000 medical personnel of various types had seen service with the French armies. In the beginning, the press of war and social revolution had near catastrophic effects on the French medical establishment. The National Assembly had closed eighteen medical faculties and fifteen medical schools in France with a single vote in 1792, but in 1794 the state ordered the creation of the *Ecoles de Santé* for the express purpose of providing sufficient medical personnel to the armies. The disruption of the medical establishment drastically lowered the schools' quality of training and allowed anyone who could afford to pay for a license to practice medicine. This caused the quality of military doctors to decline even though their numbers increased. The French maintained this system until Napoleon completely reorganized the military medical establishment in 1804.

Once wounded, a soldier sometimes had to wait a considerable period of time before receiving treatment, after likely having had to carry himself off the battlefield or receive help from a comrade. In some cases there were stretcher-bearers, but in the early stages of the wars this was rare. The French medical system operated like the British system in that the wounded were evacuated to regimental hospitals, which served as hospital clearing stations near the battlefield or front. Standard practice was for the regimental surgeon to treat only the lightly wounded and prepare the more serious cases for shipment 20 or 40 miles to the rear. If the patient survived the trip, surgeons performed major procedures in better-supplied and more-protected hospitals.

However, because medical services were primitive, chances of survival were still small. The only effective means of treating gunshot wounds at the time was to amputate the limb and hope that gangrene or fever would not set in. Amputation itself was primitive in that there was no standardized technique. The surgeon would have the soldier held down and simply remove the limb with a saw or a butcher's cleaver.

Medical services improved rapidly during the French Revolutionary Wars. There are no reliable figures for total casualties suffered during the period 1792–1815, but historians generally agree that more than a million Frenchmen died during the period of the Empire alone (that is, 1804–1814/15, thus excluding losses sustained during the Revolutionary Wars), mostly from disease, though well over 100,000 can be attributed to battlefield fatalities. These enormous casualty rates forced the major countries involved to take military medical services more seriously. They could not afford to lose an estimated 114,000 soldiers a year and still maintain effective fighting forces.

It was the French Revolutionaries' emphasis on equality that provided the motivation to improve medical care for soldiers throughout Europe. French armies were the first true citizen armies of the modern period, and because sacrifice of life was commonly accepted as a cost of military service, it was equally accepted that the state had an obligation to provide medical treatment to all its soldiers. Other European states realized that they could not compete with French military forces without having recourse to national conscription and patriotic appeals themselves. As part of their programs to foster nationalism, they started to improve medical care for their troops. In this sense, the spirit of the French Revolution impelled most of Europe's armies to begin providing what would eventually become the modern system of military medical care. In 1795 Prussia founded its first military medical and surgical school, the Frederick Wilhelms Institute, reproducing the structure of the *Josephinum*, an Austrian medical school, ten years old at the time.

Throughout the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, many physicians, surgeons, and scientists helped to advance medical science within both the military and civilian spheres. Pierre-François, baron Percy, a French military surgeon, made the first attempt to organize a specifically trained and continuously formed unit responsible for transporting casualties from the battlefield to treatment centers. Percy introduced a sophisticated casualty transport system, but Larrey's ambulance system was much preferred because of its greater speed in reaching and retrieving the wounded.

Larrey would eventually become Napoleon's chief surgeon and the most experienced and knowledgeable military surgeon of his time. He treated tens of thousands of wounded soldiers, which resulted in a unique opportunity to experiment with new techniques and methods of amputating limbs or performing other common operations. Larrey is best known for his "flying ambulances," which were invented after Percy's version but proved to be more successful. These consisted of covered vehicles with sprung carriages, to accommodate between two and four

stretchers, conveying the wounded much more comfortably than in an ordinary wagon or cart. In addition to his ambulance service Larrey also introduced field hospitals, triage, the “twenty-four-hour principle,” and battlefield first-aid practices.

On the British side John Hunter was viewed as one of the most distinguished scientists of his day. He made many contributions to the medical sciences, such as the study of human teeth and the advancement of dentistry, as well as an extensive study of inflammation, venereal diseases, and gunshot wounds. He was appointed as the British Army’s deputy surgeon in 1786 and was promoted to surgeon general in 1789. The importance of his work convinced the British government to purchase Hunter’s collection of papers and specimens and present it to the Company of Surgeons.

Another notable British surgeon was George Guthrie, the principal medical officer at the Battle of Albuera in 1811. There he and his staff treated more than 3,000 wounded soldiers in one evening. In 1812 he was appointed deputy inspector of hospitals but was later denied this position as being underage; he was only twenty-seven years old. Back in Britain he continued practicing medicine and was among the first to use lithotripsy, a surgical procedure that pulverizes stones in the urinary bladder or urethra so that they can be passed more easily out of the body in the urine. During the Peninsular War, Guthrie’s unrivaled experience in military surgery allowed him to advance the science and practice of surgery more than any other army surgeon since the seventeenth century. When treating gunshot wounds, Hunter preferred minor surgery while, much like Larrey, Guthrie preferred immediate amputation, because of its higher survival rate. Guthrie also used mineral acids to destroy the diseased tissues of patients with gangrene.

Edward Jenner was another famous British doctor of the era, who on 14 May 1796 discovered that people infected with cowpox were immune to smallpox, a lethal disease of the time. With this knowledge Jenner performed an experiment to prove his hypothesis and then created a smallpox vaccine from the cowpox disease. Drawing on this research, Saxon physician Samuel Hahnemann founded homeopathic medicine in 1796. Homeopathic medicine is a system for treating disease based on the administration of minuscule doses of a drug that in massive amounts would produce symptoms similar to those of the disease in a healthy person. Hahnemann also understood that some ailments were contagious and, while working for the Prussian Duke of Anhalt-Köthe, introduced the practice of quarantining.

The well-known Parisian chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier gained a better understanding of respiration and

the exchange of oxygen and carbon dioxide in living animals. Some lesser-known doctors and scientists were René Laënnec, a physician credited with identifying cirrhosis of the liver as a disease, using his invention, the stethoscope. Humphry Davy, a Cornish chemist, discovered the anesthetic properties of nitrous oxide, better known as laughing gas, in 1800. Abraham Colles, an Irish surgeon and anatomist, published several anatomy books, which provided great detail of the human body, and he was the first surgeon to bind the subclavian artery successfully. His first book, published in 1811, was titled *Surgical Anatomy*, and his second, in 1814, the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*.

Finally, Sir Astley Paston Cooper, a British surgeon, used Colles’s research to aid in his first successful tying of the abdominal aorta as a means of treating an aneurysm. He performed many such challenging and groundbreaking surgeries, all before the practice of antiseptic surgery. He also tried to tie off the carotid artery in the same way he did the abdominal aorta. Cooper had possibly the leading and most profitable private practice of any British surgeon of his time, and in 1821 received a baronetcy and was appointed surgeon to King George IV.

Robert V. Ricadela

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Austrian Army; British Army; Davy, Humphry; French Army; Larrey, Dominique Jean, baron; Peninsular War; Prussian Army; Russian Army; Sickness and Disease

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### Medina de Río Seco, Battle of (14 July 1808)

A considerable French victory, the Battle of Medina de Río Seco set a pattern that was to be followed by many Franco-Spanish actions in the Peninsular War. Thus, an ill-considered and poorly coordinated Spanish thrust at the French forces in central Spain led to an action fought at a hopeless disadvantage on the high plains of the *meseta*, and with it heavy Spanish losses.

Chief responsibility for the campaign lay with the captain general of Old Castile, Gregorio García de la Cuesta. Driven from his capital of Valladolid by defeat at Cabezón (12 June 1808), Cuesta retired to the western part of his dominions with his few regular troops and built up a new army of volunteers and conscripts. Eager to recover Valladolid, he demanded the support of the Patriotic Junta that had been established in neighboring Galicia. Eager to boost its reputation, the Junta of Galicia decided that it ought to heed these calls—aside from anything else, it possessed a large army of regular troops—but at the same time it instructed the commander of its forces, General Joaquín Blake, that he should continue to protect Galicia.

Because Blake was a cautious officer new to independent command, the result was disaster. Whereas the only hope of victory was to strike hard and fast with all the resources at his disposal, he moved forward very slowly and

left many troops to guard his communications with Galicia. Eventually, however, he joined Cuesta at Medina de Río Seco. Together the two Spanish commanders had some 22,000 men, but there were only 600 cavalry, while almost all Cuesta's men were raw levies. Still worse, the French were not, as they assumed, concentrating at Valladolid. Thus, the French commander in the area, Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières, had stolen a march on the Spaniards.

Gathering together such troops as Bessières could—a mere 13,500 men—he had marched north to Palencia and on the evening of 13 July set out to take the Spaniards in flank. At Medina de Río Seco, Blake and Cuesta were watching the road from Valladolid. Finding out at the last minute that Bessières was about to fall on them from the northeast, they frantically tried to redeploy along a line of low hills that protected their left flank, but in the darkness and confusion many of their troops lost their way. When the French attacked on the morning of 14 July, they found the Spaniards deployed in three separate groups that were completely out of touch with one another. As a result the outcome of the battle was not in doubt for a moment. In a series of dramatic cavalry charges, the Patriot forces were defeated in succession and driven from the field. Meanwhile, while Spanish casualties amounted to 2,500 men and 13 guns, the French had lost just 400 men.

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*See also* Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Blake, Joaquín; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Peninsular War

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### Medole, Battle of

*See* Italian Campaigns (1792–1797)

### Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von (1729–1806)

Veteran Austrian general defeated by Bonaparte at Marengo in 1800. Having joined as a cadet officer, he served in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) to reach the rank of general. Recalled from retirement, he won several victories in Italy before his final defeat.

Born near Schässburg in Siebenburgen (Transylvania), Melas came from a Saxon family of Lutheran ministers and was raised in a Spartan environment, learning to ride and use weapons at an early age and attending the Schässburg Gymnasium (grammar school). At age seventeen, he joined

the local Infanterie Regiment Schullenberg as a *Kadett* and saw action as a *Leutnant* (lieutenant) in the victory at Kolin (18 June 1757). Promoted to *Hauptmann* (captain), he commanded the grenadier company of Infanterie Regiment Batthnanyi, distinguishing himself in the storming of Schweidnitz on 1 October 1761 before becoming *Feldmarschall* Leopold Graf Daun's adjutant.

Melas married Josepha Lock von Retsky on 11 September 1768. He transferred to the 2nd Karabinier Regiment in May 1778 as *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant colonel), leading his division (two squadrons) in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779). Appointed director of the Remount Service, he was later promoted to *Oberst* (commanding colonel) of the Trautmannsdorf Kurassier Regiment. He led the Lobkowitz Chevauléger Regiment in the Turkish War (1788–1791) until promoted to *Generalmajor* on 16 June 1789 with command of a brigade. Promoted to *Feldmarschalleutnant* in June 1794, he commanded a small corps in Germany and repelled Kléber's advance over the Rhine at Zahlbach on 1 December. Transferred to Italy in 1796, he commanded the Army Reserve under *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu against Bonaparte's invasion. Briefly a temporary army commander, Melas proved an able deputy to *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser as they endured the later part of the defense of the fortress of Mantua until its surrender in February 1797. When the war concluded, Melas retired to his estates in Gratz, in Bohemia.

Despite suffering with rheumatism and what is now thought to have been Parkinson's disease, he was recalled two years later and made *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of the 6th Kurassier Regiment. As Austrian commander in Italy in 1799 alongside the Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov, he defeated the French general Jacques Etienne Macdonald at the Trebbia in mid-June. On 15 August Melas led his troops in a furious bayonet charge at Novi against the French right flank to decide the battle for the Allies. After the Russians left, he led the Austrian troops in defeating the French at Savigliano on 18 September and Genola on 4 November before taking the fortress of Cuneo on 3 December.

Melas's surprise offensive in mid-April 1800 put Genoa under siege, and he reached the French border on the Var, at which point he was forced to return to Turin by Bonaparte's advance. Massing his troops at Alessandria, he was defeated at Marengo on 14 June. He was appointed general commander of Inner Austria in September 1800 and then of Bohemia until 1803, when he retired.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Genoa, Siege of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mantua, Sieges of; Marengo,

Battle of; Novi, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Trebbia, Battle of the; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount (1742–1811)

Henry Dundas, a Scottish politician, served during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era in prominent government posts, including that of treasurer of the Navy (1782–1800), home secretary (1791–1794), secretary of state for war (1794–1801), and first lord of the Admiralty (1804–1805), a position from which he resigned prior to his impeachment in 1806 at the hands of a Whig government. He was ennobled as Viscount Melville in 1802.

Dundas was educated at the Edinburgh High School and Edinburgh University before being admitted as a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1763. In 1766 at the age of just twenty-four, he was appointed solicitor general for Scotland. He was elected Member of Parliament for Midlothian in 1774, a seat he held until 1790, when he was elected Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, before being elevated to the peerage in 1802.

In Scottish history Dundas is primarily remembered for his management of political and church patronage from 1775 to 1805, earning himself the unofficial title of “Harry the Nineth of Scotland,” or, as Lord Cockburn put it, the “Pharos [Pharaoh] of Scotland” (Cockburn 1852, vol. i, 77). He is also noteworthy in a broader context for his active role in the government of William Pitt, of whom Dundas was a longtime friend.

As home secretary from 1791 through 1794, Dundas was responsible for preserving domestic law and order. That task became increasingly challenging, especially in the wake of the “Church and King” riots in Birmingham in 1791. By 1792 dozens of radical societies—drawing inspiration from the events in France and the writings of Tom Paine—had formed throughout Britain. These groups agitated for political reform, and to better pursue their goals they began to organize into larger units. In 1793 delegates from England, Scotland, and Ireland planned a national convention to be held in Edinburgh.

Dundas saw these developments as seditious, and he reacted to them as internal subversions by having several radical leaders arrested and tried. Some were transported and one, Robert Watt, was executed. In Scotland, Treason and Sedition Bills were passed and civil liberties were sus-

pended, gaining for Dundas a reputation for despotism. Something of Dundas's outlook on the situation in Britain might be gathered from the tone and nature of his opposition to the French Revolution. Writing in 1794, Dundas described the Revolution as "a conspiracy of the most profligate and ignorant people in the nation, against all the principles of society and religion, against all property, landed or commercial" (quoted in Fry 1992, 155).

As secretary of state for war, Dundas's policies centered on control of the seas and commerce. The way to destroy France, he suggested, was to seize all its colonies and to destroy its commerce. That policy was criticized by his contemporaries, who argued for a greater role for British land forces in Europe, a sentiment that has been shared by later historians. A recent study by Michael Fry has aimed to present a more sympathetic assessment of Dundas's policy.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, suspicions arose concerning Dundas's management of funds during his tenure as treasurer of the Navy, in particular over the blind eye he turned to the use of public funds for private speculation by the deputy treasurer, William Trotter. An official investigation was launched in 1802, and three years later charges were brought against Melville in Parliament for the misappropriation of public funds. Acquitted in 1806 but censured, Melville resigned and did not return thereafter to active political life. He died in 1811.

Mark G. Spencer

*See also* Great Britain; Pitt, William

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## Menin, Battle of

*See* Flanders, Campaigns in

## Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron (1750–1810)

French general whose spotted career included France's final defeat by British forces in Egypt in 1801.

As a young officer and member of the nobility, Menou rose through the officer ranks in normal and undistin-

guished fashion. In 1789 he was selected as a delegate from the second estate (nobility) to the Estates-General, where he held several positions and was among those nobles that eventually joined with the third estate. This mixed political message haunted him in his early career. He commanded troops in Paris during the storming of Tuileries palace on 10 August 1792 but was accused of tending toward royalist forces. He survived those accusations and in 1793 was appointed *général de division*. His service against the counter-revolutionary forces in the Vendée led to his defeat and serious wounding at the Battle of Saumur.

In 1795 he commanded troops guarding the Convention during the so-called whiff of grapeshot, when General Bonaparte put down public unrest with cannon fire. Menou's actions were considered suspect, and he was accused of conspiring with royalist forces. An inquiry was held and he was found innocent (largely due to the intervention of Bonaparte), but his reputation was once again politically tarnished.

Menou's career took what seemed a turn for the better when he was invited to join Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Here Menou provided good service, receiving multiple wounds at Alexandria and later serving as the governor of that city (having also served as governor of Rosetta). After falling in love with a local Egyptian woman, he converted to Islam to marry her. In Bonaparte's final Egyptian battle, at Aboukir on 25 July 1799, Menou was placed in charge of the siege of the castle.

When Bonaparte departed Egypt for France on 23 August, Menou was second in command to General Jean-Baptiste Kléber. When that general was assassinated by a religious zealot on 14 June 1800, Menou took over command. His command was short and unsuccessful, however, as he was defeated at Canope on 21 March 1801 and forced to surrender at Alexandria on 31 August of that year. He negotiated honorable terms for his men, however, and returned safely to France.

His career as a military leader was over, but he still received various military and civilian administrative posts. He was made a Count of the Empire, administrative general of Piedmont, and governor first of Tuscany and then of Venice, where he died in 1810. Although Menou's career was one of extremes, he nevertheless was made a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, and his name is among those inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

J. David Markham

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Convention, The; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Mercantilism

Mercantilism is an economic philosophy that advocates the maintenance of a favorable trade balance with colonies and other countries. If a country exported more goods than it imported, the balance would be received in gold or silver bullion, which emerged as the measurement of a state's wealth. The mother country should acquire colonies from which it would import raw materials that would be turned into manufactured goods and then exported either back to the colonies or to other countries. The mother country provides the security required to protect the colonies from other countries, maintain internal order, and keep the sea-lanes of communication open for commerce.

The world is a zero-sum game to a mercantilist, because the growth of one country occurs at the expense of other states. Thus, each state must aggressively acquire and defend a colonial system, establish laws of commerce and tariff systems to protect home industries and markets, and counter the economic policies of rival countries. The impact of mercantilist philosophy can be seen in military campaigns during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as well as in the establishment of the Continental System under Napoleon.

The Royal Navy ensured that Britain remained the leading economic power on the globe by maintaining the sea-lanes of communication between the island nation and her colonies in North America, the Caribbean, India, and elsewhere around the globe. The French Navy proved unable to defeat its British counterpart and interfere with the trade routes protected by the latter. In 1806 Napoleon changed strategy and implemented the Continental System in an attempt to strangle Britain economically through its trade with the European continent. France introduced policies to halt the trade of neutral nations, such as the United States, with Britain. Although British exports did decrease, the French were unsuccessful in their attempt at economic warfare. British and French naval vessels and privateers preyed on each side's merchant vessels. However, the Royal Navy was able to keep the sea-lanes to the Americas and the eastern Mediterranean open for commerce. European merchants and leaders resented the French policies behind the Continental System, which tended to benefit France to the exclusion of everyone else. Tsar Alexander of Russia reluctantly agreed to abide by the Continental System in the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) but withdrew from the system at the end of 1810.

Some military campaigns fought in this period were a result of mercantilist economic policies. Select examples include the British offensives to capture French-held islands in the Caribbean in the mid-1790s: These operations eliminated French naval bases and reduced the raw materials flowing back to France. In 1795 the British captured the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope to ensure the protection of the sea-lanes to India; in 1796 Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) fell to British forces; and in 1801 Britain countered Denmark's attempt to restrict British trade in the Baltic by seizing her holdings in the Caribbean. By 1805 the Royal Navy had taken control of St. Lucia, Tobago, Surinam, Demerara, and Essequibo and instituted a naval blockade of the French coast.

The French operated on the same principles: Their invasion of Egypt in 1798 resulted from an attempt to interfere with British communication and trade with India, and Napoleon's decision to invade Spain ten years later was partially motivated by a desire to counter smuggling, in circumvention of Continental System trade restrictions, into the Iberian Peninsula.

Terry M. Mays

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armed Neutrality, League of; Berlin Decrees; Blockade; Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Continental System; Economic Background of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, The (contextual essay); French Navy; India; Middle East Campaign; Milan Decrees; Orders in Council; Peninsular War; Privateering; Royal Navy; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trianon Decree; United States; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Merino, Jerónimo (1769–1844)

A poorly educated parish priest from a small village near Lerma in Old Castile, Jerónimo Merino emerged as one of the more ferocious commanders of the various guerrillas who fought Napoleon in Spain between 1808 and 1814.

According to tradition, he took up arms in 1808 following an incident when a party of French troops forced him to serve as a porter, but this story is impossible to verify. Indeed, it could be the case that Merino's motives were entirely unconnected with patriotism: It is by no means insignificant that he had a brother who was a bandit, and he also seems to have been a man of somewhat irregular habits—before becoming a priest, indeed, he had deserted from the provincial militia. However, even if Merino was the self-seeking adventurer that all this suggests, there is no doubt that he waged war on the French with great savagery in the remote region in the southeastern corner of Old Castile that became his chief area of operations: Most of the prisoners that he took, for example, appear to have been shot.

Initially a member of the *partida* (band) of the famous “El Empecinado” (Juan Martín Díez), he set up in 1809 on his own. Known initially as the “Band of the Red Cross,” his forces were soon militarized as the Arlanza infantry regiment and the Burgos Hussars, and he won a string of successes against the invaders. On 28 June 1809, for example, Merino massacred the guard of a French convoy at Quintana del Puente, and a week later he captured a fifty-strong foraging party at Peñacoba. Still more dramatic was the action that took place at Lerma, where the garrison was driven into the castle and the town stripped of supplies and a large number of recruits. By 1811 he was cooperating with the substantial guerrilla forces commanded by José Joaquín Durán in the province of Soria, and in 1812 he supported the Earl of Wellington in that commander's efforts to take Burgos, a city in which Merino was installed the following year as military governor following the Battle of Vitoria. Ending the war with the rank of brigadier, he was rewarded for his services with a canonry in the cathedral of Valencia.

However, deeply traditionalist in his political views as he was, Merino's military career was not over. Taking up arms against the liberals in the civil war of 1822–1823, he became a supporter of the so-called *apostólicos* in the latter years of the reign of Ferdinand VII, and from 1833 onward in consequence saw fresh action in the first Carlist War. Forced to flee across the frontier following the rebel defeat in 1839, he took refuge in France, where he died in obscurity in 1844.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also Burgos, Siege of; Espoz Ilundáin, Francisco; Ferdinand VII, King; Guerrilla Warfare; Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado”; Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier; Peninsular War; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst (1773–1859)

Austrian ambassador to Napoleon's court and the “coachman of Europe,” who through the Congress of Vienna and the European Concert System—and together with Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary—redrew the map of Europe following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars.

His family was among the lower nobility in the Rhineland, and he was born on 15 May 1773 in Coblenz (Koblenz), part of Prussia's Rhenish possessions, to Georg Graf von Metternich and Maria Beatrix Gräfin von Metternich (née Gräfin von Kageneck), at a time when his father was serving as Austrian ambassador to Coblenz, in the Rhineland. With his family's political background he became himself Austrian ambassador to the Electorate of Saxony, residing in Dresden in 1801. He took up this post following his studies of philosophy at the University of Strasbourg and of law and international diplomacy at the University of Mainz, as well as travels in England and throughout Europe in preparation for a career in diplomatic service. Metternich had married Maria Eleonora, the granddaughter of Wenzel Anton Fürst von Kaunitz, Empress Maria Theresa's chancellor, in 1795, and they had seven children. His marriage brought him Austrian lands and a high position in Habsburg society.

In 1803, following distinguished service in Dresden, he was appointed ambassador to Prussia, where he combined great powers of observation with impeccable manners. Having honed his diplomatic skills during the French Revolutionary Wars, Metternich was then appointed Austrian ambassador to France in 1806, following Napoleon's dramatic rise as Emperor of France. At a time when Napoleon desired to extend French influence throughout Europe, Metternich placed Austrian interests on a firm footing through bold negotiation. Metternich owed his position to the Austrian Habsburgs and this he never forgot, especially after 1794, when Revolutionary France had seized the Metternich family estates and freed their serfs on the left bank of the Rhine in the name of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*. His entire life was devoted to stopping the spread of Jacobinism and the liberal tenets of the French Revolution.

In Paris as Austria's ambassador to the court of Napoleon, he was as ever gracious and at one point had even made Caroline, Napoleon's sister, one of his mistresses. In 1809 war resumed between Austria and France, and Vienna

was occupied. Metternich was held captive upon Napoleon's order but was later exchanged for members of the French embassy in Vienna. Militarily the Austrian forces lost ground to Napoleon's onslaught; the Austrian emperor, Francis I, who desired new leadership, appointed Metternich as minister of state in August, and minister of the imperial house and minister of foreign affairs, jointly, in October. Negotiations with Napoleon had produced the Treaty of Schönbrunn (14 October), which saved Francis's throne but had greatly reduced Austria's boundaries, and the Austrian emperor hoped his new minister Metternich would produce better results.

Indeed, Metternich's diplomatic footwork regained a place of prominence for Austria when he arranged the marriage in 1810 between Napoleon and the Princess Marie Louise, daughter of Emperor Francis, following Napoleon's divorce from the Empress Josephine. This marriage became the basis for an alliance concluded in March 1812 between France and Austria against Russia. Following Napoleon's invasion of Russia with his Grande Armée and a token contingent from Austria, the retreat in 1812 ruptured this alliance, for Metternich had no wish to see Austria confront Russia in eastern Europe. Metternich had become the mediator of Europe by the spring of 1813 and arranged an armistice between France and Russia and Prussia. At Dresden in June 1813 Metternich delivered Austria's terms for remaining neutral: Illyria and northern Italy from France, Poland to Russia, and the left bank of the Elbe to Prussia. Metternich also demanded the Confederation of the Rhine be disbanded. Napoleon refused these demands, attempting to negotiate with his enemies individually. But following their meeting at Dresden and the failure to come to a compromise, Metternich refused Napoleon's final request for Austria's neutrality. Napoleon believed correctly that Austria expected him to relinquish significant parts of his empire. To make such a peace was viewed by Napoleon as dishonorable and constituting a betrayal of the French people.

Austria refused to yield, joining Prussia and Russia in the Convention of Reichenbach on 19 July, which stipulated that unless Napoleon agreed to their demands, they would resume the war against France, now including Austria. Still hoping to placate his enemies, Napoleon sent Armand-Augustin-Louis, marquis de Caulaincourt as a special envoy to a meeting of nations in Prague, but Metternich halted every attempt of the French envoy to discuss terms of peace with individual delegates. By the end of the summer Metternich had formed the final coalition that would defeat Napoleon at Leipzig (16–19 October), having brought Austria into the Sixth Coalition of Russia, Britain, and Prussia after Vienna's declaration of war on 12 August 1813. They pledged to defeat Napoleon, who they said was

“ambitious,” and threatened the peace and status quo of Europe. Metternich had elevated his demands to the point where he knew Napoleon could only refuse. His propaganda decried Napoleon as spreading Jacobinism throughout Europe, portraying himself as the protector of the conservative order.

These events had occurred just as French forces were being ejected from Spain. Napoleon had attempted to cede Illyria to Austria and part of Poland to Russia as concessions to preserve the peace, but Metternich had refused to accept these terms, secretly desiring war to bring an end to Napoleonic hegemony. In these negotiations, both Alexander I of Russia and Frederick William III of Prussia had deferred to Metternich, who represented their interests. Metternich had been able to portray Napoleon as someone who would bring the whole of Europe to its knees to preserve French glory.

Napoleon saw himself as bringing the principles of the French Revolution to every country in Europe; it was not that he loved war, he claimed, but desired an honorable peace. Metternich had calculated that Napoleon's pride would not allow him to agree to Austria's terms of compromise and that war was therefore inevitable. Metternich knew the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians all longed for revenge against the French emperor. Following the Battle of Leipzig—Napoleon's decisive defeat in Germany at the hands of the Sixth Coalition—Francis I elevated Metternich to the rank of prince (*Fürst*) for his successful diplomatic and military efforts during the difficult period of the wars with France.

Metternich had made an important contribution to undermining and defeating Napoleon. The French Empire began to break apart after the Battle of Leipzig, with former satellite states—Baden, Bavaria, Berg, Westphalia, Hesse-Darmstadt, Württemberg, and others—abandoning the French alliance, thereby breaking up the Confederation of the Rhine. There also occurred an uprising in Amsterdam against Napoleon's brother Louis. Northern Italy was retaken by the Austrians. Even Napoleon's sister and brother-in-law, Caroline and Joachim Murat, made peace with Metternich to save their positions as rulers of Naples.

Metternich indirectly secured Paris through intelligent bribery and agreement with Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, who made peace with the coalition and sidestepped Joseph Bonaparte, who was to have defended France's capital. Through the Treaty of Chaumont, concluded on 1 March 1814, Metternich, together with his British counterpart, Lord Castlereagh, secured agreement among the great European powers to stabilize the Continent and to loosely reorganize Germany. This reorganization particularly affected the former mem-

bers of the Confederation of the Rhine, created by Napoleon but defunct after the French had been driven across the Rhine in the aftermath of Leipzig.

Following Napoleon's downfall, Metternich was in the forefront of those who demanded his abdication; he was also instrumental in denying Marie Louise control of Tuscany so that she could visit her husband in exile on Elba. Metternich made Marie Louise and her son, despite their intentions to go with Napoleon to Elba, rejoin her father Francis I in Austria, denying to Napoleon the comfort of his wife and child. Metternich had also denied any Austrian financial support to Napoleon despite the fact that Napoleon's son, the King of Rome, was half Austrian. Francis allowed Metternich to negotiate these agreements, which included offering Parma instead of Tuscany to Marie Louise; in the end, Metternich brought Francis's daughter and grandson to live in Vienna, where she became enamored with Adam Graf von Neipperg, who acted as a tool of Metternich. Metternich believed that it was in the best interests of Austria to separate Napoleon and Marie Louise and to keep their son in Vienna.

At the Congress of Vienna, which convened after Napoleon's abdication in 1814, Metternich shone brightly as the "coachman of Europe," guiding policies and decisions, though credit for the success of the agreement ultimately hammered out must be shared with Castlereagh. A skilled diplomat, ever charming, and patriotically Austrian, Metternich created a superior place for Austria in relation to both Germany and Italy. Delegates from the victorious powers—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Britain—had earlier met at Metternich's villa on the Rennweg in September 1814 to begin preliminary discussions concerning postwar Europe and the restoration of legitimate hereditary rulers. This set in motion the conference system that was to preserve peace and mark European politics for decades. As the host of the Congress of Vienna, Metternich restored Austria to its former place of grandeur and preeminence.

Metternich became the leading statesman of Europe, committed to restoring the balance of power and political boundaries based on the principle of legitimacy (that is, hereditary right). He used Austria's multiethnic state as a foundation for his policy of internationalism throughout Europe.

Metternich was once again the architect of the coalition that defeated Napoleon following the Emperor's escape from Elba. Metternich immediately organized forces to oppose him, turned down Napoleon's offer to preserve the French boundaries of 1814, and secured agreement from Tsar Alexander, the Duke of Wellington, and Talleyrand to remove Napoleon from power. Metternich secured the promise of 150,000 troops from each member of

the coalition—Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria—with contingents from the first two nations soon defeating Napoleon at Waterloo.

Following further discussions at the (reconvened) Congress of Vienna, Metternich arranged for Emperor Francis to join the Holy Alliance, a conception of Alexander's. This encouraged rulers to use Christian principles in ruling their respective dominions. The Congress of Vienna was followed by additional postwar conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822). Upon the accords reached at these early conferences, Metternich was named Chancellor of Austria by Francis, a position that had been vacant since the death of Fürst von Kaunitz in 1794. Metternich was praised by the emperor for preserving peace and reestablishing the rule of law. He had successfully reigned in radicalism, liberalism, nationalism, and revolution. At Aix-la-Chapelle the European powers restored their pre-Napoleonic relationship with France, admitting it as a member of the Quintuple Alliance.

In 1827 the widowed Metternich married Maria Antonia, Freiherrin von Leykam, and they had a son, Richard Klemens, who later published his father's biography and papers as *Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren*. Metternich was remarried in 1831 to Melanie Freiherrin von Zichy, following his second wife's death. They had three children. A devout Catholic, Metternich held religion to be a cornerstone of national stability.

Metternich as minister of foreign affairs was seen as *un rocher d'ordre* (a rock of order) in postwar Europe. Yet fears among those supporting the conservative political status quo arose over radical agitators, especially in Germany; and following the assassination by a radical of the reactionary politician August von Kotzebue in Russia, Metternich cracked down on liberal student demonstrations at universities, issuing, together with German ministers, the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. Radicals were to be controlled through censorship, government officials in the universities were to monitor students, and liberal representative organizations were to be quelled. While controlling antigovernment uprisings in Germany, Metternich also moved to control liberal-radical movements in the Italian provinces controlled by Austria.

Viewed by most of his contemporaries as a reactionary who preferred the social and political structure of eighteenth-century Europe, Metternich worked for the preservation of Austria's territories and power, thereby perpetuating the Habsburg dynasty. He was the most influential statesman in Europe from 1815 to 1848—a period often called *The Age of Metternich*. Nevertheless, the Quintuple Alliance was impaired after Russia and Austria split over the Greek Revolution in 1830, with Austria willing to

support Turkish claims to Greece while Russia supported Greek independence. Yet the European Concert System, by which the principal continental powers pledged to work together to maintain the balance of power and uphold the principle of legitimacy, continued—albeit not always satisfactorily for all sides—to be maintained and relied upon to settle international disputes.

Francis's successor, Ferdinand I, ascended to the throne of Austria in 1835. Metternich, as state chancellor, shared leadership in the direction of public affairs with the emperor's uncle, the Archduke Ludwig, and court chancellor, Leopold Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky. Metternich prevailed in foreign affairs, while the others dominated the process of domestic decision making. He carefully pursued peace as a mechanism for preserving liberty and freedom as outlined in his *Political Testament*.

Metternich was forced into political exile during the Revolution of 1848, which led to his resignation, on 13 March, as minister of foreign affairs and chancellor. Given the political upheavals, Metternich went to live successively in Britain, Belgium, and Prussia. He returned to Vienna in August 1851 and led a quiet life in retirement in his palace on the Rennweg, where he died at age eighty-six on 11 June 1859. Metternich's *Mémoires* were published in 1879 and reveal the machinations of European diplomacy in the early nineteenth century.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Austria; Bavaria; Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Confederation of the Rhine; Elba; Fifth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Holy Alliance; Josephine, Empress; Leipzig, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Murat, Joachim; Napoleon II; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Quadruple Alliance; Reichenbach, Convention of; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Westphalia; Württemberg

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## Middle East Campaign (1798–1801)

The French campaign in Egypt and Syria (now present-day Israel).

Following his victorious campaigns in Italy in 1796–1797, General Bonaparte had been assigned to command an invasion of England. An inspection of the invasion forces led him to conclude, however, that the French could not properly secure the English Channel, and so the descent had no chance of success. Bonaparte reported his findings to the Directory and looked for other methods of attacking British interests. He soon proposed a grand project of invading Egypt, establishing a French base there and proceeding overland to India, where, in conjunction with the Sultan of Mysore, they would attack British possessions.

The idea of conquering Egypt and the Levant had been circulating in French strategic thinking since the time of Louis XIV. These Ottoman provinces, actually controlled by the Mamelukes, appeared easy to take. Bonaparte, with the help of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, the foreign minister, persuaded the Directory to cancel the planned invasion of England and let him lead an army into Egypt. The Directory seized upon the Egyptian expedition partly as a way to remove Bonaparte, an extremely popular general, from France. Finally, owing to the embellishments of contemporary travel writers, Egypt had acquired a certain mystical allure that appealed to Bonaparte. In April 1798 the (French) Army of England was officially renamed the Army of the Orient, with Bonaparte appointed as its commander in chief.

With remarkable speed and secrecy, Bonaparte threw himself into the preparations for the expedition. The entire Army of Egypt was ready to depart in two and a half months. Bonaparte had at his disposal a force of some 35,000 men, the majority of them veteran soldiers of the (French) Army of Italy. The fleet gathered to transport the

army was equally large: some 10,000 sailors on 400 ships, including 13 ships of the line under the command of Admiral François Paul, comte de Brueys. Several ports of embarkation—Toulon, Marseilles, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia—were to be employed for such an enormous operation. A unique feature of this campaign was the large contingent of savants, whom Bonaparte invited to accompany the expedition. Among these scientists were famous French mathematician Gaspard Monge, chemists Jacques Conte and Claude Berthollet, and Mathieu de Lesseps, who would later tell his son Ferdinand about Bonaparte's project of building a canal linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

French activity at Toulon had caught the attention of the British, whose naval squadron under Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson was deployed in the western Mediterranean. It was a stroke of luck for the French that a strong gale had scattered and damaged the British ships in mid-May. By the time they recovered, the French had already departed for Egypt on 19 May. Bonaparte's first objective was Malta, a strategically located island just south of Sicily that was essential for the French presence in the Mediterranean.

Bonaparte arrived at Malta on 9 June and secured the island without facing resistance from the Knights of St. John, who had ruled the island since 1530. Bonaparte reorganized the local government, turned the holdings of the Knights into national lands, abolished slavery and all remnants of feudalism, and established new education and taxation systems; the French also seized the enormous treasury of the Knights, which helped to pay for the costs of the expedition. After resting his troops, Bonaparte sailed for Alexandria on 18 June, narrowly missing interception by Nelson's pursuing ships on the night of 22–23 June. On 1 July, after six weeks at sea, the Army of the Orient arrived off the Egyptian coast and began disembarking a few miles west of Alexandria.

By the late eighteenth century, Egypt had been ruled by the Mamelukes for more than 500 years. They were a warrior caste created from non-Muslim boys who had been kidnapped at an early age, sold at slave markets, converted to Islam, and trained as mounted warriors. The Mamelukes rose to power after overthrowing the Ayyubid dynasty in 1250 and, over the next five centuries, two dynasties ruled Egypt: the Bahriyya (Bahri) Mamelukes (1250–1382), mostly of Turkish origin, and Burji (Burgite) Mamelukes (1382–1517, though they retained a great deal of influence until 1811), mostly Georgians and Circassians.

Although nominal vassals of the Ottoman Empire after 1517, the Mamelukes took advantage of the Ottoman decline in the mid-eighteenth century. After 1769 they achieved a considerable degree of autonomy under the

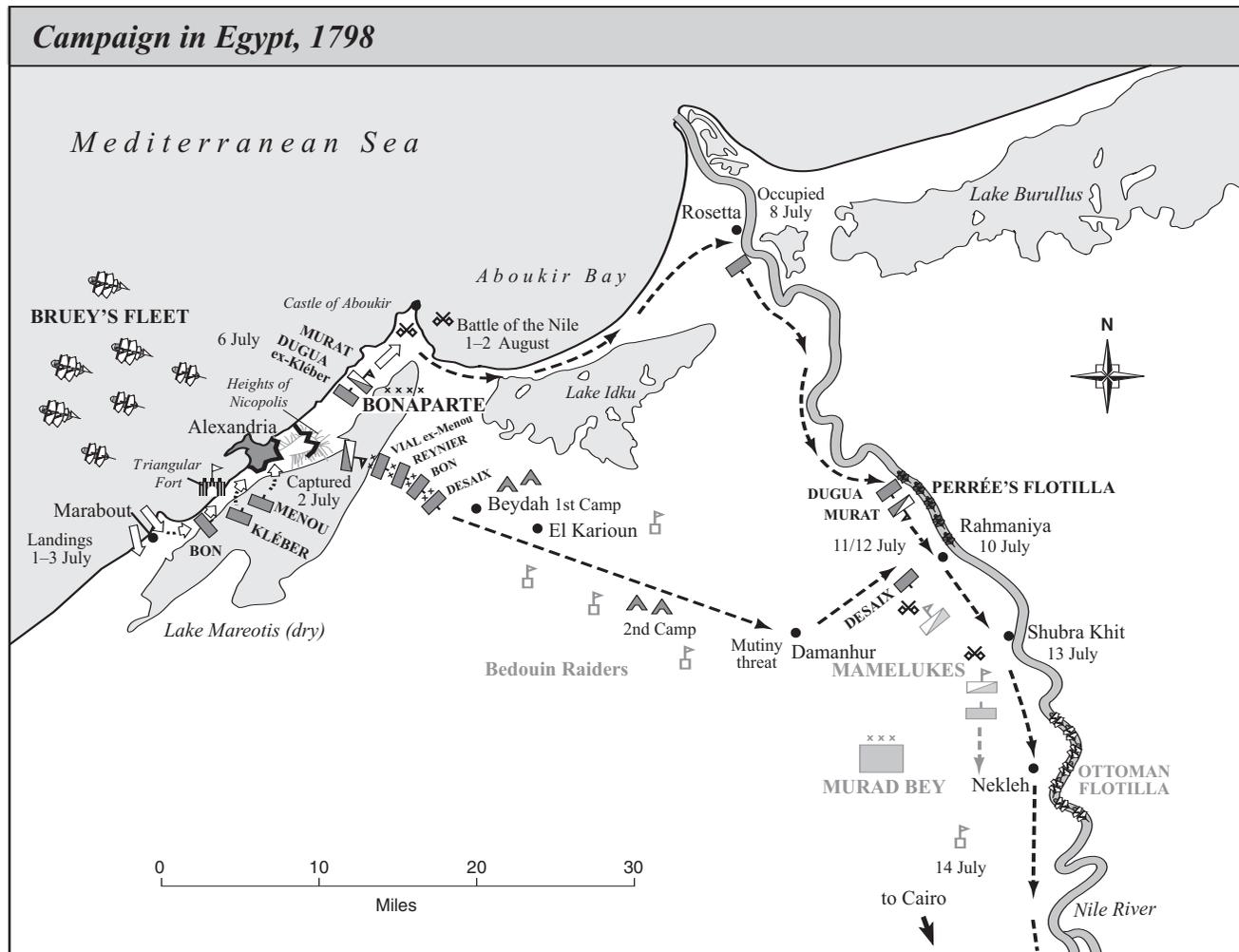
leadership of the provincial governor Ali Bey. Actual power rested with the divan, a council of seven Mameluke beys (governors), which had the power to veto decisions of the Turkish pasha. Executive (and real) power rested in the hands of two Mameluke beys, the Amir al-Bilad (commander of the land), who was responsible for civil order and police powers, and the Amir al-Hajj (commander of the pilgrimage to Mecca), who acted as a political and military counterweight to the Amir al-Bilad. At the time of the French invasion, the Amir al-Bilad was Murad Bey and the Amir al-Hajj was Ibrahim Bey, both from Georgia.

The French army landed at Alexandria on 2 July 1798 and easily overwhelmed the Mameluke cavalry, which was still essentially a medieval fighting force. After capturing Alexandria, Bonaparte engaged the Mamelukes under Murad Bey at Shubra Khit on 13 July and then routed the main Mameluke army in the famous Battle of the Pyramids near the village of Embabeh, just across the Nile River from Cairo, on 21 July. Bonaparte entered Cairo on the twenty-fourth and dispatched General Louis Desaix to pursue the Mamelukes, who had fled into Upper Egypt.

However, the French successes on land were countered by a decisive British triumph at sea. On 1 August, Nelson located the French fleet anchored in line in the shallows of Aboukir Bay near Alexandria. In the ensuing engagement, known as the Battle of the Nile, eleven French ships of the line and most of the frigates were captured or sunk; the French army was stranded in Egypt and the British fleet had thus reasserted its control of the Mediterranean.

Notwithstanding his predicament, Bonaparte set about reorganizing Egyptian society; he revolutionized Egyptian institutions, introducing French-style administrative and judicial systems. Among his many reforms, he abolished feudalism and serfdom and proclaimed freedom of religion and equality before the law. Of great importance was the establishment of the Institute of Egypt in Cairo, which both propagated European culture and ideas in the East and undertook research in Egyptian culture and history, vastly expanding European knowledge of the East. Bonaparte also discussed with Muslim clerics the possibility of converting his army to Islam, but this and other efforts to garner popular support failed to achieve their goal.

Following the Battle of the Nile, Bonaparte found himself in a perilous situation. Although he had defeated the Mamelukes, he had not destroyed them; Ibrahim Bey had withdrawn across the Sinai Peninsula to Palestine, while Murad Bey had retreated southward to Upper Egypt, where he tied down French troops under Desaix. On 9 September the Ottoman Empire declared war on France and began preparing two large armies for the invasion of Egypt. The French also had trouble controlling Cairo,



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 221.

where a revolt against the occupation broke out on 21 October but was brutally suppressed, with approximately 300 French killed and 2,000 Egyptians. In this precarious situation, Bonaparte made a new plan: To defeat the Turks, and force the sultan to make peace and assist him in his march to India, he decided to march on Acre (at the time in the Ottoman province of Syria, now in Israel), where the Turks were raising an army under Djézzar Pasha. He even wrote a letter to Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in India offering to cooperate against the British.

In late 1798 Bonaparte organized an expeditionary force for the invasion of Syria (not to be confused with modern Syria, which is now farther north), and left Cairo on 10 February 1799. On the twentieth he seized El Arish, where he captured several hundred Turks and Mamelukes, who were later freed on parole. As he continued his advance, Bonaparte entered Gaza on 25 February and stormed Jaffa on 7 March. There followed one of the most repugnant incidents in Bonaparte's career. At Jaffa some

2,500 Turks, many of them former prisoners from El Arish, surrendered on the understanding that their lives would be spared. Bonaparte, believing he could spare neither troops to escort the prisoners to Egypt nor rations to feed them, ordered the massacre of the captives.

While in Jaffa many French troops had contracted bubonic plague, and Bonaparte visited the plague hospital on 11 March, an incident later commemorated in Gros's famous painting. On 17 March Bonaparte reached Haifa and began besieging the stronghold of Acre just across the bay. The odds were against the French, who lacked heavy artillery and many of whom suffered from the plague. A British squadron under Commodore Sir Sidney Smith supported the Turkish garrison under Djézzar, while French émigré officers directed the Turkish artillery.

As the siege of Acre dragged on for weeks, the French faced another danger. The Turkish pasha of Damascus dispatched a large army to attack the French from the rear. Between 8 and 15 April the French defeated the Turkish

detachments near Nazareth, Canaan, and on the Jordan River north of Lake Tiberias. On 16 April General Jean-Baptiste Kléber's 2,000 men engaged a superior Turkish army of 25,000 men at Mount Tabor and resisted for 10 hours, until Bonaparte arrived with reinforcements to rout the Turks. During the next three weeks, the French made repeated assaults on Acre but were repulsed each time. In mid-May, Bonaparte finally decided to abandon the siege and return to Egypt.

The retreat began on 20 May, and the demoralized French forces reached Cairo on 14 June. One month later, another Turkish army of some 20,000 men arrived on the Egyptian coast. The Turks landed near Aboukir on 25 July but were routed by Bonaparte's troops, who drove them into the sea.

Despite his victories, Bonaparte knew that there was little chance he could succeed on this doomed expedition. The British controlled the Mediterranean, preventing the Directory from sending any reinforcements to Egypt. Furthermore, Bonaparte soon learned from European newspapers (sent to him by Sidney Smith) that France was on the defensive against the Second Coalition and had lost virtually all of Italy. He became convinced that he should return to France to save the country. On 22 August with only the handful selected to accompany him, Bonaparte boarded a frigate and abandoned the army in Kléber's hands. After an uneventful voyage of forty-seven days, he landed at St. Raphael in France on 9 October and was given a hero's welcome by French citizens anxious for a turn in their country's fortunes.

Back in Egypt, Kléber, feeling betrayed by Bonaparte, had to negotiate with the British and Turks and agreed to evacuate Egypt by the Convention of El Arish of 24 January 1800. However, after the French surrendered several key fortresses, the British vice admiral Viscount Keith, renounced the convention and the Turkish army seized Cairo. In response, Kléber destroyed Ottoman forces at Heliopolis on 29 March and recaptured Cairo; yet a Muslim zealot assassinated him on 14 June. Kléber was succeeded by General Jacques-François, baron Menou, who was both less capable and unpopular with the troops.

In early 1801 the British prepared an expeditionary force, under Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby, which landed successfully on the Egyptian coast on 8 March despite fierce French resistance. The British proceeded to inflict a serious blow on their opponents at Alexandria on 20–21 March. The two-day engagement claimed up to 3,000 French and 1,400 British casualties, including Abercromby himself. Their defeat left the French severely demoralized, and disagreements between Menou and his generals only exacerbated the situation. French troops were isolated from each other and confined to the

major cities of Alexandria and Cairo. After months of resistance, General Auguste Belliard surrendered Cairo on 28 July; and Menou, defending Alexandria, followed suit on 2 September. By the terms of capitulation, the British promised to provide the French safe passage home; the survivors of Bonaparte's expedition to the Middle East finally reached France in 1802.

Thus, militarily, the French expedition to Egypt proved to be a failure. Although the French won virtually all the battles, the campaign ultimately ended in disaster. Politically, the expedition was another example of the Directory's aggressive foreign policy and facilitated the formation of the Second Coalition in late 1798. Bonaparte's expedition not only highlighted how aggressive the French government had become; it directly threatened British interests in the region. Moreover, with Bonaparte out of Europe, the Allies could fight without the prospect of having to confront the best commander and the most experienced troops available to France. The expedition showcased Bonaparte's military skills, and the victories at the Pyramids, Mount Tabor, and Aboukir added luster to his name. However, the campaign also revealed Bonaparte's sinister character in the massacre of prisoners at Jaffa, the heavy-handed suppression of the uprising in Cairo, and finally his abandonment of the entire army in Egypt.

The campaign in the Middle East prepared the way for the modernization of Egypt. The Mameluke hold on Egypt was broken and, within a decade, Muhammed Ali Pasha would completely destroy them, laying the foundation for a modernized and strong Egypt that would play an important role in later Middle Eastern history.

Much more important were the lasting cultural and scientific effects of the expedition. The campaign led to a revival of Egyptian motifs in European decorative art styles and architecture. The Institute of Egypt gathered a wealth of documentation on the geography, natural history, contemporary culture, and antiquities of Egypt. The official product of this exploration was the masterful *Description de l'Égypte*, published between 1809 and 1828. With its fourteen large folio volumes of illustrations and ten volumes of text, it attained a new standard of publication and laid the foundation for modern Egyptology. Among the greatest discoveries was the famous Rosetta Stone, which the French scholar Jean-François Champollion used as a key for the decipherment of hieroglyphs in 1822.

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*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Aboukir, Battle of; Acre, Siege of; Alexandria, Battle of; Bruëys d'Aigalliers, François Paul; Cairo, Uprising in; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de; Directory, The; Egypt; El Arish, Convention of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Heliopolis, Battle of; Ibrahim Bey; India; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797);

Janissaries; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Malta, Operations on; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron; Mount Tabor, Battle of; Murad Bey; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Empire; Pyramids, Battle of the; Rosetta Stone; Savants; Second Coalition, War of the; Shubra Khit, Battle of; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince

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## Middle Guard

See Imperial Guard (French)

## Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, Alexander Ivanovich (1789–1848)

A distinguished Russian historian, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky was born to a noble family in St. Petersburg. His father, Ivan Danilevsky, was a prominent figure in contemporary Russian society, having studied widely and received his doctorate in medicine, yet successfully pursuing a banking career and rising to become director of the State Loan Bank. The change of the family name from Danilevsky to Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky was a result of an incident during the reign of Paul I, when Danilevsky was mistakenly accused of treason. During the interrogation, he was found innocent and released. Tsar Paul comforted him by giving him a promotion and adding “Mikhailovsky”—the tsar had just moved to Mikhailovsk palace—to his surname to prevent any future confusion.

Alexander Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky studied at the Petropavlovsk College in St. Petersburg in 1797–1806 and began working as a collegial clerk at his father's bank. He retired after his father's death in 1807 and, after studying at the University of Göttingen, traveled throughout Europe in 1809–1810. Returning to Russia, he briefly worked in the chancellery of the ministry of finance and on 1 August 1812 became an adjutant to General Mikhail Kutuzov, then commander of the St. Petersburg *opolchenye* (virtually untrained militia). After Kutuzov was given command of the Russian army, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky followed him to Tsarevo-Znaimische and Borodino. He distinguished himself at Borodino, then in October he was wounded at Tarutino and left the army to recover. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky returned to the army in February 1813 and served as adjutant to Kutuzov. After Kutuzov's death, Tsar Alexander took Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky into his entourage, where he was responsible for foreign correspondence and the journal of military operations, participating in the campaigns of 1813–1814, in Germany and France, respectively.

After the war, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky joined the newly established General Staff and accompanied Alexander in his travels in 1815–1818. He took part in the negotiations at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky published several works on the campaigns of 1813–1815, including his own wartime diaries, *Zapiski 1814–1815 gg.* (Notes of 1814–1815) and *Zapiski o pokhode 1813 goda* (Notes on the 1813 Campaign). Tsar Nicholas I praised these studies and ordered Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky to write a comprehensive history of the wars of Alexander I. This assignment resulted in a series of fundamental researches on Russia's role in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, including the concurrent conflicts with Sweden and Turkey. A prolific writer, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky worked with remarkable efficiency and had virtually unrestricted access to official diplomatic and military archives.

Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's works contain narrative histories of the campaigns, without any attempts at critical analyses, which, according to him, was the responsibility of military theorists. The volumes were personally read and edited by Tsar Nicholas I, who often removed entire sections of the works. The author also sometimes omitted the individuals who fell from favor after the Napoleonic Wars. As a result, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's histories contained virtually no criticism of Russian actions and catered to Imperial wishes. Nevertheless, they are one of the best sources on the Russian Army, containing many invaluable details.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

See also Alexander I, Tsar; Borodino, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kutuzov, Mikhail

Golenischev-, Prince; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Vienna, Congress of

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## Milan Decrees (23 November and 17 December 1807)

One of several extensions of Napoleon's Continental System that resulted in increasingly restrictive measures imposed on maritime commerce. By preventing British goods from reaching continental ports, and in turn denying European traders access to British ports, Napoleon hoped to ruin the economy of his principal adversary, so obliging it to conclude peace on his terms.

As the major commercial and industrial carrier in the world, Britain understood that seaborne commerce was the lifeblood of much of Europe, including France. However, since the French did not have a navy equal to that of Britain, and Britain did not have an army equal to that of France, a military standoff ensued. Napoleon expressed his intentions with the Continental System when he told his brother Louis that his objective was to make himself master of the sea by controlling the coastline of Europe.

As a result of their respective positions of power, Britain issued its Orders in Council on 16 May 1806, declaring restrictions on trade conducted between neutral powers and France or any other enemies. France issued the first Milan Decree on 23 November, which was later modified on 17 December, stating that it should treat neutral ships cooperating with Britain as enemy ships and make them subject to seizure. In November and December 1807 Britain renewed its policy in response to the Milan Decrees. The intention of the Milan Decrees was to reinforce the Berlin Decrees of November 1806, which had authorized French vessels to capture those of neutral powers sailing from Britain, British colonial ports, or countries allied with Britain. In addition, neutral ships that consented to being searched by British vessels could be seized at sea as lawful prizes when captured by the French or their allies.

The Continental System in fact included a host of decrees and legislation enacted over several years, designed to make it impossible for the British to trade with continental Europe. In addition to the Berlin Decrees and the Milan Decrees, these included the Bayonne and Rambouillet Decrees, the Cadore Letter, the Trianon Tariff, and finally the Fontainebleau Decree of 1810. While Britain began the process of changing the interpretation of maritime law, France did not hesitate to mimic its enemy's conduct, and between them both powers ultimately rendered subject to confiscation all neutral vessels at sea.

The origins of French hostility to changes in British maritime policy may date from the signing of the Jay Treaty in 1794 between the United States and Britain, which was intended to settle various problems outstanding from the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). France viewed the Jay Treaty, whose terms largely favored Britain, as a betrayal of the treaty of 1778 between itself and the young and vulnerable United States. Believing that the United States was allied to Britain, France passed laws that adversely affected American maritime trade from January 1798. France declared her right to stop neutral (including American) vessels trading with Britain, and if a single product of British origin was found within her hold, the entire cargo was considered contraband and seized.

When the United States found itself a victim of both the Orders in Council and the Continental System, President Thomas Jefferson attempted to obtain agreement among the various powers to regulate their maritime policies. Britain, for its part, alleged that there was no need for modifications of the rule of 1756 or other maritime agreements that had been entered into by naval powers since the sixteenth century. Owing to Britain's changing its maritime policies and the rules of war, such as "free ships make free goods," the United States was caught in the middle of a conflict that led to the drastic curtailment of U.S. trade and to consequentially dire effects on the U.S. economy. Beginning in 1806 the separate embargoes laid by France and Britain on American goods, intended for the other's opponent, also began to have adverse political effects on the Democratic-Republican Party, for Jefferson was obliged to institute an embargo that in injuring the growing U.S. economy naturally damaged his party.

Arthur K. Steinberg

*See also* Berlin Decrees; Bonaparte, Louis; Continental System; Orders in Council; Trianon Decree; United States; War of 1812

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### Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count (1771–1825)

Russian military commander. Born to a prominent noble family of Serbian descent and son of General Andrey Miloradovich, he was enlisted as a young boy as sub-ensign in the Life Guard Izmailovsk Regiment in 1780. Over the next seven years, he studied at the universities of Höttingen and Königsberg as well as at Strasbourg and Metz. He began service as an ensign in the Life Guard Izmailovsk Regiment on 16 April 1787. After participating in the Russo-Swedish War in 1788–1790, he rose to the rank of colonel on 27 September 1797. On 7 August 1798 he became a major general and *chef* of the Apsheron Musketeer Regiment. He participated in Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov's campaigns in Italy and Switzerland, distinguishing himself at Lecco, Cassano, Verderio, on the Trebbia, at Novi, and during the crossing of the Alps. He also became very close to Grand Duke Constantine, the Tsar Alexander's brother.

During the War of the Third Coalition in 1805, Miloradovich led the 2nd Column of the Russian army during the march to Braunau. In October–November, he commanded an independent brigade, distinguishing himself at Amstetten and Dürnstein (Krems), for which he received promotion to lieutenant general on 20 November. At Austerlitz he commanded the Russian division in the center of the Allied positions and made desperate attempts to repulse the French attacks. In 1806, during the War of the Fourth Coalition, he took command of a corps in the (Russian) Army of Moldavia, participating in the opening moves of the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812. He distinguished himself at Gladen and Bucharest in 1806, at Turbat and Obilesti in 1807, and at Rassevat and Silistra in 1809. Although promoted to general of infantry on 11 October 1809, Miloradovich had a dispute with the commander in chief, Prince Peter Bagration, who had him recalled from the army later in the year. Between April 1810 and August 1812 he served as military governor of Kiev.

In 1812 Miloradovich organized the Kaluga Reserve Corps and joined the main Russian army at Gzhatsk in August. He distinguished himself commanding the right flank at Borodino. On 9 September he took command of the main rear guard and covered the Russian withdrawal from Moscow. From October through December 1812 Miloradovich commanded the advance guard, fighting at Vyazma, Dorogobouzh, and Krasnyi. During the campaigns

of 1813–1814, he commanded a corps in major battles in Germany and France, including Kulm, Leipzig, Arcis-sur-Aube, Brienne, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre.

After the war, he commanded the Guard Corps. He became military governor of St. Petersburg and a member of the State Council on 30 August 1818. During the Decembrist Uprising, he urged the insurgents to return to barracks but was mortally wounded by Lieutenant Peter Kakhovsky and died on 25 December 1825. He was buried in the Alexander of Neva Monastery in St. Petersburg.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Amstetten, Battle of; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Borodino, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Cassano, Battle of; Dürnstein, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Novi, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Turkish War; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Trebbia, Battle of the

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### Mina, Francisco

*See* Espoz Ilundaín, Francisco

### Mina, Javier

*See* Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier

### Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier (1789–1817)

One of the best known of the Spanish guerrillas, Martín Javier Mina y Larrea (or, as he is more commonly referred

to, simply Javier Mina) was active in Navarre in the period 1809–1810. Given that he never led more than a few hundred men, and further that his career was very short lived, his fame is at first sight somewhat surprising. Yet it can be easily explained: Very young as he was—his usual nickname, indeed, was *el mozo* (the lad)—Mina was an attractive figure, and his opposition to Ferdinand VII after 1814 and tragic death ensured that many Spanish liberals came to regard him as a hero. What is less clear, however, is how Mina, who was the son of a prosperous landowner possessed of a seat in the Navarrese estates, came to take up arms.

Immediately prior to the outbreak of the Peninsular War, he was a student at the University of Saragossa (Zaragoza)—hence his alternative nickname of *el estudiante*—but what happened then is unclear. According to one story, Mina took to the hills after French troops plundered his family home in Otano; according to a second, he was recruited as a secret agent by the Junta Central and eventually given a commission to raise a guerrilla band; and, according to still a third, he was actually expelled from university for misconduct, after which he took up with a gang of bandits. Whatever the truth, Mina seems to have begun his military career with an attack on a small party of French artillerymen who were marching from Saragossa to Pamplona on 7 August 1809. There followed a number of small actions—between 8 and 29 November alone, for example, Mina raided the towns of Tafalla and Tudela and defeated a small French force at Sansol—and it is clear that had matters gone on in this fashion the young commander might have established himself as a champion of the resistance struggle.

However, events turned out otherwise. In the first place, so many men were deployed against his small command that in January 1810 he was forced to suspend his operations, and in the second place, he was soon afterward called away to receive instructions. Returning to Navarre in March, he regrouped his men and launched several attacks on the French, only to have to desist for want of ammunition. Taking shelter in the mountains east of Pamplona, on 28 March Mina was betrayed to the French and captured at the village of Labiano. Sent into captivity in France, he now revealed his true colors by offering his services to Joseph Bonaparte. This offer, however, was not taken up by the French, and it appears to have remained unknown in Spain. In consequence, peace found Mina with his reputation intact, but beyond that he had nothing, Ferdinand VII having little to offer a young irregular who had long since been eclipsed by the more famous, Espoz Ilundaín.

Like many other men in his position, then, Mina drifted into revolutionary politics. Attaching himself to Espoz, he took part in the Navarrese insurrection of Sep-

tember 1814 but managed to escape to France. Seeking fame in the Latin American struggle for independence, he then organized an expedition to Mexico (which was at this point a loyalist bastion). Little support was received from the local populace, however, and on 27 October 1817 he was captured near Guanajuato. Executed by firing squad on 11 November, he became a national hero, and so his remains were eventually transferred to Mexico City, where they lie buried beneath the Independence Column.

Charles J. Esdaile

See also Bonaparte, Joseph; Espoz Ilundaín, Francisco; Ferdinand VII, King; Guerrilla Warfare; Junta Central; Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado”; Merino, Jerónimo; Peninsular War

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### Mincio River, Battle of the (8 February 1814)

The Battle of the Mincio River (or Roverbella, a village some miles north of Mantua) was fought between the Armée d’Italie under Eugène de Beauharnais, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, and an Austrian army under *Feldmarschall* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde. Though tactically a draw (neither party claimed victory in official reports), it was a French victory at the strategic level, as the Austrians failed to force the line of the Mincio.

The 1813–1814 Italian campaigns had begun in September 1813 with the Armée d’Italie defending the Illyrian Provinces (parts of present-day Slovenia and Croatia) and the Drava Valley in Styria (now southern Austria and northern Slovenia). A slow and relatively uncontested retreat followed in the autumn, with bad weather and the lethargic Austrians allowing Eugène to successfully defend the line behind the river Adige for three months. On 4 February 1814, being aware that the King of Naples, Joachim Murat, had recently passed over to the Allied coalition and that his Austro-Neapolitan army threatened the French line of communication on the southern bank of the Po, Eugène ordered a retreat behind the Mincio. The new defensive line, supported on both flanks by the fortresses of Peschiera (to the north) and Mantua (to the south), allowed the Armée d’Italie to shorten its front considerably and maintain a central position between Bellegarde and Murat. Eugène’s plan was to move quickly most of his

army south of the Po and fall on the Neapolitans. To achieve this goal, he had first to paralyze Bellegarde's army, positioned at Villafranca, by delivering an unexpected blow across the Mincio on 8 February. For his part, Bellegarde erroneously believed that Eugène was fleeing to Cremona and decided to set off in pursuit. The Austrian army was to cross the Mincio at Valeggio early in the morning of the same day.

Bellegarde had under his command 35,000 generally well-seasoned troops, with 130 guns. Eugène's was essentially a conscript army of 30,000 men, excluding the troops left in garrison at Mantua and Peschiera, with 90 guns. With morning mist preventing the opposing commanders from detecting each other's positions, the battle developed symmetrically over two distinct areas 5–6 miles apart and separated by the Mincio. While most of Eugène's army (19,000 men) pushed northeast from Goito toward Villafranca, clashing with Bellegarde's reserve, the bulk of the Austrian army crossed to the right bank and ran into a single French division positioned on the hills of Monzambano.

By midmorning, an amazed Eugène realized Austrian intentions and reacted to the unusual situation facing him. Hoping to catch the Austrians off balance and fall on their left flank, he redirected at about 10:00 A.M. three French infantry divisions, with one light cavalry brigade and the cavalry of the Italian Royal Guard, toward Valeggio. His advance, however, was checked by *Generalmajor* Joseph Freiherr von Stutterheim's grenadier brigade (with two dragoon regiments), which stubbornly resisted against greater odds until late afternoon on the heights of the village of Pozzolo, midway between Goito and Valeggio.

On the far bank, General Philibert Fressinet's small French division (5,000) was deployed on higher ground along the Olfino stream and successfully repulsed every enemy effort. Fearing for his rear, Bellegarde eventually ordered a general retreat eastward across the Mincio. Eugène's army encamped for the night somewhere between Pozzolo and Roverbella, and on the following morning withdrew to its original position behind the river. During the battle, two small Italian divisions launched minor and indecisive sorties from Peschiera and Mantua. The Austrians had some 4,000 men killed and wounded, and 2,500 taken prisoner. French losses lay somewhere between the Austrian claim of 6,000 and Eugène's figure of 2,500.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); Murat, Joachim

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## Minorca

With its key position as the easternmost of the Balearic Islands in the western Mediterranean and with a good harbor at Port Mahon (Maó), Minorca was valuable to Britain, France, and Spain throughout the eighteenth century and was exchanged several times until 1802, when it was restored to Spain.

Minorca passed from Spanish to British control in 1708 when an Anglo-Dutch squadron captured the island during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714). The conquest was confirmed along with Gibraltar in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. Minorca remained British until a French force captured it in 1756 during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The territory was returned to Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 but was retaken by Spain in 1782 during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). The Treaty of Paris in 1783 confirmed Spanish control of Minorca and British control of Gibraltar (seized from Spain in 1704), though King George III declared a preference for Minorca, Spanish Florida, and Guadeloupe over Gibraltar.

Minorca remained important to Britain during the French Revolutionary Wars, and even though the Royal Navy maintained naval bases at Gibraltar, Malta, and in Naples, Commodore John Duckworth and Lieutenant General Sir Charles Stuart, with 2,500 troops from Gibraltar, were ordered to take the island in October 1798. Stuart sailed on 7 November and immediately landed his force with little opposition from the island's 4,000 Spanish defenders. By 9 November Port Mahon surrendered to the British, while Spanish forces continued to fall back behind the walls of Ciudadella on the opposite end of the island. After an exaggerated display of British strength, the Spanish defenders surrendered the island on 15 November in exchange for transporting the garrison to Majorca. The British took the important island without the loss of a single man.

Minorca briefly became the command post of the Mediterranean Fleet from May to July 1799, when the aging Admiral Sir John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent, commanded the fleet from the island during the pursuit of a massive Franco-Spanish fleet of forty ships of the line led by Vice Admiral Eustache Bruix. In December 1799 Stuart proposed basing at Minorca 20,000 troops who could be called upon to act anywhere on the coast from Toulon to Genoa. The government initially agreed but ultimately

ordered just 5,000 men to the island under Sir Ralph Abercromby. Following the French victory at Marengo in June 1800, Abercromby and the Minorca garrison were ordered to Gibraltar, where they formed the core of the expedition to Egypt. After sailing from Gibraltar, the first group of transports returned to Minorca, where they received extensive repairs at Port Mahon before sailing to Egypt.

Minorca was returned to Spain by the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, concluded in March 1802. Following the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, British dominance of the sea, an increasing appreciation for the value of Gibraltar as a Mediterranean base, and the Spanish decision to join Britain against Napoleon in 1808 kept Minorca firmly in Spanish hands.

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*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Amiens, Treaty of; Bruix, Eustache; George III, King; Marengo, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Möckern, Battle of (5 April 1813)

The Battle of Möckern was one of the first battles of the spring campaign of 1813 in Germany. It was also the first attempt that year by the French to regain possession of Berlin, the capital city of Prussia, and thereby severely disrupt the mobilization of the Prussian army.

Unable to withstand the Russian advance into Germany, Eugène de Beauharnais, commander of the French forces, abandoned the line of the river Oder and withdrew westward to the Elbe, holding the great fortress and river crossing of Magdeburg. Napoleon ordered Eugène to advance from Magdeburg and take up a fortified position farther eastward.

An Allied force under the command of the Russian general Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein was operating in this area. It consisted not only of Wittgenstein's own corps but also that under the Prussian general Johann von Yorck. Moving up in support was the Prussian corps of General Friedrich von Bülow that had recently been joined by troops under the Prussian general Karl Leopold von Borstell. Because these forces were not strong enough to defeat Eugène decisively, their objective was merely to link up with the Prusso-Russian army under General Gebhard von Blücher to the south and observe the line of the Elbe.

At the end of March 1813 the Allied army consisted of a corps under the Prussian general Friedrich Graf Kleist of 5,400 regular troops, 400 Cossacks, and 26 guns, at Marzahna. Kleist had previously commanded Yorck's vanguard. Yorck's corps now consisted of 9,000 men with 44 guns, at Belzig. General von Berg commanded the main body of the Russians, 8,000 regular troops, 250 Cossacks, and 62 guns at Brück. Bülow left General Heinrich von Thümen's brigade covering Spandau and moved 4,500 men and 24 guns to Potsdam. Borstell had 3,800 regulars, 650 Cossacks, and 12 guns at Nedlitz, just east of Magdeburg.

Eugène had four divisions of V Corps at his disposal, 30,500 men with 66 guns, covering the middle reaches of the Elbe. General Horace Sébastiani's cavalry corps, 2,000 sabers strong, with 500 *gendarmes*, was deployed around Magdeburg. Other French forces were in the vicinity and able to move to support him, including elements of the Imperial Guard and I, II, and XI Corps.

On 1 April Yorck received orders from Wittgenstein to move toward Zerbst and Zahna, from where his cavalry was to scout along the Elbe. He moved off the next day. Meanwhile, Wittgenstein built a bridge at Dessau, and Kleist remained at Wittenberg.

On 2 April Eugène took three divisions (16th, 18th, and 19th) of V Corps (General Jacques Alexandre, comte Lauriston) with some cavalry and marched to Neustadt, just to the north. The 16th Division occupied this town, and the Elbe was bridged here. The 16th Division crossed it, marching eastward toward Königsborn, followed by other elements of the corps.

On the morning of 2 April the 16th Division attacked Borstell's outposts at Königsborn, pushing him back on Nedlitz, where Borstell concentrated his corps. The next day, XI Corps and a cavalry corps under General Marie-Victor-Nicolas de Fay Latour-Maubourg's crossed the Elbe and forced Borstell's main body back on Möckern. Bülow's men were too tired to move that day to support him, so Borstell was left in a precarious position. Furthermore, should Eugène decide to continue toward Berlin, Wittgenstein's crossing of the Elbe would not be feasible. Wittgenstein decided to move to support Borstell, concentrating his forces at Senst and Belzig on 3 April. There was growing evidence of Eugène's intention of marching on Berlin, so Wittgenstein instructed Borstell and Bülow to withdraw slowly on Görzke and Ziesar should Eugène bring his superior numbers into play. Wittgenstein was intending to maneuver on his flank.

Eugène planned to beat Borstell's troops in succession on 4 April, but that morning Borstell withdrew, unwittingly avoiding Eugène. Borstell halted between Gloina and Grosslübars, while Bülow's vanguard reached Ziesar. Berg

marched to Lietzo and Yorck to Zerbst, while Kleist remained in Wittenberg. Eugène's men spent the night around Möckern, Gommern, and Dannigkow.

Wittgenstein arrived in Zerbst that evening and decided to go over to the offensive the next day. He now had 23,000 regulars, 500 Cossacks, and 130 guns at his disposal. Although Eugène's 40,000 men outnumbered him, Wittgenstein considered his men better motivated and able to win. However, he delayed his plan for another day, waiting for further forces to come up, intending to use only Bülow and Borstell to keep the French busy. His plan was to tie down Eugène with Bülow and Borstell, while moving on his right flank with Berg and Yorck. Battle was joined on 5 April.

Eugène's positions were as follows: On his right, the 18th Division (General Joseph, comte Lagrange) at Wahlitz, its vanguard at Gommern and Dannigkow, 9,500 men with 16 guns; in the center was XI Corps (temporarily led by General Paul, comte Grenier, in anticipation of the arrival of Marshal Jacques Macdonald) with its three divisions at Karith, Nedlitz, and Büden, 24,000 men with 46 guns; 1st Light Cavalry Division, 800 men, 6 guns at Zeddenick; on his left, the 16th Division (General Nicolas-Joseph Maison) at Woltersdorf, its vanguard moving from Körbelitz toward Burg, 5,000 men, 18 guns. Two more divisions, the 19th and General François, comte Roguet with the Imperial Guard, 11,000 men and 30 guns, were in reserve. The 1st Cavalry Corps covered the muddy banks of the Ehle brook, on the right and into the center.

Yorck's vanguard moved on Dannigkow, making contact with the French at noon. Lagrange's outposts were thrown back, being forced out of Dannigkow at bayonet point. The boggy terrain made it impossible for the cavalry to pursue. Yorck's main body, accompanied by Wittgenstein, reached Leitzkau at 4:00 P.M., from where it attempted to march to the sound of the guns.

Berg's vanguard engaged the French at Vehlitz around the same time, but the terrain made it hard going. Only when Borstell came up at 6:00 P.M. was a serious attack made on Vehlitz, which fell to the Allies after a determined defense.

Bülow's vanguard reached Möckern about 4:00 P.M. General von Oppen's cavalry drove off the 1st Light Cavalry Division. The French troops at Nedlitz then retired. As it was now dark, no attempt was made to pursue.

The Allies held the battlefield, having lost around 500 men. The French lost about 2,200 and one gun.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Cossacks; Germany, Campaign in; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil

Graf; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Moescroen, Battle of

See Flanders, Campaigns in

## Mogilev, Action at (23 July 1812)

A battle fought between the 2nd (Russian) Western Army and Marshal Nicolas Davout's forces in the early phase of Napoleon's advance on Moscow in 1812, Mogilev is also known as the Battle of Saltanovka. As Napoleon's forces invaded Russia, Prince Peter Bagration's 2nd Western Army eluded their enveloping maneuvers and hastily retreated eastward to join General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly's 1st Western Army. Threatened by the forces under Jérôme Bonaparte from the rear and Marshal Louis Davout's corps from the north, Bagration moved by forced marches toward Mogilev, where he intended to cross the Dnieper River and join Barclay de Tolly.

However, Davout beat him to the town, arriving with some 28,000 men on 20 July. The Russians approached Mogilev on the twenty-first, and their advance guard under Colonel Vasily Sysoev engaged Davout's advance troops near the village of Dashkovka, south of Mogilev. Bagration then decided to attack Davout with only the 7th Infantry Corps under General Nikolay Rayevsky: If Mogilev proved to be held only by Davout's advance troops, Rayevsky was strong enough to drive them out, move to Orsha, and cover the route to Smolensk. However, if Davout were there in force, Rayevsky was to fight a delaying action to keep the French on the right bank of the Dnieper, while Bagration crossed the river with the army to the south of Mogilev.

Davout's forces, reduced by fatigue from marching, were still further weakened by the strategic situation. The effective forces at his command to oppose Bagration's army amounted to only 22,000 infantry and some 6,000 cavalry. Taking into account the numerical superiority of the Russians, Davout positioned his troops at Saltanovka. His left was deployed on the marshy bank of the Dnieper and was unassailable. A stream flowing in a difficult ravine, spanned from the village of Saltanovka by a wooden bridge, covered his front. Dense forest surrounded the village, especially on the northern bank of the stream.

Davout reinforced these positions with additional earthworks. His soldiers cut the bridge at Fatova, fortified the buildings on the high road, and established strong batteries there. Davout deployed five battalions of the 108th Line and one battalion of the 85th Line here. Behind them he placed four battalions of the 61st Line in reserve between Fatova and Selets. On the left wing, at Saltanovka, Davout arranged three battalions of the 85th Line and an independent company of *voltigeurs* (light infantry operating as skirmishers). Finally, he deployed battalions of the 85th and 61st Line, respectively, and several cavalry units.

Around 7:00 A.M. on 23 July the advance guard (6th and 42nd *Jägers*) of the Russian 7th Corps led the attack on Davout's left wing at Saltanovka. Pushing the French outposts back, it reached the bridge over the Saltanovka stream at 8:00 A.M. Despite the fierce fire, the *Jägers* under the command of Colonel Andrey Glebov overran the defenders on the bridge and continued their advance. Davout immediately counterattacked with the 85th Line. The Russian advance was halted by heavy artillery fire and musketry, but their infantry then stood stoically for several minutes, allowing themselves to be shot down rather than yield ground. Rayevsky then launched almost simultaneous assaults on the French positions at Saltanovka and Fatova.

The 26th Infantry Division under General Ivan Paskevich was ordered to march on a narrow path through a forest to attack the French; this maneuver would serve as a signal for the main forces of 7th Corps to attack. Paskevich deployed his division in extended column and attacked the village. In fierce fighting the Russians overran the 1st battalion of the 85th Line, forcing its retreat. To support the 85th Line, Davout sent a battalion of the 108th Line with a few guns. Both French battalions took up a position on the heights to the south of Fatova and repulsed the Russian attack. Paskevich rallied his troops on the edge of the forest and, supported by a 12-gun battery, launched another attack that carried the village. However, after passing Fatova, the advancing Russian battalions were suddenly counterattacked by four battalions of the 108th Line, concealed by Davout in the wheat fields behind the village. The French inflicted heavy casualties on the Russians and forced their retreat.

Despite this setback, Paskevich rallied his troops and counterattacked. At first the attack was successful and he captured the village again. Davout, however, moved the 61st Line to strengthen his defenses. The French repulsed the Russian attack and drove them back; on the right flank, two French battalions overwhelmed the Orlov and Nizhniy Novgorod regiments and crossed the brook. Paskevich was compelled to move the Poltava Regiment to contain the

French advance and prevent the Russian right wing from being turned. Meanwhile, the main effort of 7th Corps was focused on Saltanovka. Rayevsky led the Smolensk Infantry Regiment to seize a dam and cover the approach of the main forces. This column was to be supported by the 6th and 42nd *Jäger* regiments and artillery deployed on the heights on both sides of the road. It was agreed that the attack would be launched simultaneously with Paskevich's advance on Fatova.

Yet, Rayevsky did not hear the cannon shots that signaled the advance, and so his attack started too late. Russian units endured devastating artillery fire and suffered heavy casualties. At one point, seeing the confusion in his troops, Rayevsky held the hands of his two sons, Alexander (sixteen) and Nikolay (ten), and, yelling "Hurrah!" led the attack. Notwithstanding this inspiration, the charge was repulsed. Learning from prisoners that Davout had gathered reinforcements, Rayevsky ordered a general retreat and withdrew his troops to Dashkovka.

Following the engagement at Mogilev, the 2nd Western Army completed construction of a bridge at Novy Bikhov and crossed the river toward Smolensk. The Russians acknowledged 2,548 killed and wounded in the battle and claimed the French lost 4,134 dead and wounded. Although Davout admitted to only 900 casualties, the French losses were close to 1,200. Mogilev is often acknowledged as a French victory, though in reality Bagration achieved his goal of eluding the French envelopment and breaking through to Smolensk, where the Russian armies united.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Russian Campaign

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**Moncey, Bon Adrien Jannot de (1754–1842)**

Moncey was a twenty-year veteran of the pre-1789 army who rose to prominence fighting in Spain during the French Revolutionary Wars. Throughout his career, Moncey's most extensive service was in Spain, where he commanded forces first in the 1790s, then in the years after Napoleon invaded in 1808, and in a final, post-Napoleonic campaign in 1823. A humane individual, respected by his military opponents, Moncey deliberately avoided service in areas like the Vendée, where he would be required to fight his fellow Frenchmen. He also accepted imprisonment in 1815 rather than preside over the trial of his fellow Napoleonic marshal, Michel Ney.

Moncey was born on 31 July 1754, at Palise, a town near Besançon. He was the son of a lawyer and estate owner. Commissioned an army officer in 1779, he was only a captain in 1791. The campaign against Spain brought him speedy promotion. Moncey became a *général de brigade* in February 1794 and, six months later, commander of the Army of the Western Pyrenees. But a cloud of suspicion hurt his career in the years following. Moncey

had personal ties to individuals like Lazare Carnot, who in 1797 had been accused of being royalist sympathizers. Declining a command in the rebellious Vendée also led the government to distrust him.

Although Moncey played no active role in Bonaparte's rise to power, he accepted the new order and the opportunities it offered. He led a corps across the Alps through the St. Gotthard Pass against the Austrians in the Marengo campaign of 1800, then served as inspector general of the *gendarmerie* from 1801 to 1807. On 19 May 1804 Napoleon named Moncey one of the marshals of the French army.

In January 1808 Moncey returned to Spain as commander of an army corps. Attacking Valencia that summer, he failed to take the city while suffering heavy losses. At the close of the year, his ineffectual efforts against Saragossa led Napoleon to relieve him and put General Jean Andoche Junot in charge of the siege.

Thereafter, Moncey found himself relegated to rear-area commands in regions like Belgium. But, in March 1814, as commander of the Parisian National Guard, he led his inexperienced citizen soldiers in a temporarily success-



General Moncey commanding National Guard troops in the defense of the Clichy Gate in Paris, 30 March 1814. (Engraving by Aitken after Vernet from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

ful defense of the crucial Clichy Gate when Allied armies approached the French capital.

Moncey accepted service under Louis XVIII in 1814. Although he did not actively support Napoleon's return the following year, Moncey incurred the Bourbon government's displeasure when he openly rejected service presiding over the court-martial of Michel Ney, one of Napoleon's most distinguished marshals. He paid for this principled action with three months' imprisonment but returned to active duty in 1816.

In April 1823 Moncey led IV Corps of the French army into eastern Spain in a successful campaign in defense of the legitimate Spanish monarch. In 1840, now the governor of Les Invalides, he accepted the return of Napoleon's body. The aged general died on 20 April 1842 and was buried alongside his former commander.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; France, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Marshalate; Montmartre, Action at; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Saragossa, Sieges of; Tudela, Battle of; Valencia, Siege of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Mondovi, Battle of (19–21 April 1796)

The strongly contested battle fought from 19 to 21 April 1796 at Mondovi, a small city in southwestern Piedmont, was the last act of the French offensive against the Piedmontese (Sardinian) army during Bonaparte's first Italian campaign. After the retreat from Mondovi, the king of Piedmont-Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III, asked for an armistice, which was signed at Cherasco on 28 April. With Piedmont out of the war and forced to provide France with logistical support, Bonaparte could now plan his offensive against the Austrians in Lombardy.

The French advance from western Liguria had driven the Austrians under *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu from the Apennines back to Acqui. The Piedmontese army under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli consequently found itself isolated. Suspecting that no Austrian help was to be expected in the near

future, the Court of Turin started considering the prospect of an armistice. Colli's decision of avoiding a decisive clash and conducting a fighting retreat that would allow him to preserve the army could, therefore, be explained on the basis of political, as well as military, considerations.

The retrograde movement began during the night of 16–17 April, when the Piedmontese rear guard—notwithstanding their success on the sixteenth—abandoned the entrenched camp of Ceva. Colli selected a strong new defensive position just southeast of Mondovi. This was a wide salient stretching between the river Tanaro and one of its tributaries, the river Corsaglia. The salient top lay before Lesegno, at the confluence of the two rivers. To the northwest, the swollen Tanaro posed an impassable obstacle, all bridges across the river being cut off. To the southwest, the bridge on the Corsaglia at San Michele was covered by a line of entrenchments that ran along a ridge just behind the stream, with strong points (from north to south) at La Bicocca, Rocchini, and Buon Gesù.

Colli deployed his army as follows: To the left, 4,500 infantry and cavalry under *Generalmajor* Giuseppe Felice, Count Vitali were to cover the line of the Tanaro, from Niella to the bridge on the river Ellero, another tributary of the Tanaro farther downstream; in the center, 2,000 stood on the ridge of La Bicocca; to the right, 2,000 watched the far end of the entrenched camp before Mondovi. Eight hundred grenadiers under Colonel Giovanni Gaspare, Marquis Dichat were detached to garrison the village of San Michele, with ten guns to enfilade the bridge. The rest of the army was back in Mondovi and behind the Ellero. The Piedmontese formation clearly demonstrated that Colli was ready to continue his retreat toward Cuneo or Turin.

Bonaparte spent two days reorganizing the Armée d'Italie. After a week of endless marching and fighting over the mountains, with inadequate logistical support, most French units looked like a starving rabble eager for looting.

The attack on Mondovi was scheduled for 19 April. Bonaparte deployed General Pierre Augereau's division (6,000 men) on the right bank of the Tanaro, from Lesegno to Niella, and General Jean Sérurier's division (6,000) on the Corsaglia, with the cavalry of Henri-Christian-Michel, baron de Stengel in support. Augereau soon realized that the Tanaro could not be crossed and therefore stood idle all day. To the southwest by 10:00 A.M. two columns, under Sérurier and General Pascal Antoine Fiorella, arrived before the bridge at San Michele, where enemy artillery fire easily succeeded in keeping them at bay. Farther to the south, General Jean Joseph Guieu's column made for the hamlet of Torre, where they surprised a Piedmontese outpost on the right bank of the Corsaglia. The latter hurriedly fled across the stream on a small wooden aqueduct, forgetting to destroy it. The French were then able to cross

and established a bridgehead beyond the Corsaglia, thus menacing the right flank of the garrison of San Michele.

Spotting the new threat, Dichat ordered a retreat from the village back to La Bicocca. It was too late: Attacked on their front and flank, hundreds of Piedmontese, Dichat included, were cut off and taken prisoner. Now in control of San Michele, the French troops—as they had done at Dego—once again broke their ranks and went on pillaging and raping. Spearheaded by a company of Swiss grenadiers, the Piedmontese counterattack caught the enemy in disorder. Unable to re-form, Sérurier's men were then pushed back across the Corsaglia, with the exception of those garrisoning the bridgehead at Torre. The first day of the battle ended with a victory for the Piedmontese, who suffered losses of 350 men. The French had 600 dead, wounded, and prisoners.

On 20 April both armies stood on their original positions, with a raging Bonaparte busy restoring order. By then, however, Colli had decided to abandon the entrenched camp along the Corsaglia and withdraw the whole army behind the Ellero, his main goal now being to evacuate the rich magazines of Mondovi. During the night of the twentieth, the Piedmontese began their withdrawal, destroying the bridge at San Michele and leaving burning campfires behind in order to deceive the enemy. On the early morning of the twenty-first, Bonaparte's scouts found a ford over the Corsaglia and Sérurier set off in pursuit. The Piedmontese, encumbered with hundreds of wagons, were still thronging the exits of Mondovi and the bridges over the Ellero. To gain time, Colli ordered a rear-guard action on the Bricchetto, a plateau between Mondovi and Vicoforte. Two thousand Sardinian grenadiers, with four guns, resisted on this spot until 4:00 P.M. Elsewhere, however, other units did not fight as gallantly as their comrades on the Bricchetto, thus opening wide gaps in the Piedmontese line. Meanwhile, General Stengel with about 250 French dragoons and hussars succeeded in fording the Ellero, just northeast of Mondovi, thus posing a serious threat to the enemy columns on the road to Cherasco. The cavalry, however, were charged and repulsed by two squadrons of Piedmontese dragoons, under Colonel Silvestro Giovanni d'Oncieu, baron de Chaffardon. Stengel was killed in this action.

By 6:00 P.M. the battle was over. Fearing bombardment and looting, the citizens of Mondovi convinced the small garrison Colli had left behind in the citadel to surrender. During the fighting of the twenty-first, the French suffered about 1,000 casualties. The Piedmontese had 800 dead and wounded, together with 800 prisoners.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Ceva, Battle of; Cherasco, Armistice at; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Dego,

Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Sardinia; Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte

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### Moñino, José, Conde de Floridablanca (1728–1808)

An official of the Council of Castile, the then José Moñino first came to the attention of King Charles III of Spain in consequence of his involvement in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Given the title Conde de Floridablanca in 1773, he was in 1777 elevated to the post of secretary of state (i.e., chief minister), in which capacity he attracted considerable hostility from the so-called Aragonese party surrounding the Conde de Aranda. Still in office when the French Revolution broke out in 1789, he imposed a policy of strict censorship and adopted an attitude of deep hostility toward the new regime across the Pyrenees. Nor was his liking of the Revolution improved when in July 1790 a bankrupt French merchant with a grudge against the Spanish government made an unsuccessful attempt on his life. However, believing that Floridablanca's asperity was endangering the French royal family, Charles IV replaced him in March 1792 with Aranda. Accused of embezzlement by his enemies, Floridablanca was briefly imprisoned but was then exonerated and allowed to retire to his estates in Murcia.

Floridablanca was brought back into public life by the uprising of 1808, which saw him elected president of the junta of Murcia province. Desperate to reconstitute the authority of the Spanish state, he played a leading role in the formation of the provisional government known as the Junta Central, and as its first president, he helped avert the challenges mounted to its authority by such generals as Gregoria García de la Cuesta and José Rebolledo de Palafox. However, increasingly infirm, he fell sick with bronchitis and finally died in the midst of the French counteroffensive of November–December 1808.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Charles IV, King; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Junta Central; Peninsular War; Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José; Spain

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## Moniteur, Le

The *Moniteur Universel*, or the *Gazette Nationale*, commonly abbreviated to *Le Moniteur*, was a newspaper created on 24 November 1789 by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke to publish the debates of the Constituent Assembly. Panckoucke had been an established journalist and entrepreneur under the *ancien régime* and had published the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* as well as the newspapers *Mercure de France* and *Gazette de France*, which, alongside the *Journal de Paris*, were the only three political newspapers sanctioned in France prior to the Revolution.

Following the massive expansion in newspaper printing and the relaxation of censorship laws after the storming of the Bastille, Panckoucke sought to launch a newspaper to compete with the daily success of the *Journal de Paris*. *Le Moniteur* was printed in folio (33 × 24 cm), an expensive format copied from English newspapers, which marked it out from its octavo or quarto competition. Indeed, *Le Moniteur* also explicitly emulated the London press in its claimed intent to stimulate public discussion of the legislative reports it contained; to include coverage of literature, science, and the arts, as well as a range of foreign and domestic news; and to provide adequate space for advertising.

The reality was somewhat more cautious, with nonparliamentary news and cultural articles subordinated to the dominant parliamentary proceedings. As a consequence, *Le Moniteur* was aiming for consensus and for the accommodation of the doctrinal differences of successive Revolutionary governments by its emphasis on publishing lengthy transcripts of reports and deliberations with little or no editorial opposition or criticism. Nevertheless, the success of *Le Moniteur* was swift, and it fast became the Revolution's primary source of political documentation, if it never achieved the specific appeal of more partisan journals. Indeed, *Le Moniteur's* reputation as a reliable and accurate record of parliamentary events led to its incorporation of other similar journals, such as Hugues-Bernard Maret's *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*, in February 1790.

After the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799), Bonaparte made *Le Moniteur* the official organ of the French state, and it remained so until 1848. As one of the best-funded and best-staffed newspapers of the period, *Le Moniteur* was available to a wider readership than the majority of its competition, which were largely based in the publishing and bookselling district of Paris in the streets off the Rue St. Jacques and whose readership did not often extend far beyond the region. This made *Le Moniteur* an especially useful resource for the military, who were able to keep abreast of political developments as readily as the populace could maintain a relative awareness of

events at the front. Despite its dispassionate stance, the impartiality of *Le Moniteur* was frequently threatened by legislative demands, particularly during the Terror. This objective quality, although largely based on the desire to stay in business during a period of constant political upheaval, did at least guarantee *Le Moniteur* a permanence in the transitory world of Revolutionary publishing and allowed a critical distance from state-produced accounts of events.

Richard Taws

See also Brumaire, Coup of; Propaganda; Terror, The

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## Montbrun, Louis-Pierre, comte (1770–1812)

Montbrun had a rare and seemingly paradoxical mix of abilities that combined to make him one of the greatest cavalry commanders of the period. Meticulous planning, boldness of maneuver on the battlefield, and tactical brilliance guaranteed his lasting reputation. Alongside generals Antoine Lasalle and François Kellermann “the Younger,” he was one of only three French generals who had the ability to control and deploy massed cavalry effectively, according to no less an authority than Marshal Auguste de Marmont.

Montbrun had an impressive military career, beginning in 1789 when he enlisted in the Chasseurs d'Alsace, which later became the 1er Chasseurs à Cheval. He fought with distinction in scores of battles, including Altendorf, Nidda, Erbach, Kirchberg, Ried, Austerlitz, Breslau, Eggmühl, and Raab. He was also present at a number of key actions in the Peninsular War, such as Almeida, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, and El Bodón.

Furthermore, Montbrun played a key part in a moment that entered the mythology of Napoleon's elite Imperial Guard. In November 1808 at the pass of Somosierra, en route to Madrid, an attack on a large Spanish force by men of the *chevaulégers polonais* (Polish Light Horse) had been repulsed with heavy casualties. Montbrun reassembled the remaining Polish units with squadrons of the Chasseurs à Cheval de la Garde Impériale for a second attack, which was not only successful but led to the *chevaulégers polonais* being raised from Young Guard to Old Guard status for their gallantry.

Although a tremendous equestrian and an accomplished military commander whose sheer imposing presence demanded respect, Montbrun had a temperamental

streak that could even bring him into direct conflict with the Emperor himself. One particular anecdote is worthy of repetition. During the Russian campaign, Montbrun, serving under Marshal Joachim Murat, had been ordered by Napoleon to capture enemy materiel at Vilna. Despite being told of the Emperor's wishes, Murat, being notoriously headstrong and occasionally disobedient, overruled the Emperor and told Montbrun to stand firm. Later, Napoleon took Montbrun to task for ignoring an order and said that he was "not fit for a field command and would be better employed on the lines of communication." In a fit of pique, Montbrun threw away his sword and galloped away, shouting, "You can all go to the Devil!" (Johnson 1978, 102). It is perhaps fitting testament to Montbrun's skills as a soldier that Napoleon allowed him to retain command despite such displays of insubordination. As well as this rebellious side to his character, Montbrun was also reputed to be an "incorrigible looter" (Johnson 1978, 101).

His faults aside, Montbrun's demise was a major blow to Napoleon. It came during the bloodbath of Borodino, where he was horrifically wounded by a cannon shot and died later that evening. As Johnson points out, despite his glorious military career, Montbrun's obituary in the army's *Bulletin* was woefully brief. It read, "We have lost General of Division Count Montbrun, killed by a cannon shot" (Johnson 1978, 105). In the aftermath of Borodino, Napoleon now only had one of his cavalry geniuses left—Kellermann.

*Stephen Stewart*

*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Busaco, Battle of; Cavalry; Eggmühl, Battle of; El Bodón, Action at; Fuentes d'Oñoro, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Murat, Joachim; Peninsular War; Raab, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Somosierra, Action at

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### Montebello, Battle of (9 June 1800)

French victory over Austria in a preliminary clash before the Battle of Marengo in Italy. Having crossed the Alps and taken Milan, Bonaparte had cut off the Austrians besieging Genoa from their line of communication with Mantua. Bonaparte's initial plan was to hold a defensive position at Stradella and await the Austrians as they attempted a breakout. However, news that the Austrians had captured

Genoa, from where they could be rescued by a squadron of the Royal Navy, compelled Bonaparte to recapture the initiative. Bonaparte had General Jean Lannes cross the river Po at Belgiojoso on 6 June with 5,500 men and push ahead toward Voghera, supported by General Claude Victor with 6,000 men.

Simultaneously, *Feldmarshalleutnant* Karl Peter Ott Freiherr von Bartokez was marching with two divisions to support *Feldmarshalleutnant* Andreas Graf von O'Reilly, who was retreating on Voghera after having been pushed out of Piacenza by General Joachim Murat on 7 June. On the following day O'Reilly's rear guard clashed with Lannes at Broni. Ignorant of Ott's approach, General Louis-Alexandre Berthier ordered Lannes to push ahead to Casteggio on 9 June.

At 6:00 A.M. the French probed O'Reilly around San Giuletta. O'Reilly fell back to the outskirts of Casteggio, where he made a stand. Around noon Ott's troops began to arrive from Voghera, with Vogelsang's division deploying six battalions on the heights to the south of the town. Against all expectation, Lannes was now heavily engaged against an enemy 17,000 strong—he urgently requested that Victor come up in support. On the Austrian side, *Generalmajor* Anton Ritter von Zach unsuccessfully urged Ott not to get into a full engagement, but Ott refused and brought *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Freiherr von Schellenberg's division into action. Lannes's troops attacked the heights, but were checked by a fierce Austrian counterattack. On the French right, their attempt to outflank Casteggio was stopped by the arrival of Austrian reinforcements.

Fortunately for Lannes, Victor arrived at 2:00 P.M. and sent General Jean Rivaud's brigade to repulse the Austrian right. Lannes launched an assault on Casteggio and the bridges over the Coppa Torrent. Firing soon developed to the north of Casteggio, and as the Austrians began to become stretched Victor launched his reserve in another direct assault on Casteggio. The French broke through, and Ott was forced to withdraw before being overwhelmed. To cover the retreat, Schellenberg ordered his five-battalion reserve to come up as quickly as possible.

By 5:00 P.M. Casteggio had been cleared and the French were in pursuit of the retreating Austrians. Ott ordered Schellenberg to form a rear guard at Montebello, allowing the rest of the army to escape toward Voghera. Approaching 8:00 P.M. a fierce firefight opened up between this rear guard and the French troops arriving in the vicinity. As darkness fell, the rear guard was able to pull out of Montebello, retreating on Voghera, 8 kilometers west down the main road. The action had cost the Austrians about 2,100 casualties, 2,500 prisoners, and 2 guns, with comparable casualties on the French side.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Genoa, Siege of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Lannes, Jean; Marengo, Battle of; Murat, Joachim; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Montenotte, Battle of (11–12 April 1796)

Fought on the heights crowning the port of Savona in Liguria, and a relatively small engagement, this battle soon acquired a distinctive and perhaps exaggerated fame for having been Bonaparte's first victory during his first campaign in Italy.

After being appointed commander in chief of the Armée d'Italie in March 1796, Bonaparte set to work to complete the reorganization of his poorly supplied troops and prepare a campaign, which—according to minister of war Lazare Carnot's instructions—was to drive the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia out of the First Coalition and expel the Austrians from Italy. The French plan, consequently, aimed first at separating the Piedmontese from the Austrian army, by striking at their weak junction on the Ligurian Apennines, some miles inland from Savona. At the beginning of April the Armée d'Italie could field about 60,000 men scattered along the Ligurian coast from Genoa to Nice, and on the Maritime Alps.

Meanwhile, Austrian commander *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Peter Freiherr von Beaulieu had decided to anticipate enemy movements by descending from the Apennines down to the coast. While a column of 7,500 men under his direct command was to seize Voltri, just west of Genoa, a second column of 9,000 men under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Eugen Graf Argenteau had orders to push from Montenotte toward Savona. The French right wing (General André Masséna's division) would thus remain isolated from the bulk of the Armée d'Italie. According to Beaulieu's plan, the Piedmontese under the Austrian commander *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli were to remain on the defensive in southwestern Piedmont. Colli's different strategic views went unheard, highlighting another instance of the strained Austro-Piedmontese relations. Those with the British were no better, and Beaulieu's expectation to receive substantial aid from Commodore Horatio Nelson's small squadron was to be disappointed.

On 10 April Beaulieu repulsed the French from Voltri. Argenteau's forces, however, were scattered over the moun-

tains and soon lagged behind schedule. The Montenotte area was an extremely rough and wild terrain, unsuitable for coordinated movements: close valleys dominated by steep wooded slopes, bad roads, and mountain tracks running along narrow and exposed ridges. On the eleventh, Argenteau's late advance was soon checked, as his main column of 4,500 men ran into a chain of enemy outposts entrenched on mounts San Giorgio and Negino, midway between Montenotte Superior and Savona, whence Bonaparte had moved his headquarters. Though outnumbered, the French under *chefs de brigade* Henri-François Fornèsy and Antoine-Guillaume Rampon profited by their strong position and put up a stubborn resistance. In the evening, Bonaparte issued orders for his army's general offensive to begin overnight. Marching in rain and mist, early on the twelfth General Amédée Emmanuel Laharpe's 4,500 men joined the defenders of mounts San Giorgio and Negino and attacked Argenteau from the southeast. Meanwhile, Masséna led the rest of his division (3,500 men) in an outflanking march via Altare and fell on Argenteau's rear from the west. The Austrians fled northeastward toward Montenotte Inferior, with Laharpe in pursuit. Masséna then redirected his troops to Cairo in the Bormida valley so as to support General Pierre Augereau's division descending from the San Giacomo Pass.

At Montenotte the Austrians lost between 1,000 and 1,500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. French losses are uncertain. Argenteau's retreat opened a wide gap between the Austrian and the Piedmontese armies, thus paving the way for the success of Bonaparte's plan.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Masséna, André; Sardinia

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### Montereau, Battle of (18 February 1814)

The Battle of Montereau was fought during the 1814 campaign in France between the forces of Napoleon and those of Prince Eugen of Württemberg, in command of the Army of Bohemia, a mixed Allied force, mostly Austrian. Napoleon's victory in this battle enabled him not only to hold Montereau, at which three major roads crossed, but also to force the Army of Bohemia back toward Troyes, with the intent of pushing it out of France

entirely. Napoleon had turned to the south to face *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg after the French victories over General Gebhard von Blücher's (mostly Prussian) Army of Silesia in the Six Days Campaign the previous week.

In the days before the battle, the Allied forces of the Army of Bohemia were spread out in a line stretching along the Seine, holding key positions at Fontainebleau, Bray, Provins, Mormont, and elsewhere. Napoleon, for his part, concentrated his forces at Guignes before sending them forward, and on the morning of 17 February he had gathered about 70,000 troops. Reluctant to face Napoleon directly, and with his forces scattered about the region, Schwarzenberg ordered a general retreat to the southeast toward Troyes. Before all of Schwarzenberg's troops could respond to that order, Napoleon had massed his forces on the road from Guignes to Nangis and broken through the Allied forces, neatly destroying the Allied cavalry under the command of Count Peter Pahlen at Mormant.

With the Austrian lines in general retreat, Napoleon split up his forces and sent his marshals in pursuit of different elements of the enemy to Provins, Bray, and Montereau. The Allied forces retreating to Montereau were under Württemberg's command, and Napoleon sent Marshal Claude Victor in pursuit. Victor's advance was slowed in part by elements of the retreating Allies, and he did not arrive at Montereau before Württemberg had fortified positions north of the town. Napoleon was furious at the delay, and after reprimanding the marshal, replaced Victor with General Maurice Etienne, comte Gérard.

Throughout the morning of the eighteenth, Gérard attacked Württemberg's entrenched position; it was not until the late afternoon that the French were able to overrun the Austrian line and force a retreat. The appearance of Napoleon on the battlefield at the head of his troops helped to turn the advance into a rout of Württemberg's troops past Montereau and south over the river Yonne. By the end of the day the Allies had lost around 6,000 troops, to French losses of about 2,000. Although the Army of Bohemia had been clearly defeated, many of its corps escaped to the east and would be able to regroup against Napoleon in the weeks that followed.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst; Six Days Campaign; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### **Montholon, Charles Tristan, comte de (1783–1853)**

Montholon saw action throughout the Napoleonic period, including service as an aide-de-camp to marshals Louis-Alexandre Berthier, Pierre-François-Charles Augereau, and Jacques Etienne Macdonald, and to General Barthélemy Joubert. He was appointed to the post of imperial chamberlain in 1809, and in 1812 he was a lead diplomat to Würzburg. He lost that position because of his marriage to Albine de Vassal, whom Napoleon considered an unsuitable woman, and fell out of favor with Napoleon. Montholon's claims to wounds and major promotions are unfounded, as there appears to be no supporting documentation. Even so, Montholon rallied to Napoleon's cause during the Hundred Days, and, to the great surprise of many, he and Albine were among the few who accompanied Napoleon to exile in St. Helena in 1815.

While there, Montholon was in charge of the food and drink given to Napoleon. He was unpopular with most of the other members of Napoleon's court in exile, but the Emperor considered him a loyal and important member of his staff. There is considerable speculation that Napoleon seduced Albine, who left the island to give birth. Montholon was executor of Napoleon's will and received a large amount of money from the Emperor. When he left St. Helena he lived the life of a spendthrift, but the Bourbon kings were always willing to see that he was solvent. He helped Louis-Napoleon attempt to gain power in 1840 and was jailed for his effort. He eventually was freed and served in the National Assembly. His memoirs of St. Helena are suspect at best, as they are considered by many to be self-serving, if not outright fraudulent.

Montholon might have been a far larger character than once supposed. There is significant evidence that Napoleon was poisoned while in exile on St. Helena. In his will, Napoleon himself claimed that he had been murdered, though he accused the British of being the culprits. The autopsy was conducted under suspicious circumstances, but for more than a hundred years after Napoleon died it was assumed he succumbed to stomach cancer.

That presumption is being sharply questioned by modern historians. Tests of Napoleon's hair have shown suspicious levels of arsenic, which could have been given to Napoleon in his wine. A growing number of historians believe that Montholon was the likely murderer. His control

of Napoleon's wine, his surprising appearance on St. Helena to begin with, his clear benefit from Napoleon's will, and his ties to the Bourbons—who stood the most to gain from Napoleon's death—render him a prime suspect to many such historians.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; St. Helena

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### Montmartre, Action at (30 March 1814)

The final engagement in the campaign of 1814, which led directly to Napoleon's first abdication. The unsuccessful defense of Paris against the Allied armies caused the marshals to refuse to fight any longer.

During the campaign of 1814 in France, Napoleon regained his skill at outmaneuvering the Allied armies. Although heavily outnumbered, he was able to keep them at bay for some time. On 20 March he failed to turn back their march on Paris at the Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube. Recognizing that his forces were too weak to face the Allies directly, Napoleon planned to mass his available forces and attack the Allied supply lines. As long as Paris could hold out against the Allies, the strategy could force them to retreat. While he marched east, Napoleon sent marshals Auguste de Marmont and Adolphe Mortier with their weak corps to defend Paris.

Marmont and Mortier were defeated on 25 March by the Allies at La-Fère-Champenoise and retreated directly to Paris. The marshals collected the few men available, many of whom were veterans who were recovering from wounds. Another 6,000 were National Guardsmen who volunteered to join the regulars. Muskets were in short supply, and some Guardsmen were armed only with pikes. Some civilians also joined in, but the total numbered fewer than 25,000. Fewer than 100 guns were also available. Overall command rested upon Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother. In contrast, the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces totaled around 110,000 men. Another 10,000 cavalry had been detached to harass and mislead Napoleon. The Allies made their way

down the river Marne and approached Paris from the north.

The capital's defenses had been allowed to crumble, with Joseph comprehensively failing to restore them to an adequate state. The most important defensive positions were natural formations, especially the knoll at Montmartre. Recognizing this point as the key to the city's defense, Joseph set up his command post there on 30 March.

Fighting broke out along the entire northern side of Paris, but the heaviest fighting was at Montmartre. Defended by Mortier's Young Guard, the knoll was the scene of bloody fighting. The French managed to hold their own, with spirited counterattacks launched to recapture lost positions, but Joseph could see that virtually the entire Allied army was present and outnumbered the French by five or six to one. He left around noon after giving Mortier and Marmont permission to surrender Paris if necessary.

Toward the end of the day, Marmont asked for an armistice to negotiate a capitulation. Russian representatives were conducted to Marmont's house where details were hammered out, and at 2:00 A.M. a surrender agreement was signed. The French forces marched through Paris to Fontainebleau, while the Allies were allowed to enter. Losses for the French totaled 4,000 killed and wounded, with another 1,000 captured. Allied losses numbered 6,700 killed and wounded. Although the defense of Paris had been nearly hopeless, it had been conducted with spirit.

At 11:00 A.M. on 31 March the Allied sovereigns entered Paris, while much of the population celebrated. Prince Talleyrand, the foreign minister, had already contacted the Russian tsar, Alexander I, organized a provisional government, and declared Napoleon deposed as Emperor. Furious at news of the surrender of Paris, Napoleon attempted to rally another army to continue the war, but his marshals refused to renew the fight. Discouraged, Napoleon agreed to abdicate, for the first time, on 6 April.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bonaparte, Joseph; France, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; National Guard (French); Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince

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### Montmirail, Battle of (11 February 1814)

Napoleon's victory at the Battle of Montmirail against the Allied forces of General Johann von Yorck and General Fabian Osten-Sacken proved to be the crowning achievement of the Six Days Campaign, as the odds were stacked greatly against the French. The battle was also a turning point for the overall 1814 campaign: Napoleon and his forces gained a great deal of confidence following the victory, and the Allies had been dealt a serious blow. The Battle of Montmirail followed rapidly from the French victory at Champaubert the day before, as part of Napoleon's intention to systematically destroy Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's Army of Silesia before turning to the south to defeat the Army of Bohemia under the command of *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg.

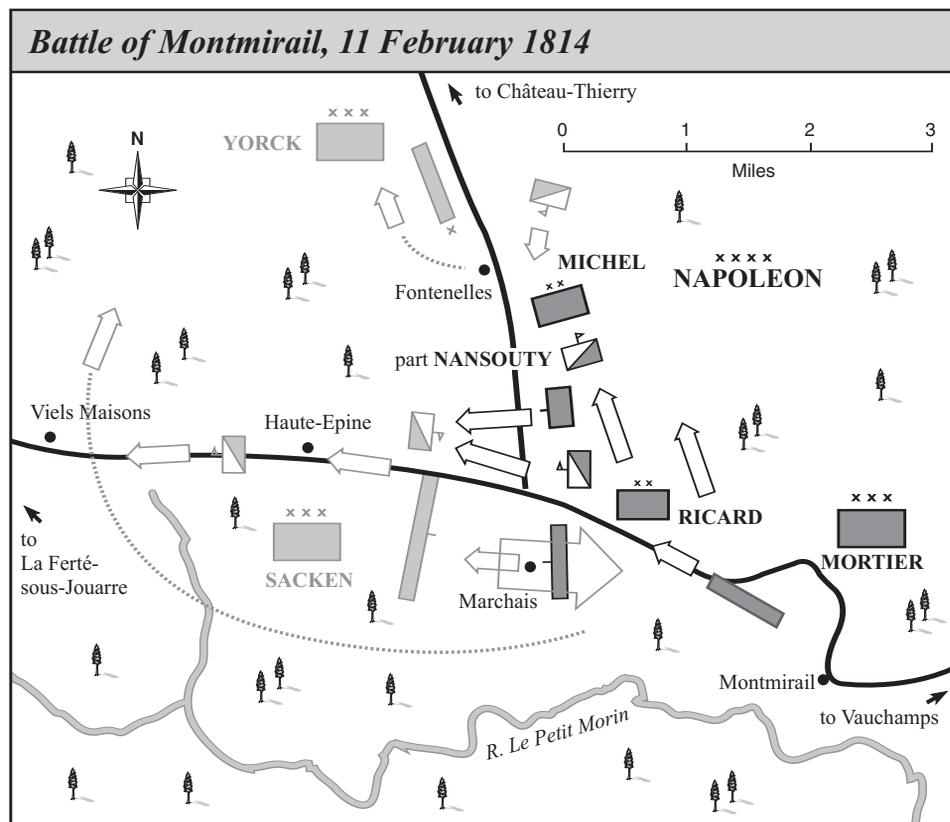
After the defeat of Russian general Zakhar Dmitrievich Olsufiev at Champaubert, the Allied forces were split apart, with Blücher turning east toward Châlons, and generals Yorck and Osten-Sacken in the west near Château-Thierry and Trilport, respectively. Leaving Marshal Auguste de Marmont's troops to hold Blücher, Napoleon took the bulk of his forces and pushed on to Montmirail. He called on Marshal Jacques Macdonald to recapture Château-Thierry (where Yorck was headed) to

prevent the Allies from gaining a bridge over the Marne, and he placed marshals Nicolas Oudinot and Adolphe Mortier at the ready to the south of the main position for additional support.

Instead of following Yorck toward Château-Thierry, Osten-Sacken persisted in advancing east to Montmirail, and by so doing kept the Allied forces separated. At first glance this would not seem to be much of a problem: The Allies outnumbered the French nearly two to one, and Napoleon himself was not certain of victory. On the morning of the eleventh, Osten-Sacken sent his troops in several waves along the main road to Montmirail, trying to break through Napoleon's lines. The French divisions under General Etienne Pierre Ricard defended their position but slowly were forced back toward Montmirail. Both Osten-Sacken and Napoleon were expecting reinforcements on the field: Napoleon had sent part of his troops toward Château-Thierry to observe the arrival of Yorck's troops, even as he hoped that his own reserve from Mortier would arrive first.

Although Yorck's advance guard neared the battlefield well before Mortier's, his cautious approach gave Napoleon the advantage. Of Yorck's 18,000 men, only 3,000 were put in the field, which evened up the numerical disadvantage for the French. Parity of strength increased when Mortier arrived, giving Napoleon the opportunity to turn to the offensive. As Mortier feinted a frontal attack on Osten-Sacken's troops, Napoleon swung his forces around the right flank, effectively cutting off Osten-Sacken's left flank. Although Yorck committed additional troops against Napoleon, they were unable to do more than protect the retreat of Osten-Sacken's forces and prevent a total rout. By the end of the day, the Allies had lost 4,000 troops to French losses of 2,000, and Napoleon's victory seemed certain. The Allies were rapidly retreating toward Château-Thierry, and Blücher ordered a general retreat to Rheims.

French success in this battle changed the tenor of the 1814 campaign. Napoleon regained his confidence both in his forces and his abilities,



Adapted from Chandler 1999, 287.

and in dispatches back to Paris he exaggerated the extent of his success in order to increase morale in the capital. In the wake of the battle Napoleon sent his troops along the road to Château-Thierry, pursuing the retreating Allied forces in an effort to knock them out of the campaign altogether. Although Napoleon was perhaps overconfident when he claimed that he had destroyed the whole of the Army of Silesia, victory at Montmirail was followed by subsequent victories at Château-Thierry, Vauchamps, and Montereau, clearly indicating that he had regained the advantage, if only for a few more weeks. Eventually, however, the total numerical superiority and combined strength of the Allied forces would prove impossible to overcome.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Montereau, Battle of; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Six Days Campaign; Vauchamps, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Moore, Sir John (1761–1809)

A British general and key player in the Peninsular War. As commander of the British forces in Spain, Moore presided over the complex and difficult retreat to Corunna (La Coruña) in 1809. Moore also experimented with light infantry tactics and trained soldiers in their techniques.

Born 13 November 1761 in Glasgow, Moore insisted even as a child that he would become a soldier. Toward this end, the young Moore practiced firing exercises and undertook the study of military strategy and tactics. His efforts were rewarded in 1776 when the Duke of Hamilton helped him obtain an ensigncy. By 1778 Moore was promoted to captain lieutenant and sent to fight in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). He remained in America until peace was concluded in 1783, whereupon he returned to Britain.

His regiment having been disbanded upon the conclusion of the war, Moore sought a seat in Parliament in 1784.



Lieutenant General Sir John Moore introduced important reforms for the training of light infantry and later led British forces in Spain in 1808–1809. (Engraving by H. Wolf after Mezzotint from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

He represented the united Scottish boroughs of Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles, and Linlithgow for three years and earned the respect and admiration of his fellow parliamentarians. Among those who developed a respect for Moore were William Pitt, Edmund Burke, and the king's son, Frederick Augustus, the future Duke of York. In 1787 Moore was reinstated in the army and promoted to major. In 1792 he and his troops set sail for the Mediterranean.

Moore took part in the British-backed conquest of Corsica by Paoli in 1794. He was wounded at the taking of Calvi, where he distinguished himself with his bravery, and was soon promoted to adjutant general and assumed more duties on the island. As he spent time among the patriot leaders, Moore developed a deep respect and admiration for and became close friends with many of them. Moore's superiors felt that this level of intimacy was inappropriate, and Moore was ordered to leave the island. His new assignment was to be in the West Indies.

While on tour in the West Indies, Moore attained the local rank of brigadier general. He quickly became a valued friend and asset to his commander, Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby. Moore distinguished himself again during the expedition to St. Lucia and in his role in the

captures of the French-held positions at Vigie and Morne Fortuné. So highly was Moore thought of that when Abercromby left the island he appointed Moore as governor and military commander. Yet Moore had not seen the last of Abercromby, for his friend would soon call upon him once again.

Moore remained at his post until 1798, when he was promoted to major general and sent to Ireland to assist Abercromby during the rebellion there. While in command of a large corps, Moore saved Wexford from destruction at the hands of a large Irish force at the Battle of Vinegar Hill. From this moment forward, Moore's abilities were highly sought after. His luck was temporarily set back when he was sent to Holland in 1799. At Egmond aan Zee (known in Britain as Egmont op Zee) on 2 October Moore's brigade suffered a terrible defeat, and he himself was wounded quite seriously. Although he lost, Moore and his troops had performed well. Moore was made colonel of the 52nd Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry), of which he remained for the rest of his life. The 52nd became known as one of the best regiments on the Continent and was praised by both Allied and enemy forces.

Moore next saw service in Egypt in 1801. He himself commanded the reserve forces throughout the expedition. Both he and his troops fought ferociously at the Battle of Alexandria, where Moore's brilliant leadership and tactics were a deciding factor in the British victory there. With the French in Egypt soundly defeated, Moore was given command of the forces at Shorncliffe Camp in Kent. These forces were designed to resist what was thought to be an impending French invasion. Upon his return to Britain he received both a knighthood and a promotion to lieutenant general. Between 1806 and 1808 Moore participated in a series of campaigns.

Moore was given command of British forces in Sicily until 1807, when he was dispatched to the Baltic in order to assist King Gustavus IV of Sweden. Sweden was threatened with numerous attacks from Denmark, France, and Russia. Moore quickly discovered that the Swedish monarch would not allow him a free hand in the command of his troops, was shocked to learn that Gustavus had little interest in purely defensive operations and that he instead wished to embark on various military conquests. Among other things, Gustavus wished Moore to join him in a conquest of Zealand. When Moore explained that this was impossible, the king suggested that the British forces land alone in Finland, where they could confront Russian troops there. Moore explained that this would result in overwhelming odds against his small contingent. Gustavus grew impatient with Moore and had him arrested. Luckily, Moore was able to escape in disguise and return to Britain. Yet even before he could land, Moore was dispatched to

Portugal in order to assist the Spanish in their resistance against the occupying French forces.

When he first arrived in Portugal, Moore was under the command of two senior officers. But when one of these was recalled and the other resigned, Moore was left as commander in chief of the army. Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state for war, officially confirmed this rank on 25 September 1808. Castlereagh's orders stipulated that Moore's army was to consist of no less than 35,000 men and that he was to employ them in the assistance of the Spanish Patriots. An additional 15,000 troops were to rendezvous with Moore's main force by way of Corunna, on the northwest coast of Spain.

Moore found his army in a sorry state, lacking equipment and supplies. In addition to these difficulties, he found the local authorities to be less cooperative than he had expected. Like many British officers, Moore had heard stories of the noble Spanish Patriots who would stop at nothing to defend their homeland from the French invaders. Instead, he discovered that the local merchants and authorities often treated him with contempt and charged him a high price for any goods that his army required. His promissory notes were often refused, the merchants demanding payment in full. Strategic intelligence was also difficult to gather, the locals being of little help in describing the nature of the road networks and terrain. Moore was thus forced to dispatch small groups of his own officers in order to determine where certain roads led and what kind of terrain lay in his path. This logistical nightmare frustrated Moore, who was repeatedly forced to revise his timetables.

When the French army marched toward Madrid, Moore resolved to have all his forces rendezvous at Salamanca. He stationed himself here for almost a month before his troops came together and were organized. Most notably, Moore ordered the absorption of Lieutenant General Sir David Baird's troops, which were situated at Corunna. After many trials, Moore had finally fashioned himself a force capable of taking on the French army.

He did so with initial success. The French had encountered little in the way of Spanish governmental resistance, as local magistrates often stepped aside with the arrival of enemy forces. This frustrated Moore, since these same authorities had often professed their determination to defend their country. The authorities of Toledo, for example, had drafted a declaration of patriotism in which they vowed to defend their city against the invaders. Delighted with the prospect of local support, Moore had his officers develop defensive strategies in conjunction with the local authorities. Yet when the French army arrived, Spanish officials promptly stepped aside, leaving Moore unaided. On 12 December 1808 Moore's forces encountered French forces

in Spain for the first time. A party of the 18th Light Dragoons came upon a group of French cavalry and infantry at Reveda, a small village, where the British killed or captured the entire enemy force.

Upon his arrival at Salamanca Moore was disheartened to learn that Napoleon's forces had defeated the Spanish and were now in Burgos, a destination Moore himself had contemplated. Shortly thereafter, the advancing French were in Madrid and the British army found itself vastly outnumbered. Despite engaging his opponents at Valladolid, Moore realized that a retreat was necessary, and thus his forces began what would prove a horrific retreat to Corunna, where they could be evacuated by a Royal Navy squadron. Napoleon left Marshal Nicolas Soult in pursuit of the British, who engaged the rear guard several times. Indeed, Moore's attempt to hold off the French was skillfully executed, particularly at Benevente and Lugo. His forces finally reached the port of Corunna on 11 January 1809, but the transports were nowhere to be seen. It would be another four days before they arrived. In the meantime Moore was forced to beat back a French attack upon the village of Elvina. The defense was a success, but Moore himself was fatally wounded when a round shot (cannonball) carried away his left shoulder and collarbone. He was taken to the rear and attended to by surgeons, but he did not live through the night. His men buried him on the city ramparts before they embarked for home.

Moore's death caused quite a sensation throughout Britain. Parliament passed a special motion of thanks to his army, and a monument to his memory was constructed in St. Paul's Cathedral. In addition, his native city of Glasgow erected a memorial statue in his honor. Today, much debate surrounds the nature of Moore's true contribution to the war effort—for although he diverted the French from concentrating on the vulnerable Spanish forces during the Corunna campaign, he himself suffered heavy losses and had to evacuate the wreck of his army—but his career undoubtedly encompasses one of the most difficult retreats under hostile conditions ever recorded.

*Gordon Stienburg*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Alexandria, Battle of; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Corsica; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Gustavus IV, King; Irish Rebellion; Middle East Campaign; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Peninsular War; Pitt, William; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; West Indies, Operations in the; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Moreau, Jean Victor (1763–1813)

For a century following his conviction for treason in 1804, General Jean Victor Moreau was variously vilified or deified. Today, the man once viewed as Bonaparte's chief military and political rival is little known. Although often described as aloof and imperious, Moreau was immensely popular. The French public cheered his victories, his troops adored him for his solicitude, and even his opponents praised his humanity. In 1800 the Tribunate proposed the anniversary of his recent victory at Hohenlinden as a new national holiday. Scant years later, he was humiliated and exiled. His return to Europe in 1813 to fight on the side of the Allies cost him his life and much of his remaining reputation.

Moreau was the exception that embodied the myth of the Revolutionary general officer: an inexperienced provincial civilian, elected to high rank, which he managed to sustain and justify by his performance. Born into a prosperous Breton family, he inclined toward the military but studied law. In 1789 he founded an artillery company in the National Guard, and by 1791 he was a lieutenant colonel of Volunteers. Successful campaigns in the Low Countries led to promotion to *général de division* by 1794, and in 1795 he succeeded General Jean-Charles Pichegru as commander of the Armée du Nord.

Although Moreau managed to serve with distinction under both the Jacobin and Thermidorian regimes (known collectively as the Convention), his performance under the Directory and Consulate propelled him to fame but also confronted him with new political dangers. His major campaigns were fated to unfold in tandem with those of Bonaparte, and whether they proved successful or otherwise they always seemed to detract from the luster of his younger comrade.

In 1796 the main blow against Austria was to occur in the north, while Bonaparte tied down the enemy in Italy. The Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse, under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, and that of the Rhin-et-Moselle, under

Moreau (replacing Pichegru) advanced swiftly into Germany, but the brilliant Austrian commander Archduke Charles exploited French errors, defeating Jourdan twice. Moreau thereupon conducted a superb fighting withdrawal through forests and mountains, scoring several victories.

Again in 1797 Moreau drove into Germany, until the preliminary Peace of Leoben halted his advance. His failure to promptly report captured evidence of Pichegru's treason led to his dismissal in September. Recalled to service in 1799 in response to Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov's offensive, he served with mixed results, replacing General Barthélemy Schérer and then General Barthélemy Joubert as commander of the Armée d'Italie. Upon his return to Paris, he proved not to be the "sword" Emmanuel Sieyès, one of the five members of the Directory, was seeking, but he aided Bonaparte's coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) by winning the support of other officers and arresting two of the Directors.

In 1800, as in 1796, a decisive blow against Austria depended on close cooperation between the armies in Germany and Italy. Bonaparte blamed Moreau's temporizing for the revision and only partial success of the plan. Once again Bonaparte attracted the attention of the world in Italy as a result of the Battle of Marengo, but Moreau's victory at Hohenlinden won the war, the public's acclaim, and the enduring enmity of the First Consul.

The dislike was mutual. Awarded the Legion of Honor, Moreau responded by publicly decorating his dog and cook. His unconcealed disaffection and the machinations of his ambitious wife allowed rightists to build hopes around the dedicated Republican. Under the pretext of a reconciliation with Pichegru, royalist agents sought Moreau's help in overthrowing Bonaparte and restoring the monarchy in 1804. He rebuffed them but declined to report the incident, and so was indicted along with the conspirators (Joseph Fouché, the minister of police, it now seems, tried to exculpate rather than implicate him). The evidence was thin, the public was sympathetic, and Bonaparte barely managed to force a conviction. When the two-year sentence was converted into banishment for life, Moreau retired to Morrisville, Pennsylvania.

Although he admired American institutions and was offered command of the U.S. Army in 1812, he chose instead to serve as military adviser to Tsar Alexander I, whom he viewed as a reformer. While the two men were inspecting an Allied battery at the Battle of Dresden on 27 August 1813 a French round shot (cannonball) shattered Moreau's left leg; he died on 2 September.

Although Moreau did not invent the corps system, he was among the first to appreciate and effectively employ it. Following Bonaparte, many charge Moreau at least with

excessive caution, whereas contemporaries praised him for his deliberateness and conceptual grasp. Indeed, they likened him to Xenophon, waxing more enthusiastic about his masterful retreat than the advance that preceded it. The only consensus seems to be that Moreau maneuvered far more adeptly on the battlefield than in the corridors of power.

He remains that blank slate upon which partisans inscribe their biases: For Bonapartists, he is the consummate climber whose failings of talent and character serve only to highlight the virtues of their hero. Rightists claim Moreau as the "decent" revolutionary whose switch to the Allied side in fact delegitimizes the Revolution. For some democrats, Moreau represents a nostalgic fantasy: a man of principle who could have plotted a course between revolutionary idealism and caesarism.

Moreau's enigmatic character and tragic fall have inspired a number of sympathetic German literary treatments, including the short prose narratives, "Moreau, Roman eines Soldaten" (1916) by Klabund (pseudonym of Alfred Henschke); "Der Tod des Generals Moreau" (1939), by Willy Bredel; and most recently, the novel *Moreau, ou, La Gloire Perdue* (2002) by Madeleine Lassère.

James Wald

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Corps System; Directory, The; Dresden, Battle of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Höchstädt, Battle of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jacobins; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Marengo, Battle of; National Guard (French); Novi, Battle of; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich  
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## Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph (1768–1835)

The scion of a privileged family, Mortier served in the armies of Revolutionary France and the Napoleonic era in theaters including eastern France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and Russia. He was also the only one of Napoleon's marshals to speak and write English. Elevated to the position of marshal in 1804, Mortier was a solid, popular battlefield commander. He was sometimes derided as less intelligent than many of his peers; a pun on his name led some to remark that he was a "big mortar" with "a short range." But Mortier exuded calm in military emergencies, and Napoleon found him a reliable subordinate.

Mortier rallied to Napoleon in the spring of 1815 and temporarily fell afoul of Napoleon's Bourbon successors. Nonetheless, he went on to a distinguished political career in the years between 1816 and 1835. The old general died violently in 1835, the victim of an assassination attempt against King Louis-Philippe.

Mortier was born on 13 February 1768 at Cateau-Cambrésis, in northeastern France. His father was a prosperous merchant, landowner, and prominent member of the community; his mother was an Englishwoman. The young Mortier received a solid education at the English College in Douai, then began a career in a merchant's office at Lille. His family felt the impact of 1789 in several ways. The elder Mortier was elected a delegate to the Estates-General in Paris, and Adolphe joined the National Guard. Chosen in September 1791 by his comrades to be a captain in a locally raised unit of volunteers, Mortier spent the next years campaigning along France's eastern border. He saw action at the most important battles of 1792–1794: Jemappes, Neerwinden, Hondschoote, Wattignies, and Fleurus. The young officer developed a solid reputation for his leadership in combat, and he formed a lasting association with another future marshal, Nicolas Soult. In June 1795 Mortier became a colonel, at the age of twenty-seven. Three years later, after a series of campaigns in Germany, he was elevated to the rank of *général de brigade*.

During General André Masséna's defense of Switzerland in 1799, Mortier served as a division commander under the distinguished French commander, playing an important role in the second Battle of Zürich in late September and October. In May 1803, now a *général de division*, Mortier distinguished himself in Bonaparte's eyes. Upon the outbreak of war following the Peace of Amiens, Mortier skillfully led a French army that eventually numbered 38,000 men to seize the electorate of Hanover, the only British possession on the European continent. A year later, the Emperor rewarded him with the title of marshal,

making Mortier one of the youngest of France's generals to receive this honor.

Mortier's battlefield skills were put to a harsh test in November 1805, as the Grande Armée swept eastward along the Danube toward Vienna. Now commander of a newly organized and widely dispersed army corps, Mortier found himself in a perilous position with only a single division available to him on the northern bank of the river at Dürnstein on 11 November. Neither Marshal Joachim Murat, in charge of the advance eastward, nor Napoleon had taken precautions against an enemy counterattack here. Mortier's mission was to guard the French northern flank and to threaten the Russian line of communications. But the energetic Russian commander, General Mikhail Kutuzov, led his forces northward across the Danube at Krems. With the bulk of the French army south of the Danube, Mortier's small force of 5,000 suddenly confronted eight times their number of Russian troops. A boat was available to take Mortier to safety, but he chose to remain and lead his embattled men. Encircled, the French fought off attacks from all sides, but Mortier's losses numbered more than 60 percent of the troops under his command. Nonetheless, the gallant marshal defended his position from early morning until late afternoon, then led a bayonet charge that enabled his division to fight its way out of the trap.

The following year, in the Jena campaign, Mortier led VIII Corps in western Germany supporting Napoleon's advance farther eastward through the Thuringian Forest. His mission, of a sort Napoleon would give only to a trusted lieutenant, was to protect French territory from attack and to threaten the Prussians with invasion if their king, Frederick William III, chose to enter the war. Mortier's corps struck eastward from Frankfurt. After occupying Hesse-Cassel and Hanover, it marched northward to seize the city of Hamburg and moved on into Mecklenburg.

In the spring of 1807 Mortier's corps assisted in the siege of Danzig (now Gdansk, in Poland), then rushed southward to play a leading role at the Battle of Friedland on 14 June. Mortier arrived in midmorning, just as Russian attacks were threatening to smash the left wing of Marshal Jean Lannes's battle line. With his multinational VIII Corps, including French, Polish, and Dutch troops, Mortier held back superior Russian forces throughout the morning of the battle. Once reinforcements had arrived, Mortier and Lannes stormed the Russian defenses as the French drove the enemy from the field. Rewards came in lavish form. Mortier was soon appointed the governor of Silesia and, the following year, he received the title of duc de Trévise with a generous yearly stipend.

Mortier spent the next years campaigning in Spain, often under the command of his old friend Soult. In a

theater of operations in which most French generals saw their reputations tainted, Mortier became conspicuous as the marshal who never suffered a defeat. He participated in the siege of Saragossa in early 1808 and nearly caught up with Viscount Wellington as Anglo-Portuguese forces retreated westward after the Battle of Talavera in the summer of 1809. In November of that year he fought at Ocaña, where he was slightly wounded by grapeshot in the arm. He also took part in Soult's invasion of Andalusia in January 1810. Although he failed to take the key border fortress of Badajoz the following month, Mortier returned a year later to capture the city in March 1811. Before the siege had brought results, Mortier defeated a powerful Spanish army bent on relieving the city. In the most one-sided battle of the Peninsular campaign, fought on the Gebora River, the advancing Spanish lost 5,000 men, out of a total force 12,400, to Mortier's approximately 400 casualties.

Mortier's success at Badajoz came at a heavy cost. In the muddled command arrangements that characterized French operations in Spain, Masséna, Mortier's old superior officer in Switzerland, had been led to expect crucial help from his former division commander. Moving into Portugal to take Lisbon in the summer of 1810, Masséna had expected Mortier as well as Soult to support his advance with a push farther south. But instructions from Napoleon's chief of staff, Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier, had never assigned such tasks clearly and decisively. When Masséna required assistance, Mortier was busy with the less crucial operation at Badajoz.

Mortier grew disgusted with the inconclusive campaign in Spain and requested to be relieved. Returning to France in the summer of 1811, he raised and trained Napoleon's Young Guard. He then led this force of almost 18,000 men into Russia in June 1812 as Napoleon struck eastward across the Niemen River. Once the Grande Armée had reached Moscow on 14 September, Mortier was given the difficult job of governing the city. When Napoleon abandoned the former Russian capital on 19 October, Mortier and some 8,000 men were ordered to remain for another four days.

The veteran marshal reluctantly obeyed Napoleon's command to blow up much of the center of Moscow, including the Kremlin, although wet weather prevented many of the demolition charges from going off, and the overall damage was limited. Mortier then received another difficult task: Napoleon assigned him to guard the rear of the departing army. In the final stage of the retreat, Mortier's Young Guard helped secure the French bridgehead on the western bank of the Berezina River so enabling the remnants of the Grande Armée to escape to safety.

In 1813 Mortier reconstituted the Young Guard, which by late summer reached a strength of 32,000 men organized in four divisions. While still only one division strong

during that spring, the Young Guard under Mortier's direction played a key role in the victories at Lützen and Bautzen. Following the summer armistice, the Young Guard distinguished itself once again at the Battle of Dresden in late August. Mortier's men crushed the Austro-Russian right flank and helped to force the Allies into a hasty withdrawal. With two divisions, Mortier fought at Leipzig in October, and, following the French defeat, led his troops safely all the way back to the Rhine.

Mortier fought with his usual skill and determination in the defense of French territory during the spring of 1814. Driven back to the outskirts of Paris, Mortier with 6,500 men temporarily fought off Russian and Prussian forces that outnumbered them almost five to one. The veteran general offered to go on with the war for Napoleon even after Marshal Auguste de Marmont had surrendered Paris to the enemy. Napoleon himself informed Mortier that the fighting was now at an end.

The restored Bourbon monarchy honored Mortier by naming him a peer of France and giving him command of an army division at Lille. The return of Napoleon in 1815 presented Mortier with a particular dilemma since the Bourbon monarch, Louis XVIII, was escaping France using a route through the commander's area of responsibility. Mortier escorted the fleeing monarch to the Belgian border and delayed declaring for Napoleon until the king had made his escape. He also permitted the members of his staff to choose to support whichever side their consciences dictated.

Mortier seemed destined to play a major role in Napoleon's Waterloo campaign. A few days before the French army moved into Belgium, he was assigned to lead the Imperial Guard cavalry, and Napoleon might have intended to put Mortier into his old position as commander of the Young Guard. However, an attack of sciatica four days before the climactic battle disabled the general so severely that he could not mount a horse. Thus, the battle that decided Napoleon's future took place in his absence.

Supporting the former emperor in March 1815 cost Mortier his title as well as the temporary loss of military command. He soon received his division back, however, and the famous general turned successfully to the world of electoral politics. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the fall of 1816, and his position as an honored member of the Bourbon political world was confirmed by his participation in the coronation ceremonies for King Charles X in 1825.

Mortier's political career included service under King Louis-Philippe as the French ambassador to Russia in the early years of the 1830s, and, in 1834–1835, he served briefly as president of the council and minister of war. A figure of Mortier's eminence could have reasonably expected to retire to a peaceful old age, but instead he fell victim to an act of

political violence. During a military review attended by Louis-Philippe on 28 July 1835, an attempt on the king's life failed, but the volley of gunfire killed Mortier instantly.

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*See also* Armistice of 1813; Badajoz, First Siege of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Dresden, Battle of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Hanover; Hondschoote, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Jemappes, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lützen, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Montmartre, Action at; Moscow, Occupation of; Murat, Joachim; National Guard (French); Neerwinden, Battle of; Ocaña, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Saragossa, Sieges of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Switzerland, Campaign in; Talavera, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Waterloo Campaign; Wattignies, Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Moscow, Occupation of (15 September–19 October 1812)

After his victory at Borodino on 7 September 1812 Napoleon moved his Grande Armée toward Moscow, in pursuit of the Russian army commanded by General Mikhail Kutuzov. The

Russian army evaded the French by leaving Moscow unprotected. This was a significant prize, so the French moved to take the city, Marshal Joachim Murat's advance guard actually entering Moscow as the Russian rear guard was leaving. Both sides felt that the war was essentially over, so they declined combat. Napoleon, who entered Moscow on 15 September, had expected to be greeted by the city's nobles. Instead, the place was virtually deserted, with only a few thousand inhabitants remaining, including many prostitutes and recently released criminals. The Russian governor of the city, Count Fyodor Vasilievich Rostopchin, had left orders to destroy everything that could be useful to the French.

The entry soon turned into chaos, as hungry French and Allied soldiers attempted to find food and shelter. Napoleon moved into the great fortress known as the Kremlin and began to make plans to properly billet his troops, appointing Marshal Adolphe Mortier governor of the city. That night, however, the Russians put the torch to their own city. Concerns for his safety led Napoleon to temporarily leave the city, and he watched the city burn from a nearby hillside. The fire raged through the night, the Russians having evacuated all firefighting equipment, and though the line between saving things and looting them



Napoleon watching Moscow burn. Almost certainly the deliberate work of Russian incendiaries, the destruction of much of the city added to the mounting travails of the invaders. (Print by W. Wereschtschagin from *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* by Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 1913)

was often difficult to discern, in the end the French managed to save about 20 percent of the city.

Napoleon sent messages suggesting that they negotiate a peace settlement to Tsar Alexander, who was in his capital of St. Petersburg, a two-week round trip for couriers. The tsar chose not to respond to any of Napoleon's proposals. Kutuzov also declined to respond to any French overtures.

Napoleon had to decide whether to stay in Moscow for the winter or move back along his lines of communication to a more favorable location, perhaps Smolensk or Poland. The fires had destroyed much of the city, but there were plenty of provisions for the troops, adequate shelter, and the Kremlin was completely untouched. The city was defensible, and the spring would bring with it new opportunities. On the other hand, their supply lines were increasingly vulnerable, and the Emperor's long absence from Paris had potentially serious political risks. Even so, staying was a viable option that was supported by Pierre Bruno, comte Daru, his trusted adviser, and for a while it seemed as though Napoleon might do exactly that. Other advisers argued differently, though, and Napoleon soon began to plan to return to Smolensk, where his lines of communication would be shorter and he could rejoin the soldiers he had left along the way, including the garrison at Smolensk.

In spite of an obvious need to move before the onset of winter, Napoleon continued to delay. When Murat's cavalry, weakened by miserable living conditions outside of Moscow, was beaten in a skirmish on 18 October, Napoleon finally gave the order to move. The next day, the nineteenth, thirty-five days after it entered the city, Napoleon's army began its long march home.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Borodino, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Russian Campaign

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## Mösskirch, Battle of

*See* Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800)

## Mount Tabor, Battle of (16 April 1799)

Battle between French and Ottoman forces near Mount Tabor (present-day northern Israel) during Bonaparte's

campaign in the Middle East. Despite his quick conquest of Egypt, Bonaparte found himself isolated from France following the British triumph at the Battle of the Nile on 1 August 1798. The following month, the Ottoman Empire declared war on France and began preparing two large armies for the invasion of Egypt. In this precarious moment, Bonaparte decided to anticipate Ottoman moves and destroy their armies piecemeal, preventing their joint invasion of Egypt.

In late 1798 Bonaparte organized an expeditionary force for the invasion of Syria (now part of Israel, not modern Syria) and left Cairo on 10 February 1799. After taking Gaza on 25 February and Jaffa on 7 March, Bonaparte reached Haifa on the seventeenth and began besieging the stronghold of St. Jean d'Acre (Acco) just across the bay. As the siege of Acre dragged on for weeks, the French faced another danger. The Turkish pashas of Damascus and Aleppo dispatched a large army to attack the French from the rear. On 5 April General Jean Junot's detachment successfully engaged Turkish forces near Nazareth. Four days later, Bonaparte ordered General Jean-Baptiste Kléber to reinforce Junot. Kléber marched off with part of his division (about 2,000 men), and on 11 April he defeated numerically superior Ottoman troops near Cana. As he continued his advance, Kléber encountered the main Ottoman army bivouacked in the Plain of Esdraelon near Mount Tabor.

The Ottoman army of about 25,000–30,000 men enjoyed a numerical superiority of at least fifteen to one, though many of its troops were untrained and inexperienced. Early on 16 April the Ottoman cavalry observed the French troops and surrounded them. Having deployed his squares, Kléber began a fighting retreat, which the French conducted for the next 10 hours. They were soon running out of ammunition, and desperation was about to overcome the troops. Yet, at that dire moment, Bonaparte arrived with part of General Louis André Bon's division and unexpectedly charged the Turks, who fled the battlefield. The victory at Mount Tabor dispersed the Ottoman army and secured Bonaparte's rear and right flank.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Middle East Campaign; Nile, Battle of the

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### Murad Bey (17??–1801)

A prominent Mameluke statesman and military commander, Murad Bey was born to a Georgian peasant family near Tbilisi and was kidnapped at an early age. He was raised as a Mameluke of Muhammad Bey Abu l’Dhahab. After the death of the Mameluke leader, Ali Bey, Murad married his widow Nafisa al-Bayda and inherited enormous wealth. Although the Arab chronicles are overly critical of him, Murad Bey did have some accomplishments, including the establishment of the Cairo arsenal, a flotilla on the river Nile, and reconstruction of the Mosque of Amr Ibn al-Aas. A man of music and of letters, Murad was also excessively proud and ruthless to his enemies. He had no military education but possessed instinctive martial talents.

In the 1770s Murad arrogantly attempted to assassinate Ismail Bey, the khushdash and Mameluke of the former Egyptian ruler Ali Bey. In the ensuing civil war, he was defeated and fled to Upper Egypt. He returned to Cairo in 1777, but his intrigues led to a new factional struggle. In 1778–1781, Murad Bey unsuccessfully fought the *Alawiyya* (Mamelukes of Ali Bey) and had to recognize their authority. However, Murad Bey soon succeeded in forcing his co-ruler, Ibrahim Bey, out of Cairo and seizing power in the country in late 1784. Still, he had to reconcile with Ibrahim Bey, whom he restored as *shaykh al-balad* (literally, “chief of the city,” that is, Cairo; but also signifying the leader of all the beys) in February 1785.

In late 1785 Ibrahim and Murad received Ottoman demands for tribute but refused to comply. On 18 July 1786 Murad Bey failed to contain the Ottoman expeditionary force sent against him, as a result of which the Turks set up a new government in Cairo in August 1786. Murad and Ibrahim Bey withdrew to Upper Egypt, where they resisted Ottoman forces for the next six years. Returning to Cairo in July 1791, Murad Bey continued ruling Egypt for seven years, sharing power with Ibrahim Bey. In 1798 he served as *sari askar* (commander in chief) of the Mameluke forces against the French troops under Bonaparte but was decisively defeated at Shubra Khit on 10–13 July and at Embaba (Inbaba) on 21 July. He rejected Bonaparte’s offer to govern the Girga province and withdrew to Upper Egypt, where he tied down considerable numbers of French forces under General Louis Desaix. Demonstrating notable administrative and military skills, he fought the French to a draw at Sediman (El Lahun) on 7 October 1798 but was defeated at Samhud on 22 January 1799. Neverthe-



Murad Bey. Joint ruler of Egypt during the French expedition of 1798, his Mameluke force failed to stem Bonaparte’s advance at Shubra Khit and the Pyramids. (Unsigned lithograph, 19th c.)

less, his guerrillas constantly harassed the French communication and supply lines.

Concerned about his authority, Murad Bey allied himself with the British and Turks against the French in 1800. Yet he realized the potential dangers of this alliance and abandoned the Ottoman troops on the eve of the Battle of Heliopolis, joining forces with French generals Jean Baptiste Kléber and Jacques-François Menou. Murad Bey died of the plague on his way to Cairo in 1801 and was buried at Sohaj.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Egypt; Heliopolis, Battle of; Ibrahim Bey, Al Kabir Al-Muhammadi; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron; Middle East Campaign; Ottoman Empire; Shubra Khit, Battle of

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### Murat, Joachim (1767–1815)

One of Napoleon’s most senior commanders and his most daring cavalry leader, Murat had a complex association with Napoleon over two decades ending in 1815. He played a key role early in Napoleon’s rise to power by delivering the artillery the young general needed to repress a Parisian mob in 1795. Murat added to his list of political deeds in Napoleon’s favor by intervening at a crucial point during the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799), to ensure Napoleon’s success. Moreover, Murat developed a personal tie to the French commander by marrying his sister, Caroline.

Murat began to build his battlefield reputation when he accompanied Napoleon to Italy and Egypt. Napoleon came to rely on Murat’s cavalry to perform the mounted arm’s traditional function of leading the advance of the army and scouting out enemy forces. Murat became the ideal instrument for Napoleon’s aggressive style of warfare. In the aftermath of battles like Jena (14 October 1806), Murat’s troopers hunted down and decimated the remnants of the defeated army. At the Battle of Eylau (14 February 1807), Murat’s charge with the cavalry reserve of the Grande Armée saved the day for the Emperor. Moreover, Murat’s wild courage on the battlefield stood as a hallmark of Napoleon’s operations.

Following his role in bringing French forces into Spain in early 1808, Murat repressed the ensuing Madrid insurgency and departed for Naples, where he replaced Napoleon’s brother Joseph as monarch. He returned to fight under Napoleon in the Russian campaign of 1812 and the campaign in Germany of the next year, but his role as an independent monarch, combined with the influence of his politically ambitious wife, clouded his relationship with the French emperor. As a result of the failed invasion of Russia, Murat had developed doubts about Napoleon’s eventual fate and moved, from the start of 1813, to establish ties with Austria and Britain, the Emperor’s most adamant opponents. As unsophisticated politically as he was courageous on the battlefield, Murat found it impossible to maneuver effectively in this dangerous international environment. Uncertain where to place his loyalties, he betrayed Napoleon in 1814, then rallied to the restored Emperor in 1815. He ended up losing his throne in Naples and dying at the hands of a Neapolitan firing squad.

Joachim Murat was born on 26 March 1767, at La Bastide in Gascony. The son of an innkeeper who also worked as a land agent for a local aristocratic family, Murat found himself pointed by his family toward the priesthood. He showed no inclination to accept this profession, and just before he turned twenty, while studying at a nearby seminary, he enlisted in the army of Louis XVI and served for two years in the cavalry.

After the outbreak of the Revolution, Murat joined the National Guard, then returned to his old regiment. He rose steadily in rank during the years after he received a commission as a lieutenant in 1792. By the fall of 1795 he was a major in a cavalry regiment stationed in Paris. The opportunity to move toward military eminence came by chance. The Directory, the new executive body governing France, faced a popular challenge to its authority. Its efforts to rig France’s constitution to maintain many of its supporters in the French Convention (or legislature) roused mass opposition, and opponents were gathering in the streets of Paris to confront the new government. The young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was given the task of opposing the mob, but, with only 5,000 troops at his disposal, he knew he needed masses of artillery to be successful. In the early hours of 5 October he sought a cavalry leader to seize the National Guard artillery depot at Sablons in the suburbs of Paris. Murat took the assignment, and, at 6:00 A.M. that morning returned to Bonaparte with forty field pieces. These were the weapons that Bonaparte employed to disperse the mob with the famous “whiff of grapeshot,” in which an estimated 300 Parisians were killed or wounded.

A grateful Bonaparte permitted Murat to assume a position on his staff when the young general was ordered to command the (French) Army of Italy in the spring of 1796. Now promoted to the rank of colonel with the position of aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, Murat had his first great opportunity to shine on the battlefield. At Dego, on 14 April, Murat led the first of the cavalry charges that made him famous. In numerous encounters, sometimes leading cavalry units, sometimes at the head of infantry, he demonstrated his courage and élan. After the defeat of Piedmont, Murat had the honor of bringing the captured enemy banners and armistice terms to the Directory back in Paris. With the close of the campaign in early 1797, Murat had reached the rank of *général de brigade*.

Another reward for Murat’s performance in Italy was an invitation to join the inner circle of Bonaparte’s officers who accompanied the ambitious young general to Egypt in the spring of 1798. Here Murat’s exploits featured his battlefield triumph at Aboukir in July 1799. Confronting a Turkish army that had just landed on the Egyptian coast, Murat recognized that the Turks had dangerously weakened the center of their line. He led his cavalry in a charge,



Marshal Murat, the most famous of many daring and charismatic French cavalry commanders of the era, leads a charge at the Battle of Jena, 14 October 1806. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after H. Chartier, 1895 from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 2)

crushing one set of Turkish defenses after another. He capped this success with an improbable but amply recorded exploit: the defeat in single combat and then the capture of the commander of the Turkish army. Bonaparte rewarded him with promotion to *général de division*.

Murat received another sign of Bonaparte's regard for his talents when the latter included him in the small party that accompanied the French general home in the fall of 1799. The daring young cavalry officer again proved his value to Bonaparte by his service during the coup d'état that elevated Bonaparte to the senior position of the French government—First Consul. Murat had been placed in command of the cavalry forces around Paris, and he accompanied Bonaparte to Saint-Cloud to force approval of the coup from France's legislators. When Bonaparte seemed to falter in a fatal manner in confronting the Council of Five Hundred, Murat called in soldiers who dispersed the assembled representatives and saved the day for the future emperor.

By now Murat had a growing personal tie to Bonaparte as his relationship with the First Consul's sister Caroline moved toward a betrothal. The two were married in

January 1800. Soon afterward, Murat again displayed his battlefield panache in leading cavalry units across the Alps and into the north Italian plain. On 14 June he took a significant role in the closing moments of the Battle of Marengo, reversing the earlier success of Bonaparte's adversaries and winning the day for the French.

Murat was designated a marshal on 19 May 1804, in the first list of eminent French soldiers to receive the honor. He also had the distinction of commanding the Paris garrison. But his relationship with Napoleon was frequently stormy. He saw other members of Napoleon's family receive lavish rewards in the form of territory and titles that exceeded what the newly crowned Emperor gave him. When asked to follow Napoleon's orders to arrange a rigged trial for the duc d'Enghien, after the young member of the French royal family had been kidnapped from Baden in western Germany, Murat saw the whole affair as a stain on his honor. He at first refused, then consented only under intense pressure from the Emperor.

But Napoleon continued to rely heavily on Murat's military qualities. In August 1805, in preparation for the

campaign against Austria, Napoleon dispatched Murat in disguise to scout the regions of central and southern Germany where the campaign would be fought. Murat's cavalry then led the way for the Grande Armée as it wheeled eastward from bases on the Rhine to encircle the Austrians under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich at Ulm. But Murat's enthusiastic advance on the south bank of the Danube left General Pierre Dupont's division dangerously isolated on the other side of the river. It was not the only occasion when Murat displayed more daring than judgment. After the success at Ulm, he raced toward Vienna along the southern bank of the Danube, neglecting to cover the army corps of Marshal Adolphe Mortier on the river's northern side. As a result, Mortier came close to disaster when a large portion of the Russian army turned on him.

Along with Marshal Jean Lannes, Murat participated in a brilliant ruse after the French entry into Vienna. Pretending that an armistice had been declared, the two French commanders seized control of a vital and heavily defended bridge across the Danube. But Murat found his triumph here clouded by an example of political ineptitude. Following the fall of Vienna, the cavalry commander was ordered to pursue the fleeing Russians northward. When he encountered the enemy, Murat allowed himself to be ensnared in an armistice—and then to be drawn into full-fledged peace negotiations with the enemy. By the time Napoleon expressed his outrage at Murat's acts in excess of authority, the Russians had made their escape.

Nonetheless, the remaining period of operations against the Third Coalition and successive Napoleonic campaigns gave Murat an opportunity to burnish his reputation as a peerless combat commander. In November and early December 1805 he led the advance guard to Austerlitz. He had an even more spectacular success in the Jena campaign of 1806 against Prussia. Once again, his troopers led the army into enemy territory, but Murat's great achievement was his devastating pursuit and destruction of the vanquished Prussian forces. His cavalry spread throughout northern Germany, and he tracked down and captured Friedrich Ludwig Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (usually abbreviated to Hohenlohe), who commanded the last large remnant of the Prussian army. He then chased down and captured General Gebhard von Blücher, the most energetic leader on the Prussian side and his counterpart as senior cavalry commander.

In the 1807 campaign in Poland, Murat's battlefield aggressiveness appeared at its best. At the Battle of Eylau on 8 February, he led one of history's greatest cavalry charges. As the two armies struggled with each other, the center of the French battle line began to crumble. Murat

led eighty squadrons of cavalry in a ferocious assault that halted the advancing Russians and saved the day.

In late 1807 Murat was appointed the commander of French forces in Spain. Over the course of the next several months, his troops occupied the major cities of northeastern and central Spain as Napoleon pressured the Spanish royal family to abandon their titles and responsibilities. Although Murat sought the position of King of Spain, the role went to Napoleon's brother Joseph. News of the French takeover led to a dramatic uprising of the Madrid population. Murat suppressed the insurgency with efficient brutality, but opposition to the French presence nonetheless spread throughout the country. Murat was fortunate that Napoleon named him to become King of Naples to fill the position formerly held by Joseph. Unlike most other senior figures in the French army, the great cavalry commander was thus able to avoid the frustrations and defeats that came during service in Spain from 1808 through 1813.

Murat took up his duties as the King of Naples in July 1808. He had already been honored with territory and a title when Napoleon named him grand duc de Clèves et de Berg in 1806. But the Kingdom of Naples offered a wider stage than had the small dukedom in northwestern Germany. The new king reformed the Neapolitan military system, recaptured the island of Capri from a British-led force, and planned to reconstitute the old Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by seizing the island of Sicily and joining it to his territory in the south of the Italian mainland. Murat soon discovered that, while he saw himself as an independent crowned head, Napoleon viewed him as little more than a regional governor helping to preserve French hegemony in Europe. Thus, Murat could not acquire French troops to aid his Neapolitans in an expedition against Sicily.

The Russian campaign brought Murat back to Napoleon's side as the leader in a great military undertaking. Once again Murat's cavalry led the way for the Grande Armée and, at Napoleon's direction, they set a murderous pace for the units behind them. Moving rapidly through a desolate part of Europe devoid of forage, Murat's cavalry began to disintegrate, with horses dying from the strain. Other arms of the French force likewise suffered during the advance on Moscow.

When a desperate Napoleon ordered a retreat westward in mid-October, Murat urged Napoleon to take a southerly route back to Smolensk. Napoleon rejected this advice after Russian forces blocked the French at Maloyaroslavets, and, despite Murat's objections, the French retraced their steps over the barren region through which they had invaded. In early December Murat received an unwelcome promotion to de facto commander of the remainder of the Grande Armée. Napoleon had decided to

leave the army at Smorgoni in order to return rapidly to Paris.

The Russian campaign and the accompanying destruction of the Grande Armée convinced Murat that Napoleon's defeat was almost inescapable. Thus, after leading the surviving French forces from Smorgoni westward, Murat shook off his responsibilities and handed over command to Eugène de Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson. Returning to Naples in early 1813, he took the crucial step of opening negotiations with the enemy. Talks with the Austrians and, more indirectly, with the British, continued throughout the year.

Murat's last military service to Napoleon came in the fall of 1813. Napoleon called on the King of Naples to join him in Germany. The Emperor needed experienced senior leaders for his campaign against the potent enemy coalition (the sixth) led by the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians. Moreover, rumors of Murat's possible change of sides had circulated widely, and Napoleon preferred to have the courageous but unpredictable cavalry leader under the imperial eye. From Murat's perspective, Napoleon's victories at Lützen and Bautzen in the spring of 1813 indicated that the Emperor might survive after all, and Murat clearly felt ambivalent about placing himself alongside the enemies of France.

Murat returned to the ranks of the Grande Armée in August 1813, and he fought for Napoleon with his customary skill and enthusiasm throughout the fall campaign at Dresden, Liebertwolkwitz, Leipzig, and elsewhere. After the decisive French defeat at Leipzig, however, Murat became more determined than ever to break with the French emperor. Napoleon's prospects seemed less than promising, and the French leader's determination to go on fighting at all costs threatened disaster for all associated with him. Murat returned to Naples convinced that an agreement with Napoleon's opponents was essential in order for him to maintain his throne in southern Italy. He also developed a wider ambition. Contacts with proponents of Italian unification, as well as the enthusiasm with which he was greeted by throngs of Italians while on his travels, suggested to Murat that he might become the ruler of a new, unified Italian kingdom.

By February 1814 Murat was formally aligned with Napoleon's enemies. As Napoleon fought desperately to defend eastern France, his stepson, Eugène, faced an equally severe challenge in holding northern Italy. While Austrian forces pushed against Eugène from the east, Murat led a Neapolitan army of 30,000 men northward to threaten the French commander from the south. Nonetheless, Murat continued to maneuver recklessly in international affairs. Holding his forces back from combat, the cavalryman-turned-Neapolitan monarch contacted Napo-

leon and thereby brought the wrath of the British government on his head. Napoleon's abdication helped momentarily to restore Murat's position in the Allied coalition. But, as the delegates gathered for the Congress of Vienna, Murat's hold on the throne of Naples was visibly shaky, and his representatives to the Congress were refused a seat at the gathering. Although Austria had been willing to see the Bourbons deposed in Naples in order to win Murat as an ally, the British had never fully accepted such a change.

The final act in the great drama of Murat's career began with Napoleon's return from exile in the spring of 1815. Murat led his forces northward against the Austrians, proclaiming his desire to unite all of Italy. He won an initial victory at the Battle of the Panaro River in early April, then suffered an irretrievable reverse at the subsequent Battle of Tolentino at the start of May. Fleeing to France, Murat was rebuffed when he asked Napoleon for a military command. Although Napoleon would have found good use for a leader like Murat during the Waterloo campaign, the Emperor decided against employing his talents.

Following Napoleon's final defeat, Murat rejected the offer of asylum for himself and his family from the Austrian government. Instead, with a scratch force of 250 men he had raised in Corsica, he hoped to land in southern Italy and regain his throne. A storm scattered his small flotilla, and Murat found himself and a few dozen followers stranded at the small port of Pizzo. Now in the hands of the restored Bourbon rulers of Naples, Murat was quickly condemned by a court-martial. Napoleon's brother-in-law and most daring battlefield lieutenant was executed by firing squad on 13 October 1815.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Joseph; Brumaire, Coup of; Cavalry; Council of Five Hundred; Dego, Battle of; Directory, The; Dresden, Battle of; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); "Italian Independence," War of; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Lannes, Jean; Liebertwolkwitz, Action at; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Lieberich; Madrid Uprising; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Middle East Campaign; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Naples; National Guard (French); Neapolitan Army; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Sicily; Third Coalition, War of the; Tolentino, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo Campaign

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## Musket

During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, from 1792 to 1815, the majority of infantry was armed with smoothbore muskets. This weapon was first invented in the fifteenth century, but it reached the height of its efficiency (such as it was) in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was a powder-and-ball weapon that was relatively easy to load and fire, but was plagued by inaccuracy, owing to the fact that the musket ball was ill-fitting and there was no rifling to impart spin to the projectile in flight. To ensure that the ball was a reasonably close fit in the barrel, it was loaded wrapped in a patch soaked in fat or grease, or, in extremis, in the paper in which the cartridge was supplied. All muskets could accommodate a bayonet, which generally measured approximately fifteen inches long, fastened around the muzzle with a socket so as not to interfere with firing.

The majority of muskets until 1807 (and all military muskets until after the Napoleonic Wars) were fired by flintlock mechanisms, a system that had been developed after the matchlock, wheel-lock, and snaphance systems had been superseded. These earlier methods of firing muskets had served their purpose well, but the flintlock was a great improvement on them. The musket was loaded via the muzzle, for breech loading was still restricted to rare military weapons, such as that tested (though never issued) by Major Patrick Ferguson in 1776. Firing with a flintlock required the powder propellant charge to be poured into the barrel and then for the ball to be rammed down the barrel until it was seated on top of the charge. Ramming was done with an iron rod.

The flintlock mechanism was operated by the trigger, and the hammer was actuated by a spring. So, to load the musket a cartridge had to be torn open. Cartridges at the time were paper wrappers holding one charge of powder and one musket ball. First the powder was poured into the muzzle, and this fell into the chamber by gravity, thus requiring the musket to be loaded in the standing position. Then the ball, perhaps still wrapped in the paper it came in, was forced by the ramrod down the barrel until it came to rest on top of the powder in the chamber. Next the cock was moved to the firing position with the thumb, and the striker plate, or frizen, was pushed forward, exposing the pan. Into the pan was poured a small amount of powder. Pulling the striker plate back covered the pan; the musket was now ready to fire.

The musket had two positions for the hammer, of which one was the firing position, the other half-cock in which the weapon could not be fired. To keep loaded weapons safe on the move, the cock was put in the half-cock position and pulled to the full-cock position when needed. This safety mechanism was of great value, but could also lead to men loading their weapons a second time, forgetting that they had a load already in the barrel. On pulling the trigger with the cock in the firing position the cock was forced forward and the flint it held scraped on the striker, causing sparks that were directed onto the powder in the pan. The flash of this powder was transmitted to the main charge via a small hole between the pan and the chamber. The main charge was fired and the ball forced through the barrel and out of the muzzle.

Musket barrels were made by various gunsmiths, all of whom had their own standards. This meant that infantry weapons, and particularly their calibers, were never standardized, leading to quite large variations in the actual caliber of weapons issued to troops. Bullet molds were issued to troops so that they could make their own ball, and these were all made so that the ball was always smaller than the caliber of the weapon for which it was intended. The ball it-

self was made of lead, and this did have the advantage that it could be relatively easily squeezed into a tight barrel, and in a wider barrel the ramrod could flatten it somewhat to fit at the breach. This meant of course that many such balls were deformed. The result was that accuracy was seriously affected. In short, a perfect round lead ball has few ballistic characteristics, and a deformed one has even fewer.

Infantry of the line used weapons that fired a bullet that was erratic in flight and extremely inaccurate at any but the closest ranges. British tests of accuracy proved that an individual infantryman would be very lucky to hit anything at more than 80 yards, and at 200 yards only mass fire had any hope of being effective. Faced with the problem that individual soldiers could not hope to hit their target with any regularity, the armies at the time decided to continue deploying their troops in line, and firing their muskets en masse. Normally in battle the infantry formed up as a continuous line facing the enemy, the line consisting of two or three ranks, each of which would fire in succession, while those that had fired were reloading.

The British Army, thanks to superior weapon training and drill, formed in only two ranks, with the front rank kneeling. Firing was by company most of the time, to ensure that a heavy weight of fire was directed at the enemy.

Rarely did the whole front rank fire, because of the delay caused by reloading. Every army rehearsed loading and reloading muskets as much as it could afford, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the British Army had spent more time at practice than many of the other European armies. Certainly their rate of fire was higher than other armies, and this, added to their steadfastness in battle, was to their benefit in virtually every battle in which the British fought.

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*See also* British Army; Grand Tactics; Infantry; Rifle  
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# N

## **Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion, comte de (1768–1815)**

Nansouty was one of Napoleon's foremost heavy cavalry leaders. He served in most of the Emperor's battles and earned respect for his deliberate and devastating charges. Although Nansouty was considered by many to be overly cautious, he was a commander who prided himself on taking care of his men.

Nansouty was born in Bordeaux on 30 May 1768 into a noble family. He was sent to the military academy at Brienne in 1782, along with other members of the nobility. He graduated in 1785 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Burgundy cavalry regiment. Despite Nansouty's aristocratic background, the French Revolution opened many opportunities for him. While many other nobles fled the country or were executed, Nansouty advanced rapidly in rank in the expanding French Army. In 1792 he became lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Chasseurs à Cheval. Over the next decade, Nansouty served in the Army of the Rhine. In 1799 he was promoted to *général de brigade* and saw action at Stockach and Memmingen.

Nansouty's career advanced rapidly under Napoleon's rule. In March 1803 he became *général de division*. That year he served under General Adolphe Mortier in the conquest of Hanover. Nansouty then became part of the army at the camp of Boulogne, awaiting the right conditions for an invasion of England. In August 1805 he took command of the newly formed 1st Cuirassier Division, part of Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry corps. Nansouty's division was an integral part of the striking power of the Grande Armée. During the 1805 campaign Nansouty was present at the battles of Wertingen, Ulm, and Austerlitz, and he gained the reputation of being a cautious commander, even to the point of being slow. In part, the care with which Nansouty deployed his troops was a result of his fatherly attitude toward them. He also regarded Murat as headstrong and overly zealous, viewing himself as a counterbalance.

During 1806 Nansouty fought in the campaign in East Prussia and Poland. His cuirassiers played important roles in the Battle of Golymin in late 1806 and at Eylau and Friedland in 1807. Napoleon noted Nansouty's performance, and in 1808 he named the cavalry commander as his First Equerry, as well as Count of the Empire. Nansouty accompanied Napoleon during his 1808 campaign in Spain and then back to Paris to prepare for war against the Austrians. In 1809 Nansouty headed the 1st Cuirassier Division under Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières and participated in the battles along the Danube, including Aspern-Essling and Wagram.

During the invasion of Russia in 1812, Nansouty commanded I Cavalry Corps in the Cavalry Reserve. He fought in the battles of Ostrovno and Borodino. He was wounded in the latter battle and missed the remainder of the campaign, in the course of which the cavalry was decimated by the sufferings of the retreat. The replacements that Nansouty trained and commanded during the 1813 campaign in Germany were inferior in many ways. He commanded the cavalry of the Imperial Guard in fighting at Dresden, Leipzig, and Hanau, at the last of which he was again wounded. Nansouty recovered to fight in the 1814 campaign in France.

Despite the rewards Nansouty received from Napoleon, including being named First Chamberlain to Empress Josephine, he was no Bonapartist and quickly swore allegiance to Louis XVIII upon Napoleon's exile to Elba. He was named aide to the comte d'Artois and captain lieutenant of the Mousquetaires Gris (Gray Musketeers). Nansouty died in Paris on 12 February 1815, before Napoleon's return from Elba.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Borodino, Battle of; Cavalry; Dresden, Battle of; Elba; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany,

Campaign in; Golymin, Battle of; Hanau, Battle of; Hanover; Imperial Guard (French); Josephine, Empress; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Murat, Joachim; Ostrovno, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Stockach, Second Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of

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## Naples

The Napoleonic age brought remarkable changes in the political and social life of the Kingdom of Naples. Ever averse to neutrality, Bourbon king Ferdinand IV joined the First, Second, and Third Coalitions against France. During these wars, Naples fell twice into French hands: in 1799 (with the ephemeral experience of the Jacobin Parthenopean Republic) and, after seven years of Bourbon restoration, again in 1806. From 1806 to 1814 the Kingdom of Naples was a French satellite, ruled for two years by Joseph Bonaparte (Napoleon's brother), and from 1808 onward by Joachim Murat, who introduced a more autonomous system of politics, with the vigorous encouragement of his wife, Caroline (Napoleon's sister). Their attempt at keeping the throne led Naples to join the coalition against Napoleon in 1814, and in 1815, to a new war with Austria, the outcome of which resulted in Murat's overthrow and the restoration of the Bourbons. Under Joseph and Murat, Naples enjoyed a period of social, economic, and institutional reform, which greatly contributed to its modernization.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Kingdom of Naples included the whole of continental southern Italy and Sicily, and consequently bore as its official name, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Relatively underdeveloped, it had a social and economic structure based mainly on large land estates and feudal privileges. Naples was, however, one of the most important and lively cities in Europe. The House of Bourbon, often at odds with the noble landowners (particularly in Sicily), enjoyed the faithful support of the Naples populace (the *lazzari*) and the peasantry. From the very beginning, Ferdinand IV, strongly influenced by his Austrian wife, Maria Carolina, and politically guided by his British minister Sir John Acton, showed a totally hostile attitude toward Revolutionary France. His participation in the First Coalition was sealed in July 1793 by a treaty with Britain, which was particularly interested in the Neapolitan naval bases in the Mediterranean.

In October 1796, however, Bonaparte's victories in Italy forced Ferdinand to conclude peace with France. This treaty was broken in 1798, as Naples joined the Second Coalition and undertook a campaign against the French in the Papal States. Upon its defeat, the court sailed to Sicily, thus paving the way for the French occupation of the mainland possessions of Naples and the rise of the Jacobin-inspired Parthenopean Republic, proclaimed on 23 January 1799. Internally sapped by lack of political realism, the Republic was not to last long, as the course of the war in northern Italy forced the French to leave Naples. Popular masses faithful to the Bourbons and imbued with religious fanaticism (the Army of the Holy Faith) rose up under Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, seizing the city in June. The return of Ferdinand from Palermo the following month was followed by a period of bloody repression. By the Treaty of Florence (28 March 1801) the king went so far as to make peace with France and ally himself to that Republic, ceding Elba and the port of Taranto, the latter's French garrison, to be supported at Neapolitan expense, and agreeing to close Neapolitan ports to British commerce. The following years put a strain on Franco-Neapolitan relations and in 1805, despite a formal commitment to neutrality, Naples joined the Third Coalition.

After Austerlitz and the Peace of Pressburg, the Bourbons were once again forced to flee to Sicily under British protection, the authorities left behind concluding an armistice with the French on 4 February 1806. By Napoleon's decree, Joseph Bonaparte became King of Naples on 30 March. He soon started reforming the state along French patterns (centralization of administration, new civil and penal codes, expropriation of Church properties). Murat, appointed King of Naples by Napoleon on 1 August 1808, and reaching the capital on 6 September, carried on such reforms with passion and energy, trying to eradicate feudal privileges and building important infrastructures throughout the kingdom. The Napoleonic Code was formally introduced to the kingdom on 1 January 1810. Personal lifestyle, together with his sympathetic concern for the Neapolitan people, gained Murat the favor of his subjects. Over these years, the Neapolitan Army contributed to the Napoleonic campaigns in Europe, albeit with a poor record of service.

Foreseeing Napoleon's fall, in January 1814 Murat, whose relationship with the Emperor had long since deteriorated, changed sides so as to retain his throne. During the Congress of Vienna, however, Austria and Britain endorsed the Bourbon restoration. Murat then declared war on Austria, presenting himself as the champion of Italian independence. Defeated at Tolentino, he abdicated in May 1815 and fled to France, Neapolitan generals concluding peace with Austria on 23 May. A month later, Ferdinand

was back on the throne of Naples, and when Murat returned for an attempt to recover his kingdom, he was captured and met his end at the hands of a Neapolitan firing squad. At the Congress of Vienna, Ferdinand IV reasserted his right as the legitimate monarch of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies proceeding to abolish the existing constitution and wage a campaign of violence and vengeance on republicans and those who had collaborated under French rule.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bonaparte, Caroline; Bonaparte, Joseph; Civil Code; Ferdinand IV, King; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); “Italian Independence,” War of; Murat, Joachim; Neapolitan Army; Neapolitan Campaign; Papal States; Pressburg, Treaty of; Second Coalition, War of the; Sicily; Third Coalition, War of the; Tolentino, Battle of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Napoleon I, Emperor

*See* Bonaparte, Napoleon

## Napoleon II, King of Rome (1811–1832)

Napoleon François Joseph Charles Bonaparte was the only legitimate child of the Emperor Napoleon I of France and his second wife, Marie Louise. As Napoleon's long-awaited heir, his birth ensured the succession of the powerful but embryonic Bonaparte dynasty. As Napoleon II he was the

uncrowned Emperor of the French from 22 June to 7 July 1815.

François was born on 20 March 1811 in the Tuileries palace in Paris at the height of Napoleon's power. He received the sobriquet of *L'Aiglon* (eaglet). Napoleon had married Princess Marie Louise of Austria for political expediency to procreate. At François's birth, Napoleon proclaimed him the King of Rome. According to the custom of the times, François was accorded his own household and raised by the kindly Louise-Charlotte-Françoise Le Tellier de Courtanvaux, comtesse de Montesquiou-Fezensac until the age of four, although he was doted on by his father. He was known as “le petit monsieur,” and was a precocious, happy, much-loved child, although he never developed a strong relationship with his mother.

Napoleon abdicated for the first time on 6 April 1814, and, by the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, also renounced the throne for his heir before he went into exile to Elba. Marie Louise was manipulated by the victors, used as a mere bargaining tool, and remained behind with her young son in Château Blois. After Napoleon's ultimate defeat at Waterloo in 1815 he abdicated again, assured (falsely) that his son would succeed him. In 1815 mother and son were moved to the Schönbrunn palace in Vienna, his mother's ancestral home and the residence of his grandfather, Emperor Francis I of Austria, who had joined the Sixth Coalition against his son-in-law in 1813. François was virtually a prisoner within the comfort of gilded walls.

Using the name of Napoleon was forbidden, and he became known as Franz. Everything French was removed from his life. His French governess was replaced on his fourth birthday by the stern Maurice Graf von Dietrichstein, who was assisted by two minor tutors. He was taught to be an exemplary Austrian and learned to speak Italian and German. Franz, however, was his father's son. He was enthralled by the romantic Napoleonic era. He possessed strong willpower and a strength of character that refused to acquiesce to the Germanization of his life; he was often physically punished for his defiance. As he matured, the sickly boy became cultivated, highly intelligent, and diplomatic. Franz endeavored to enter the military on his own merit, but this proved impossible, owing to his precarious state of health.

The second Treaty of Paris (1815) excluded Napoleon II from inheriting his mother's newly granted duchies, although he was known as the Prince of Parma for a time. As recompense for the loss of his father's empire, Franz was named Francis Charles (Franz Karl), Duke of Reichstadt, in 1818; no estate was attached to this vacant courtesy title. Franz reconciled with the mother who had abandoned him to his fate. Marie Louise was present when he died of tuberculosis on 22 July 1832 at Schönbrunn Palace.

Napoleon II died as an obscure figure known to history as the Duke of Reichstadt. His remains were moved to rest at his father's side at Les Invalides in Paris in 1940.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Elba; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Francis I, Emperor; Marie Louise, Empress; Paris, Second Treaty of; Waterloo, Battle of

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## Napoleonic Code

*See* Civil Code

## National Guard (French)

The National Guard consisted of units of volunteer militia raised provincially and municipally early in the French Revolution. The initial purpose of the National Guard lay in replacing the old royally controlled militia, or *Milice*. The National Guard comprised a markedly different force from the one it replaced both in its social composition and methods of recruiting. Likewise, it often held a role in shaping the political developments of the Revolution, until its suppression in 1795 under the Directory. Later, under Napoleon, the National Guard reemerged, but it resembled the earlier institution in name only.

As the National Assembly legislated it into existence in 1789, the Guard was to function as defender of Paris against the royal troops Louis XVI had concentrated outside the city. The first units were raised in Paris, beginning on 13 July 1789. From its inception, the Guard played an important role in shaping political developments in France. For instance, the search for weapons with which to arm civilians and National Guardsmen in Paris led to the attack on the Bastille the following day.

Shortly after the storming of the Bastille, the Paris National Guard adopted the cockade, composed of red and blue for the city of Paris, separated by white, the color of the monarchy. The cockade, in turn, became the emblem of the National Guard throughout the country and later inspired

the Republican flag. At first, the command of these Paris units was entrusted to the marquis de Lafayette, the hero of the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). In the weeks that followed the birth of the National Guard in Paris, like groups were formed in provinces and municipalities throughout France. The widespread peasant unrest in the rural provinces of France, commonly referred to as the Great Fear, is usually seen as the main reason behind the popularity of forming Guard units. Often, National Guard units from neighboring municipalities banded together, or federated, for mutual support, and were thus known as *fédérés*. In these early stages of its existence, membership in the National Guard was restricted to the middle class.

Initially, membership in the Guard was restricted to active citizens, or those who could pay the equivalent of three days' labor in taxes. This constraint on membership was altered in the wake of the storming of the Tuileries on 10 August 1792, after which passive citizens were allowed to serve in the Guard as well. The age range for members was between eighteen and sixty years old. The units themselves enjoyed both higher pay and a better social perception than the troops of the old Royal Army. The combination of these factors proved a strong lure to men in the ranks of the regular army units, who often deserted in order to join the Guard. By their contemporaries, the men of the National Guard were perceived as patriots selflessly contributing to the defense and preservation of the Revolution. In its civil role, that of protecting citizens and property, the Guard could be quite effective.

Paradoxically, while the National Guard was very useful as an internal security force, its record as a military force was not so bright. In fact, it often resisted assignments to actual military duty. Service in the Guard was not seen in the same light as service in the regular army. Many of those who joined the National Guard early on saw this action as constituting their service to the Revolution and refused to trade it for more dangerous and less comfortable assignments at the front. Still, some did, and many of the Volunteers of 1791 hailed from National Guard units. Likewise, when France was invaded in 1792, the call on the Guard for additional troops to defend *la patrie* met with excellent responses.

The perception of the Guard as a force purely intended for internal security persisted, nevertheless, although this conception led to recurrent problems as the French Revolutionary Wars continued and men were needed at the front. In fact, Guard troops often exhibited an unwillingness to serve in front-line units. In 1793 therefore, with the call up of the *levée en masse*, many National Guard units were disarmed in order to provide weapons for front-line troops.

Even after it lost its weapons, the National Guard continued to play an important role in the politics of Revolutionary

France. The Guard continued as a political force until it supported a counterrevolutionary uprising in Paris in October 1795. General Napoleon Bonaparte, who had achieved fame two years earlier at the siege of Toulon, brutally put down this attempt to overthrow the Directory with the so-called whiff of grapeshot. After these events, the National Guard was suppressed both in Paris and in the provinces.

The National Guard received a new lease on life in 1805, as Napoleon prepared to go to war with Austria and Russia, the principal members of the Third Coalition. The Emperor needed a force that could secure his rear areas in France. Thus the National Guard was reinvented on a more imperial model. The Guard served this same purpose during the Russian campaign in 1812, and units were mobilized for the defense of France in 1814, though these were not considered very effective by the regular army. Desertion rates were high, and the troops were often less than dependable.

A brief attempt was made to revive the National Guard yet again during the Hundred Days in 1815. Little came of this venture. The few units that were assembled were not trusted to do any actual service, even in rear echelon duties.

*James McIntyre*

*See also* Conscript (French); Desertion; Directory, The; Fédérés; France, Campaign in; French Army; French Revolution; Levée en Masse; Louis XVI, King; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Toulon, Siege of

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## Nations, Battle of the

*See* Leipzig, Battle of

## Naval Warfare

Naval warfare during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was the most important factor behind

the ultimate victory of Great Britain and its allies. Without a powerful navy, Britain could never have taken the war abroad, and indeed, could never have supported the successful campaign in the Iberian Peninsula. Conversely, lack of a powerful and effective navy meant that French ambitions were confined to land campaigns on the Continent, with the notable exception of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798. Lack of such a navy also prevented France from successfully countering practically any British naval operations.

The reasons for possessing a naval force during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were many. Nations such as Britain, France, Spain, and Holland required navies to protect their overseas possessions, at the same time affording them the means to attack enemy colonies in time of war. Upon the capture of enemy territory overseas, a navy was necessary to protect and supply that colony. Another role was the protection of commerce, at the same time attacking enemy mercantile interests and denying the enemy its overseas markets, thus reducing its fiscal capacity to wage war. A major function of any navy was to bring an enemy fleet to battle and, if not destroy it, at least prevent such a force from doing harm.

For an island nation such as Britain, a powerful navy was essential if it was to take the war abroad, while France required sufficient naval forces to be able to attack Britain on its own shores. The campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in Spain and Portugal could not have succeeded without the Royal Navy supplying the British army and its allies with supplies, weapons, and reinforcements.

While many European nations possessed navies of various sizes and strengths, some countries concentrated on land warfare. Prussia and Austria did not have significant naval forces. In Scandinavia, both Sweden and Denmark had powerful navies in 1792 but confined their interests to the Baltic theater. However, the Danish fleet was still considered of importance to both France and Britain in 1807. To the former, it was a force that could be added to its plans for an invasion of England, while to the latter, it was a navy that could not be allowed to fall into French hands.

Russia was emerging as a major maritime power in the Baltic and the Black Sea, while its longstanding foe, the Ottoman Empire, was in decline, with a navy composed of obsolete ships. Portugal, Naples, and Venice had small navies, but they were not as significant as they had once been. The Netherlands, Spain, and France had developed powerful fleets during the eighteenth century to protect their overseas empires. The Dutch were still considered a threat by Britain until, first, the French conquest of Holland in 1795, and second, the defeat of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown in 1797. Thereafter the Dutch fleet went into

decline. While the Spanish Navy was still a large and powerful force, it was seriously affected by lack of government funding. The French Navy was the second most powerful in the world, but the Revolution undermined its command structure and imposed financial neglect. This left Britain's Royal Navy as the world's largest and most efficient maritime force. Outside Europe, the United States had a small but powerful fleet of frigates and smaller vessels, but no ships of the line.

Such navies required an immense investment of time and matériel in their construction and maintenance. An accessible and regular supply of timber was important if new ships were to be constructed. A 74-gun ship required about 80 acres of trees for its construction, while HMS *Victory*, a first rate (that is, carrying at least 100 guns) used more than 2,000 tons of wood (mainly oak) in her construction—about 3,000 trees in total. Navies stockpiled quantities of wood for use in shipbuilding during wartime, and ships were built both in dockyards owned by the state and in private yards. Masts were often made of fir, especially in the Royal Navy, and this plus hemp and flax came mainly from the Baltic States, a factor that exercised considerable influence over Britain's policies during the wars. Napoleon recognized the importance of this trade, which played a part in his decision to invade Russia in 1812. Aside from the large quantity of wood required, a ship of the line also required nearly 40 miles of rope for the rigging, gun tackles, and anchors, while a first rate had sails that comprised an area of more than two acres of canvas.

Ships were armed with smoothbore muzzle-loading cannon (usually referred to as “guns”), ranging in size from 3-pounder to 42-pounder, the classification deriving from the weight of the round shot (cannonball) fired. By 1793 the 32-pounder was the heaviest gun on board most ships of the line, with 12-pounders or 18-pounders on the main decks. The U.S. Navy used 24-pounders on board its

frigates during the War of 1812 to great effect. In all navies the heaviest guns were employed on the lowest gun decks, with the lighter cannon on the upper decks. The carronade, mounted only on the upper decks, was a British invention exclusive to the Royal Navy and the U.S. Navy, designed for close range to sweep an enemy deck with canister shot—a tin containing up to 500 musket balls—or to destroy enemy rigging with grapeshot. Carronades varied in size from 12- up to 68-pounders, two of which were carried by HMS *Victory* on her bow.

Ships were classified in rates, reflecting the size of the vessel. (See Table N.1, below.)

Navies of the period had many other vessels for a variety of purposes. These included sloops, cutters, bomb ships, gun brigs, and gun boats. Old ship hulls (hulks) were used as receiving ships for seamen, hospital vessels, and prisons.

Navies required vast amounts of manpower to operate. Casualties sustained in action accounted for only a small proportion of losses among crews. The Royal Navy lost 1,875 men killed in action during the main battles of the period, while 72,000 were lost through disease or accident and 13,600 in ships lost by accident or the weather. Naval authorities resorted to a variety of expedients to obtain men. Many did volunteer, but a large number of men were conscripted against their will. In Britain the actions of the infamous press gangs—men authorized by the Admiralty to comb the streets of port towns and forcibly detain sailors from the merchant service for transfer to warships—accounted for large numbers of suitable, if unwilling, men, while in France the *inscription maritime* produced a continuous supply of seamen. There was much evasion of naval service, due in part to the conditions on board ship, but also to the indefinite nature of service, particularly in Britain. By contrast, officers in the Royal Navy saw the service as a career, with the possibility of social and

Table N.1 The Rates of Ships

Rate	Function	Number of Guns	Gun Type (pounder)	Crew
1st Rate	Line of battle, flagships	100–120	32, 24, 12	850–900
2nd Rate	Line of battle, flagships	90–98	32, 18, 12	750
3rd Rate	Main type in line of battle	64–84	32, 24, 18 and/or 12	550–700
4th Rate	Convoy escort	44–60	24, 12, 6	350–425
5th Rate	Heavy frigate, reconnaissance, convoy escort	32–44	32, 24, 12	250
6th Rate	Smaller frigate, reconnaissance, convoy escort	20–28	9	160–200

Sources: Data from Robert Gardiner, *Frigates of the Napoleonic Wars* (London: Chatham, 2000); Peter Goodwin, *Men O'War: The Illustrated Story of Life in Nelson's Navy* (London: Carlton, 2003); Richard O'Neill, ed., Patrick O'Brian's *Navy: The Illustrated Companion to Jack Aubrey's World* (London: Salamander, 2004).

professional advancement, with the bonus of prize money. The French Navy lost many of its professional and experienced officers with the Revolution, which had a serious impact upon its effectiveness.

Most large warships had a complement of marines on board, both to assist in maintaining discipline and to provide troops for amphibious operations. In battle they would fire their muskets at the enemy crew and could assist with manning the guns. On many occasions, navies resorted to placing soldiers from the army on board to act in the capacity of marines.

The crews lived in very cramped conditions, living, eating, and sleeping on the gun decks. Ships cruising near land could acquire fresh food and water, which was known to help in preventing disease, especially scurvy. Ships on long voyages fed their crews bread, meat, and vegetables that had been packed in barrels many months (if not years) before. Often the bread (or biscuit known as hardtack) was infested with weevils. Officers often supplied their own food, with many ships having livestock on board. Water was brought on board and stored in wooden barrels, becoming rancid after a few weeks at sea. The Royal Navy introduced lime juice to the daily rations to prevent scurvy, hence the American term referring to British seamen as *limeys*. Alcohol was issued in the form of rum, brandy, or wine, to make the water more palatable.

Medicine at sea was rudimentary, each ship having a surgeon who had first learned his trade ashore. He was responsible for the health of the crew, treating wounds caused by action or accident, amputating limbs without anesthesia, and playing an important role in disease prevention. Infection was the greatest killer aboard, either through infection of wounds (many caused by musket balls or wood splinters) or epidemic disease such as typhus, dysentery, yellow fever, and malaria.

Navies were used for many purposes. Blockading of enemy ports to neutralize an enemy fleet was a strategy employed by the British against both the French and Spanish navies, rendering both ineffective, although it was always hoped that the enemy would try to force the blockade and be brought to battle in open sea. Navies were also used to protect trade, and because the Royal Navy was the predominant naval force, Britain's maritime commerce had the protection it needed to thrive, thus providing the finances to prosecute the conflict. Warships were used to escort merchant convoys and protect them from the enemy, especially privateers.

For a country with overseas possessions, the ability to convey troops abroad was important not only to maintain garrisons but also to take the war to enemy colonies. The Royal Navy was instrumental in conducting amphibious

operations that captured most French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies, along with key naval bases at Minorca and Malta.

Yet the British also conducted numerous operations on a far smaller scale. Cutting out expeditions, for instance, entailed the boats of a warship capturing, or "cutting out," an enemy vessel that was sheltering close inshore or in harbor. This was often performed under the guns of enemy shore batteries and was regarded as one of the most dangerous forms of naval warfare, often with great loss of life. Boarding an enemy vessel could occur during these expeditions and also during the final stages of battle at sea. British commanders such as Horatio Nelson and Thomas Cochrane promoted this tactic, which could influence the outcome of a fight. At the Battle of St. Vincent, Nelson successfully led a boarding party to take first the Spanish 80-gun *San Nicolas*, crossing her deck to take the 112-gun *San Josef* in the same manner. Boarding parties consisted of marines plus seamen armed with cutlasses and pistols.

Fleet battles were considered the most important feature of naval warfare, and the Royal Navy successfully defeated the French, Dutch, Danish, and Spanish in the six great fleet actions of the era (Glorious First of June; Camperdown; St. Vincent; the Nile; Copenhagen; and Trafalgar). The basic tactic was to form a line of battle, so that the guns of a ship did not mask those of another, and thus as many guns as possible could be brought to bear on the enemy. Ideally, the attacking fleet would have the weather gauge, that is, be on the windward side of the enemy. This meant that such a force would have more control of the battle, deciding when and where to attack, and being able to launch attacks by fire ships toward the enemy. The advantage of being downwind, or on the lee side, was that it facilitated easy retreat. During this period, however, commanders such as Nelson achieved victory by breaking the enemy line or concentrating his force on a part of it. This had the advantage that British superiority in gunnery and seamanship would prevail over a part of the enemy force.

Admiral Richard, Earl Howe won the first naval victory of the war at the Glorious First of June (1794), when he defeated a French fleet escorting an important grain convoy. The early years of the Revolutionary Wars saw British naval success in the Mediterranean, with the capture of Corsica. The Royal Navy defeated a large Spanish force off Cape St. Vincent in early 1797, and despite serious mutinies in the fleet that spring, decisively defeated the Dutch at Camperdown in October. The French, meanwhile, dispatched invasion fleets in 1798, one to Ireland and another, under Vice Admiral François Paul, comte de Brueys, to Egypt. The Royal Navy, coupled with a lack of effective popular support among the Irish, defeated the former at Bantry Bay, and Nelson dealt the Egyptian venture a severe blow by

decisively defeating the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay at the Battle of the Nile, thus isolating Bonaparte's army in Egypt.

British control of the Mediterranean did not mean that the war always went in favor of the Royal Navy. Lack of cooperation between senior naval officers allowed a French fleet under Vice Admiral Eustache Bruix to escape from Brest and head for open sea. The year 1801 saw the Royal Navy successfully conduct an amphibious operation to land a British army in Egypt and defeat the remaining French army there. That same year, the League of Armed Neutrality in the Baltic threatened Britain's supplies of timber, tar, and naval stores from that region. The Battle of Copenhagen resulted in Nelson's defeat of the Danish fleet and the collapse of the League.

While the main protagonists were the European naval powers, the new republic of the United States conducted a quasi-war with France from 1798 to 1801 to protect U.S. merchant vessels from French privateers. The war drifted to a close in 1801, but not before the United States had formed a small but highly effective navy.

The short-lived Peace of Amiens gave way to renewed conflict in 1803. The Royal Navy quickly mobilized the fleet for war, but the next two years were spent protecting the English coastline from the expected French invasion. This included blockading the main French ports of Toulon and Brest and harassing French coastal shipping in the Channel, especially invasion craft being moved along the Dutch and northern French coastlines to the main invasion assembly port of Boulogne. French plans were given a boost when Spain declared war on Britain after British frigates captured its homecoming treasure fleet on 5 October 1804.

Napoleon realized that he could not invade while the British held naval supremacy, so he devised a plan to lure Nelson and his fleet away to the West Indies. Vice Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve sailed from Toulon in March 1805, leading Nelson to the West Indies. This campaign of maneuver saw the French sail back to Europe, closely followed by the British. Villeneuve combined his force with a Spanish fleet in Cádiz, posing a serious threat to British commercial interests in the West Indies, Atlantic, and Mediterranean. Nelson was sent to blockade this fleet, which came out and was decisively beaten at Cape Trafalgar on 21 October. This battle saw the death of Nelson, Britain's foremost naval hero, but confirmed Britain's naval supremacy.

While this naval dominance kept enemy fleets blockaded in their ports, it did not prevent privateers attacking British merchant ships, and the Royal Navy was kept occupied protecting the sea-lanes from such commerce raiders. Napoleon's Continental System closed European ports to British trade, to which Britain replied by blockading the

ports that supported this decree. This economic blockade stretched the Royal Navy, and resulted in many neutral vessels being stopped and searched on the high seas before being allowed to resume their journey to Europe. The principal neutral nation was the United States, which also objected to many of its citizens being impressed from its ships into the Royal Navy. The result of this was war with the United States in 1812, in which the British lost numerous vessels in frigate actions with the small but effective U.S. Navy.

Much of the naval war after 1805 was confined to blockade, because, while Trafalgar ensured the dominance of Britain's navy, the fleets of France and her allies could never be discounted, since they had access to the ship-building resources of Europe. The Danish fleet was neutralized in 1807 by an attack on Copenhagen to prevent its use by Napoleon, resulting in a war (mainly in the Baltic) with Denmark, which used small gunboats with considerable success. In 1809 the expedition to Walcheren, on the Dutch coast, was a failure, while that same year, an attack on Basque Roads on the western coast of France was not the decisive affair the British had hoped it would be. Apart from these few large-scale operations in the post-Trafalgar era, protection of mercantile interests and the support of land campaigns was an important part of the naval conflict from 1806 to 1815.

During the Napoleonic Wars, much of the naval activity centered on colonial interests, with Britain taking many colonies from France and Holland, such as in the West Indies and southern Africa. Support of military activity abroad became crucially important with the success of the British army in the Iberian Peninsula. Such a campaign would not have succeeded if the Royal Navy had not supplied the army and protected the sea-lanes to that theater. In turn, the Peninsular War played a vital part in the eventual downfall of Napoleonic France.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Algeciras, First Battle of; Algeciras, Second Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Armed Neutrality, League of; Artillery (Naval); Basque Roads, Attack on; Blockade (Naval); Bruex d'Aigalliers, François Paul; Bruix, Eustache; Camperdown, Battle of; Cape Colony, First Expedition against; Cape Colony, Second Expedition against; Continental System; Copenhagen, Attack on; Copenhagen, Battle of; Corsica; Donegal, Battle of; Dutch Navy; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; French Navy; Frigates; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Grand Strategy; Howe, Richard, Earl; Hyères, Action of; Ile de Groix, Action of; Malta, Operations on; Marines; Mercantilism; Middle East Campaign; Minorca; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Nore, Mutiny at the; Ottoman Navy; Peninsular War; Privateering; Privateers (French); Prize Money; Royal Navy; Russian Navy; Santo Domingo, Battle of; Ships of the Line; Sloops; Spanish Navy; Spithead,

Mutiny at; St. Vincent, Battle of; Swedish Navy; Trafalgar, Battle of; United States Navy; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de; Walcheren, Expedition to; War of 1812; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; West Indies, Operations in

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## Neapolitan Army

Universally regarded as one of the worst armed forces in Europe, the army of the Kingdom of Naples suffered from rampant indiscipline, high rates of desertion, and a poor record of combat. Its troops regularly fled the field of battle and were regularly condemned—not always fairly—for misconduct and cowardice by senior French commanders, including Napoleon.

The Neapolitan Army was originally deployed against the French, but from 1806 Naples fell under long-term French control under successive kings Joseph Bonaparte and Joachim Murat. Neapolitan troops participated in most Napoleonic campaigns but generally performed poorly. It is said that Napoleon refused to allow the troops to carry the imperial eagle, and after large numbers of them deserted in Spain, he refused to allow any more Neapolitan soldiers to serve in the Peninsula.

Before 1806 Naples formed the mainland part of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (often shortened to “Kingdom of Naples”), the army taking part in the early coalitions against the French. In 1798 the Austrian commander *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich was in command of 60,000 Neapolitan troops. However, Naples was occupied, and the Parthenopean Republic was briefly established in January 1799 before French troops were withdrawn to face the forces of the Second Coalition in northern Italy. The Bourbon monarchy under Ferdinand IV returned to power in July and retained control until it joined the Third Coalition in late 1805, prompting a second French invasion. When Joseph was made King of Naples in March 1806, Napoleon encouraged him to build up the army. Owing to the fact that there were few volunteers, many recruits were taken from the prisons. The regiments were equipped from French arsenals, and as a result there was a wide variety of uniforms and equipment. When Murat succeeded Joseph as king two years later, he further expanded the army. He also redesigned many of the uniforms, making them some of the most colorful of the whole period.

Neapolitan troops fought respectably during the siege of Gaeta in 1806, and formed part of the occupying force of the Papal States in 1808. In 1809 the army also contributed to the corps led by Eugène de Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, that was engaged in the north of Italy, and some cavalry forces were used to defend against the attacks of rebels from the Tyrol. In Spain, Neapolitan troops were under the command of General Francesco Pignatelli.

During the invasion of Russia, units from Naples formed part of General Louis Loison's division in IX Corps, under the command of Marshal Pierre Augereau. They were initially stationed in Germany, but in November moved up to Vilna. Loison's Neapolitans now proved very valuable in the retreat, acting as part of the rear guard together with the Bavarians of General Karl Freiherr von Wrede. They suffered very badly because of their lack of winter clothing. Elements of the Neapolitan guard acted as a bodyguard for Napoleon during the retreat.

The Neapolitans were one of the few contingents complete enough to be able to protect the crossing of the Niemen under Marshal Michel Ney's command. Small numbers of troops fought in Germany in 1813; however, when Murat defected to the Allies in 1814 the army saw little more action.

In 1815 Murat reversed himself and again declared his support for Napoleon, and in an attempt to retain his kingdom, he declared war on Austria. Murat advanced as far north as Bologna with his forces, but then began a retreat back toward Naples. In May the Neapolitan army fought the two-day Battle of Tolentino against a pursuing Austrian force led by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vincenz Freiherr von Bianchi. The Austrians were heavily outnumbered but easily defeated their opponents when Murat attacked the Austrian defensive position. In the retreat following the battle Murat's army ceased to exist until reconstituted under the restored monarchy.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bonaparte, Joseph; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Gaeta, Sieges of; Germany, Campaign in; "Italian Independence," War of; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Neapolitan Campaign; Ney, Michel; Papal States; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Tolentino, Battle of; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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## Neapolitan Campaign (1798–1799)

In November 1798 the Neapolitan army under King Ferdinand IV and the Austrian general Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich opened a campaign to free the Papal States from French control and terminate the satellite Roman Republic. Although at an early stage the Neapolitans succeeded in seizing Rome, a counteroffensive under General Jean-Etienne Championnet soon led to the French occupation of Naples in January 1799, thus paving the way for the establishment of the satellite Parthenopean Republic.

After the occupation of Rome by General Louis-Alexandre Berthier and the formation of the Roman Republic in February 1798, diplomatic relations with Naples rapidly deteriorated. In the summer two treaties were signed whereby Naples opened the Sicilian harbors to the British Fleet and arranged mutual military support with Austria. Meanwhile, peasant uprisings broke out in the Roman countryside, putting considerable military pressure on the French and the local Jacobins. Ferdinand resorted to compulsory conscription to strengthen his army, which at the outbreak of the war could field around 60,000. The average quality, however, was poor, and several officers proved unfaithful.

*Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, on secondment, was appointed field commander. Two strong columns (more than 30,000 men) were to approach Rome by moving up the Tyrrhenian coast and the Liri valley. A third weaker column was detached to operate on the Adriatic slope of the Apennines. Rough, mountainous terrain, with narrow valleys and flooded rivers, hampered coordinated movement. Finally, on 21 November a division under General Diego Naselli embarked at Gaeta and sailed to Leghorn (Livorno) in Tuscany, this expedition resulting in a complete failure.

To face the Neapolitan threat, the Armée de Rome was formed on 31 October. Championnet was to lead 32,000 worn-to-rags French, Polish, and Cisalpine troops (24,000 ready for campaign). From the very beginning, Championnet renounced the defense of Rome and selected a defensive line farther north, in the Tiber valley between Terni and Civita Castellana.

Mack's advance began on 22 November. Three days later the Neapolitans entered Rome without opposition, and Ferdinand established a new provisional government. On the twenty-seventh, a Neapolitan flank column suffered at Terni the first of a long sequel of reverses. Mack then tried to break through the French line by advancing along both banks of the Tiber. His left wing, however, was defeated by General Jacques Etienne Macdonald at Civita Castellana on 4 December. In the days that followed, Championnet outmaneuvered *Generalmajor* Graf Khevenhüller-

Metsch's right wing at Cantalupo and Magliano Sabina. Several Neapolitan units dissolved without a fight. On the Adriatic shore, General Antoni Micheroux did not fare better, his hesitant advance being soon checked.

At this point, a discouraged Mack recommended that King Ferdinand leave Rome and ordered his army to retreat within the kingdom borders on the river Volturno. On 23 December Ferdinand and his court sailed to Sicily aboard Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson's flagship. With Neapolitan Jacobins pleading for French occupation, popular riots broke out in the city. With his rear menaced by local guerrilla raids and lacking specific instructions from his government, Championnet remained idle until 19 January 1799, before ordering the investment of Naples. As the French resumed their advance, fierce fighting raged for three days in the city streets, the Neapolitan populace (the *lazzari*) stubbornly opposing the invaders. By the twenty-third, however, Naples was under French control and the Parthenopean Republic began its ephemeral life (January–June 1799).

Marco Gioannini

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Championnet, Jean-Etienne Vachier; Cisalpine Republic; Ferdinand IV, King; Jacobins; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Naples; Papal States

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### Neerwinden, Battle of (18 March 1793)

Decisive Austrian victory fought approximately 35 kilometers west of Liège, which briefly recovered the Austrian Netherlands from Revolutionary France, as Austrian artillery destroyed the advancing French columns.

After King Louis XVI was executed on 21 January 1793, followed by France's declaration of war on Great Britain and Holland on 1 February, the Convention decreed a new call-up of 300,000 men and invaded Holland. The Austrian army under *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) attacked the French-occupied Austrian Netherlands from the west and engaged the French forces under General Charles François Dumouriez along the Brussels-Liège road. After an Austrian victory at Aldenhoven on 1 March, the armies fought the Battle of Neerwinden across the Kleine Geete River, east of Tirlemont. In a three-pronged attack, the French made progress in the center and right, but their left wing was decisively defeated along the main road. The French retreated to Louvain, where

they were defeated on 22 March, and the Austrians retook Brussels on 25 March.

Dumouriez tried to lead his men to Paris, planning to restore the monarchy, but they refused to follow, and he fled into exile. French generals would thereafter have to fight under the shadow of the guillotine, as the Terror took hold inside France.

After his victory at Jemappes (6 November 1792), Dumouriez had marched north into Holland with 23,000 troops, weakening his links with French forces in the Rhineland, while the Armée du Nord besieged Maastricht. The new Austrian commander, Saxe-Coburg, opted for an aggressive strategy and decided to attack the weak link in the French lines by advancing on Brussels (capital of Austrian Netherlands) from Liège with 30,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry. After crossing the Roer, he defeated the French right wing at Aldenhoven on 1 March. Dumouriez hastily left his army in Holland and reached Louvain on 11 March, where he collected together 40,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry from the three French armies (Nord, the Ardennes, and Belgique, all reduced to division size). After a clash around Tirlemont on 17 March, Saxe-Coburg withdrew across the Kleine Geete River and deployed his light troops around the villages of Overwinden and Neerwinden, his main force on the hills above and his right wing anchored on the Brussels road. He intended to attack the French on 19 March, but Dumouriez preempted him.

With many volunteer battalions among the French, Dumouriez gambled on an assault on 18 March. Attempting a repeat of the victory at Jemappes, he planned an initial attack on the Austrian left and center to draw troops from their right. The French left, under General Francisco de Miranda, would then march down the main road to encircle the Austrian right. The broken ground forced Dumouriez to use eight columns (three on the right under the comte de Valence; two in the center under the duc de Chartres; and three under Miranda) to attack the Austrian positions. The swampy ground of the river valley would prevent the French from deploying into their two-company-wide attack columns. Their artillery would remain spread out across the entire front, while the cavalry would be unable to repel the Austrian mass attacks.

At 7:00 A.M. the French commenced their surprise attack by crossing the river. By noon, Miranda's troops had taken Orsmael village by the main road bridge, forcing Saxe-Coburg to move his second *Treffen* (battle line) and most of his reserve artillery to support the right wing under Archduke Charles, which blocked the road. The rest of the Austrian reserve was moved south to protect the left flank around Racour. Although the French quickly drove back Austrian outposts, it was noon before Valence made any real progress with the French right toward the Mittelwinde

hill, where he was to set up a heavy artillery battery and outflank the Austrian left. However, he realigned his attack toward Overwinden, intending to split the Austrian left and center, while his third column supported Chartres in the main assault on Neerwinden, where the left flank of the Austrian center was anchored.

The villages were fiercely contested. By 2:00 P.M. the French had taken Overwinden and the Mittelwinde hill, but this proved too small to accommodate a battery. Neerwinden had been taken by Valence's third column, which had by then been evicted by the Austrian first *Treffen* under *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Graf von Colloredo, before Chartres retook the village. Coburg then moved his reserve to aid Colloredo in retaking Overwinden, but in the fierce fighting ammunition ran low, prompting Saxe-Coburg to launch a mass cavalry charge of twelve squadrons. Racour was retaken, and the first deployed French line was smashed, though the second held out until night fell.

As ordered, Miranda had started his attack across the bridge and down the main road around noon. By 4:00 P.M. comte Miaczynski's column had advanced 4 kilometers and taken Dorsmael. Three times the Austrians assaulted the village before retaking it and putting Miaczynski's column to flight. The second French column from Miranda's wing under General Ruault de la Bonnière turned to engage Archduke Charles's troops on the higher ground south of the road. *Oberleutnant* Josef Smola moved his artillery forward to halt Ruault's column and to allow Charles time to realign his infantry. When Austrian infantry advanced from Dormael and fell into Ruault's left flank, the volunteer units in the French column broke up and fled back over the bridge. The last French column, attempting a wide outflanking movement, headed for Leau around 2:30 P.M. but was repelled by the right wing of the Austrian second battle line.

As night fell, the French left disintegrated and withdrew on Tirlemont. After sustaining 4,000 losses, Dumouriez attempted to renew the attack next morning around Orsmael to cover his retreat but was engaged by Smola's expanded battery at 200 meters' range and forced to withdraw. The Austrians, whose chief of staff, Mack, was hailed as the architect of victory, lost about 2,000 men.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Convention, The; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Jemappes, Battle of; Louis XVI, King; Maastricht, Siege of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Terror, The

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## Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount (1758–1805)

The greatest sailor of his day and perhaps of any era, Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson was born in Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, on 29 September 1758, the fifth of eleven children to the Reverend Edmund Nelson and his wife, Catherine. He entered the Royal Navy at the age of twelve through the patronage provided by his maternal uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling, who became comptroller of the navy shortly after Nelson joined the service. Young Nelson went aboard the *Raisonné* in 1771, being sent to the West Indies in a merchant vessel. He returned to England after a year to join the *Triumph* before, in 1773, being chosen to assist in an expedition to the Arctic. On his return later the same year he was sent in the *Seahorse* to the East Indies for a short time before being invalided home in 1776 and transferred to the *Worcester* as acting lieutenant. After six months his rank was confirmed, and he returned to the West Indies aboard the frigate *Lowestoffe*.

Through family connections Nelson received command of the brigantine *Badger* in December 1778 and was ordered to protect British trade along the Mosquito Coast (Honduras) from American privateers. In June 1779 he was promoted to post captain of the *Hinchinbrooke* before, at the beginning of the following year, serving in the expedition against Fort San Juan, from which he was withdrawn after falling dangerously ill from fever. He was evacuated to Jamaica and placed in command of the *Janus*, though his sickness prevented him from carrying out his duties, and he was invalided home.

After convalescing at Bath, Nelson went aboard the *Albermarle* and sailed to Canada, arriving in July 1782. From Halifax he sailed to the West Indies in May 1783 under Admiral Viscount Hood (Sir Samuel Hood, not to be confused with his brother, Alexander, also a naval officer), before being sent home for six months. In March 1784, in command of the *Boreas*, Nelson sailed to the West Indies where he tried to put a stop to the illegal trade conducted by American merchants selling goods to British colonies. While on the island of Nevis he met Frances Nisbet, a widow, whom he married in March 1787. The couple returned to England where Nelson went on half pay for the next five years.

In January 1793, just as war broke out with France, Nelson was given command of the *Agamemnon* (64 guns) and

directed to sail to the Mediterranean to join Lord Hood's fleet. Nelson fought on Corsica, where he lost the sight of his right eye at Calvi in July 1794, and became a commodore in April 1796. He came into prominence ten months later when he fought with distinction against the Spanish at the Battle of St. Vincent on 14 February 1797. He was knighted and promoted to rear admiral. In July 1797 he led an unsuccessful attack on Santa Cruz, Tenerife, in which he was severely wounded in the right arm by grapeshot. Nelson's arm was amputated, and he was sent home, where he had an audience with George III and received a pension. Despite his fear that his incapacity would prevent him from further service, Nelson was given command of the *Vanguard* (74) in April 1798, and he rejoined the Mediterranean fleet.

Although his principal mission was to watch the Toulon fleet, a gale blew him off station, and when he was finally able to make repairs the French had left port. Using intelligence that suggested that Bonaparte was bound for Egypt, Nelson went in pursuit, reaching Alexandria in June. The French were nowhere to be seen, but upon returning to the Egyptian coast after stopping for provisions at Syracuse, Nelson discovered Admiral François, comte de Brueys's fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay on 1 August. He surprised the enemy that evening, taking thirteen enemy vessels and thus ruining Bonaparte's plans to conquer Egypt permanently and to march overland to India.

On reaching Naples after the battle he was given a hero's welcome and heaped with honors and rewards, including a peerage as Baron Nelson of the Nile and Burnham Thorpe. In the course of his stay in Naples, at the house of the British ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, Nelson met Emma, Lady Hamilton, with whom a romance developed. Nelson was soon recalled, partly because of the embarrassment being caused by his affair with Lady Hamilton, but also as a result of the revolutionary movement then brewing in the Kingdom of Naples, which had forced the king and queen to transfer their court to Sicily.

Nelson returned home in 1800 and separated from his wife. In the same year he was promoted to vice admiral and sent to Yarmouth, where he joined the fleet under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker as second in command of an expedition to the Baltic. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia had formed the League of Armed Neutrality in order to oppose trade restrictions Britain had imposed on these neutral states. Nelson led the attack against the anchored Danish fleet at Copenhagen on 2 April 1801, destroying much of it and forcing Denmark out of the League. He was made a viscount and succeeded Parker as commander in chief in the Baltic. Returning to Yarmouth, Nelson was then appointed to command a flotilla designed to defend the south coast of England from French invasion. In this capacity he took part in an abortive attack against the harbor at Boulogne, where



Vice Admiral Lord Nelson. The greatest naval commander in history, he inflicted three decisive defeats on his opponents at the Nile (1798), Copenhagen (1801), and Trafalgar (1805), so confirming British naval supremacy for the next 100 years. (Engraving by T. W. Harland after Lemuel Abbot from *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* by Archibald Alison. Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood, 1860, vol. 6)

on 15 August he failed to destroy enemy troop transports concentrated for a planned descent on the coast of Kent.

When peace was restored with France by the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802, Nelson returned home, purchased a house at Merton in Surrey, and moved in, though he spent considerable time at the Hamiltons' home in London, carrying on his affair with Emma. On Sir William's death in April, however, Nelson and Emma lived scandalously together at Merton, unmarried. Peace with France lasted little more than a year, however, and when war resumed in May 1803 Nelson was given command of the Mediterranean fleet, his purpose to observe the enemy naval force at Toulon and engage it if it emerged from port. A chance to confront it finally arrived in the spring of 1805 when Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve escaped from Toulon, in accordance with Napoleon's plan to unite his various squadrons in a bid to gain control of the English Channel and allow his invasion flotilla to cross.

Nelson's dramatic passing is practically the stuff of legend. While pacing the quarterdeck of the *Victory* at the

Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805, the admiral was hit by a sharpshooter's musket ball and fell to the deck. Carried below, Nelson survived in great pain for just under three hours, proclaiming his love for Emma Hamilton and requesting that the nation look after her in his absence. Shortly after learning that he had emerged victorious over the combined Franco-Spanish fleet, he died. The nation gave its fallen hero a spectacular state funeral, which ended with the lowering of Nelson's coffin into the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Armed Neutrality, League of; Copenhagen, Battle of; Corsica; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; George III, King; Hamilton, Emma, Lady; Middle East Campaign; Naples; Naval Warfare; Nile, Battle of the; Royal Navy; St. Vincent, Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Neoclassicism

An artistic style that developed during the eighteenth century and involved principally painting, sculpture, and architecture but also the theatrical arts, furniture, tapestry, and even jewelry. It was inspired by the revival of a tremendous interest in Classical antiquity that swept through Europe at this time. Neoclassicism was contemporaneous with and supported by the thought of the Enlightenment. Neoclassicists advocated a return to nature and sought to portray reason and morality in art.

Neoclassicism involved a repudiation of the earlier art forms of Rococo and Baroque, which were characterized by lavish, emotional, frivolous, sensuous, and ornamental expression. Rococo art had been the predominant style while Madame de Pompadour presided over the court at Versailles; however, in the years just before her death in 1764, the Neoclassical style arose—a style she encouraged. Art historians associate Rococo style with the *ancien régime*, and although it began mid-century, Neoclassicism was integral to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. This new style was restrained and austere, almost mathematical in structure and form. The artists, architects, and craftsmen of the time designated what we now call Neoclassicism variously as the “true style” or a *Risorgimento*, or renaissance, in the arts (Sweetman 1998, 21). The movement reached its zenith in the late 1780s and 1790s and was succeeded by Romanticism at the turn of the century.

The origins of Neoclassicism lay in the discoveries of archaeological sites at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Excavations began in 1737 and 1748, respectively. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a German art historian, librarian, and secretary to art patron Cardinal Alessandro Albani, is credited with having initiated the movement. Although Winckelmann never journeyed to Greece, he studied and wrote about its culture, suggesting that in order for humankind

to be great it should imitate the ancients. He traveled to Italy in 1758 to supervise the Herculaneum and Pompeii excavations and was the first scholar to study systematically ancient Greek and Roman art. In 1755 he published “Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks,” which glorified nature and attacked the Rococo style. Winckelmann’s pamphlet has been recognized as a manifesto for the Classical ideal. He popularized the ideals of “noble simplicity” and “calm grandeur,” which he believed were present in Greek art. He exhorted artists to emulate Greek art as a means to reaching a universal form in their own works. Winckelmann’s most famous work, *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764), which was dedicated to the German Neoclassical artist Anton Raphael Mengs, provided a history of ancient art for the first time.

Winckelmann was not the only writer to contribute to an understanding of Neoclassicism. German writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was also important to the theoretical side of Neoclassicism. His *Laocoön, or Concerning the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766) was greatly influenced by Winckelmann’s understanding of the meaning of the Laocoön, a famous sculpture dating from the first century B.C.E. that portrays the priest Laocoön and his sons beleaguered by serpents.

Winckelmann’s program underwent some important changes in France. What accounts for this? Works by French philosophes such as Denis Diderot and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were largely responsible for the move away from what was known as the *Classical program*. Rather than merely focusing on the ancients, the humanist Diderot also stressed the use of the arts to foster ethical improvement. Attention to pattern, form, and geometry still remained important. Another characteristic was the stress on the rational and intellectual response of the audience.

Primarily known for having edited the multivolume *Encyclopédie*, Diderot was the author of several works of art criticism such as *Le Salon* (1759, 1761, 1763, and 1765), his examinations of the biennial art show in Paris; and *Essais sur la peinture* (Essays on Painting), written in 1766 and published in 1795. Diderot believed in the primacy of the artist’s freedom rather than the artist’s duty to following a system or set of rules. He advocated a return to the style of the French artists Nicolas Poussin, Eustache Le Sueur, and Charles Le Brun. In common with Winckelmann, Diderot was devoted to the Classical world and to the idea of morality expressed in art.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau also figures in the context of those who contributed to theories of Neoclassicism. Dedicated to a return to the natural, a common theme in Neoclassical art, Rousseau also looked to the ancient Greeks and advocated the simplicity, severity, and minimalism of Sparta as opposed to the luxury of Athens. These themes

are present in Rousseau’s “A Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and the Sciences” (1750). Both Diderot and Rousseau had a tremendous impact on the leading Neoclassical artist of the age, Jacques-Louis David.

David’s forerunners included the first Neoclassical painters, a group active from the 1750s to the 1770s. They included Joseph-Marie Vien, Anton Raphael Mengs, Pompeo Batoni, Angelica Kauffman, and Gavin Hamilton. The German painter Mengs has traditionally been credited with the founding of Neoclassicism, perhaps because of his close association with Winckelmann. It is perhaps more accurate to state that he was the leader of the early Neoclassicist movement. His paintings reflected Enlightenment views of humanity and the ideals of purity and clarity. He studied painting in Rome, where he later settled. His most important work was his fresco *Parnassus at the Villa Albani* (1761). It helped to establish the rise of Neoclassicism.

A disciple of Mengs, Angelica Kauffman is the only female Neoclassical artist of any fame. Born in Switzerland and a founding member of Britain’s Royal Academy, Kauffman painted portraits but preferred landscapes depicting Classical history and mythology. Her paintings were often narrative, such as *Cornelia Pointing to Her Children as Her Treasures* (1758), portraying the Classical female virtues of dedication to one’s children. The major themes found in Neoclassicism often revolved around narratives from antiquity showcasing heroic male deeds. There was a clear delineation between the roles and expectations of men and women. Men dominated the public sphere and were represented as heroic and stoic. By contrast, women and femininity generally, as portrayed in Kauffman’s paintings, were confined to the private and domestic realms and represented as modest and nurturing.

Batoni was an Italian painter of the Roman school who specialized in historical subjects and portraits. Hamilton was a Scottish Neoclassical painter whose work was influenced by his interest in archaeology. In common with other painters of the school, he spent time in Rome, settling there in the 1740s, and his paintings, such as *The Oath of Brutus* (1767), dealt with Classical themes.

Joseph-Marie Vien provides an example of an early Neoclassical artist whose work reflected Winckelmann’s philosophy. He won the coveted Prix de Rome at age twenty-seven and became the director of the French Academy of Rome in 1778. He painted Homeric subjects until the 1780s. His aim was to return the French school to the “faithful imitation of nature” (Brookner 1980, 41). Vien is remembered today more for having been David’s teacher than for his own works.

David learned his craft in Rome under his master Vien between the years 1775 and 1781, when he returned to his native France. During the years before the Revolution

David produced the bulk of his Neoclassical paintings. He was primarily interested in portrait paintings rather than the allegory and grace found in Mengs's paintings. Stoic Roman values gleaned from the writings of Rousseau, particularly *The Social Contract* (1762), are a central feature of David's paintings from the 1780s into the French Revolution. The public interest takes precedence over the private; the individual will is sacrificed for the general will, or the will of the community. Rousseau's stress on Spartan austerity is also present in David's paintings from the 1780s.

David's *Death of Socrates* (1787) was his attempt to put Diderot's *Traité de la Poésie dramatique* (1785), which dealt with the hero Socrates and his high standard of morality, to the canvas. Here an individual sacrificed his life for a higher ideal. *The Oath of the Horatii* (1785) and *The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (1789) portray the Classical virtue of a citizen's obligation to the state, which took precedence over that to his family. *The Oath of the Horatii*, exhibited at the 1785 salon, is considered by some critics to be his greatest painting. According to one it "ingested the neoclassical movement, naturalized it into French, harnessed it to the approved 17th century models, and thus brought to fruition the disparate efforts of the preceding half century" (Brookner 1980, 68). David's Neoclassical paintings not only represent values of antiquity; they also reflect the impact of Rousseau's thinking. This was David's last work before the Revolution.

During the Revolution, David painted works commemorating major turning points, such as the unfinished canvas *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (1791), which would immortalize the deputies' oath never to separate until they had written a constitution for France. His sketch of *Marie Antoinette on the Way to the Guillotine* (1793) demonstrates his use of realism. Marie Antoinette is portrayed as an old woman, yet she is only thirty-seven. Perhaps his greatest Neoclassical painting is *The Death of Marat* (1793), in which the Revolutionary hero Jean-Paul Marat, stabbed to death in his bathtub by Charlotte Corday, is made to resemble the Christ of the *Pietà* tradition.

David's paintings after the Revolution, those glorifying Bonaparte, leave Neoclassicism behind for Romanticism. These propaganda pieces were painted to the dictum of Napoleon rather than David. The Spartan austerity of earlier works had been replaced by grandeur and the exaltation of one man.

Neoclassicism was also reflected in the sculpture and architecture of the later eighteenth century. The influence of Winckelmann is clear in the work of leading sculptors of the era, the Italian Antonio Canova and the Dane Bertel Thorvaldsen. These men specialized in the celebration and exaltation of the male body as inspired by the Greek gods. Their technique, known as the *beau idéal*, took inspiration

from both live models and ancient statues. The finest examples of their work are Canova's *Theseus and the Centaur* (1804–1819) and Thorvaldsen's *Jason* (1802–1803).

In architecture the Neoclassical style is characterized by a rational and geometric austerity. Neoclassical architects wanted to cleanse buildings of the excesses of Rococo. The revival in Greek and Roman styles began in Britain in the 1720s with the Palladian revival. Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington, a wealthy patron, sponsored such Palladian buildings as Chiswick House, near London. The term is after Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio, one of the many illustrious architects of the period who imitated Classical forms. Robert Adam, one of the greatest architects in the style, began in the Palladian idiom but eventually developed his own, using fine lines and geometric proportions. Born in Scotland, Adam spent time in Rome before working in England, where he designed Lansdowne House and the façades of the Admiralty in Whitehall, Seton Castle, and Syon House on Roman models.

In France one of the greatest of Neoclassical structures is the Panthéon in Paris (Saint Geneviève Church) designed by Jacques-Germain Soufflot. Plans for the church were drafted in 1757, but the building was not completed until 1800. The exterior portico is modeled on the Roman Pantheon, with ornate sculpture and twenty-two columns. Intended as a church, it was converted into a monument to the great departed heroes of the Republic.

Leigh Whaley

See also Canova, Antonio; David, Jacques-Louis; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Propaganda; Romanticism  
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## Neresheim, Battle of (11 August 1796)

Indecisive battle north of Ulm between General Jean Victor Moreau's French army and Archduke Charles's main

Austrian army. After fighting around Rastatt, the Austrians withdrew east toward the Danube, followed by Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Moselle; in the north *Feldzeugmeister* Graf Wartensleben's smaller Austrian force and General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan's Army of the Sambre and Meuse moved in parallel. Pressured by his government, Charles reluctantly engaged Moreau in a delaying action around Neresheim near the Danube on 11 August. Despite significant casualties, the battle allowed Charles to break contact and advance north to join Wartensleben near Amberg.

After the Battle of Rastatt and the loss of the contingents furnished by the Holy Roman Empire, Charles's army was reduced to 35,000 troops (with another 20,000 covering the southern flank) facing Moreau with 68,000 men. On 12 July the Austrian command finalized its campaign plan: to withdraw steadily without fighting a major action and take the earliest opportunity to join with Wartensleben's 45,000 in a concentrated attack on one of the French armies. The archduke's army reached Heidenheim on 1 August, two days ahead of Moreau, and spread out to cover the Danube approaches from Gunzburg through Neresheim and southwest to Nordlingen, creating the impression that they would cross the river and, after destroying the bridges, continue withdrawing eastward. However, Jourdan had taken Würzburg and in Italy *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser had been defeated by Bonaparte at Castiglione, so Emperor Francis and Johann Freiherr von Thugut, the foreign minister, demanded that Charles counterattack whatever the cost.

Joined by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Fröhlich, the archduke on 11 August massed 43,000 men against Moreau's 45,000 southeast of Neresheim across hilly ground and boggy defiles, which made coordination difficult. The Austrian center struck first, surprising General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr with the French center around Eglingen at dawn and drove him to Dunstelingen. Charles was anxious about being separated from Wartensleben and had massed his troops on his right (northern) wing, which marched in several columns against the French left between Kossingen and Bopfingen.

In the difficult terrain, the Austrians could not concentrate their attack and were repelled. To the south, the Austrian left advanced toward Heidenheim, destroying a French division as they threatened to envelop the French right. Unable to make progress in the center, Charles dispatched 9,000 men to reinforce his left, just as French reinforcements reached St. Cyr. Having slowed Moreau's pursuit, the archduke canceled further attacks, and the battle died away by 1:00 P.M. amidst a torrential thunderstorm. The next morning, the Austrians withdrew on Donauwörth, rightly confident that Moreau would follow them cautiously and not head north to join Jourdan.

Wartensleben had reached Amberg on 12 August, 130 kilometers to the northeast. Leaving *Feldmarschalleutnant* Graf Baillet von Latour with 35,000 to face Moreau, Charles re-crossed the Danube at Ingolstadt with 28,000 men on 16 August and headed north in the decisive move of the campaign.

David Hollins

*See also* Castiglione, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Holy Roman Empire; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rastatt, Battle of; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf; Würzburg, Battle of

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## Netherlands, Campaign in the (1813–1814)

In 1813 the French faced a Sixth Coalition, organized by the British but with military contingents largely dependent on the sizable field armies furnished by the Russians, Prussians, and, later in the year, the Austrians. The British, for their part, instituted a plan to expel the French from the Low Countries. Although the Netherlands campaign of 1813–1814 was a mere sideshow in military terms, Britain acted with post-Napoleonic strategic objectives in mind. The British policy of maintaining the balance of power on the continent of Europe meant that a defeated France should not be replaced by a new threat, especially one capable of threatening the Low Countries, such as Prussia. An important piece of this strategic goal was therefore to ensure that the Netherlands (Holland) ended the war as an independent country—but not strong enough to close the ports of the Low Countries to British trade.

On 4 November 1813 Prince William of Orange-Nassau (Willem Frederik van Oranje-Nassau), the hereditary prince of Holland, met with Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary. The prince was informed that the Allies would reinstall his House in a new united kingdom of the Low Countries after the war. Five days later Castlereagh presented a plan of the territories to be included in the restored Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The campaign opened on 9 November, when Cossacks under General Alexander Benckendorf entered Holland

from Germany as the advance guard of General Ferdinand Winzegorode's Russian corps. Working with Prince Pavel Gavrilovich Gagarin and Prince Alexander Ivanovich Chernishev, Benckendorf and his Cossacks began to assist the Dutch in expelling the French, capturing the town of Groningen on the fifteenth, while a riot in Amsterdam soon drove out the French from that city. Dutch leaders of the resistance then organized a provisional government to recognize Prince William. On 23 November Leiden, which had joined the provisional government, sent 250 Dutch troops commanded by General de Jonge to occupy the small town of Woerden about 15 kilometers from Utrecht. General Gabriel Jean Joseph, comte Molitor, commanding French forces at Utrecht, attacked Woerden the next day with 1,600 troops, forcing the Dutch to surrender after two hours of hard fighting.

Other Dutch towns, siding with the provisional government, called for urgent military assistance from the Allies. On 23 November General Friedrich von Bülow, commanding Prussian troops, took the towns of Doesburg and Zutphen. Two days later Cossacks took Den Haag (The Hague), and on the twenty-eighth, they were reinforced by 200 British marines. On 30 November Prussian troops captured Arnhem after a hard fight. That same day Prince William landed on the beach at Scheveningen, from which he had fled eighteen years earlier. By December 1813 French troops had evacuated the area north of the River Maas (Meuse), except for Gorinchem, Deventer, Den Helder (a naval port), Coevorden, Naarden, and Delfzijl.

The Allies captured Antwerp and Gorinchem in February 1814. Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham's forces took Bergen-op-Zoom on 8 March and by the end of March 1814, when the Allies occupied Paris, only a few Dutch towns still contained French garrisons.

*Andrew J. Waskey*

*See also* Benckendorf, Alexander Khristoforovich Graf; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Cossacks; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Graham, Sir Thomas; Netherlands, The; Orange, William, Prince of; Winzegorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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## Netherlands, The

### The Dutch Republic (to 1795)

Known at the time of the French Revolutionary Wars as the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and encompassing the approximate dimensions of the Netherlands of today, it should not be confused with the Austrian possession immediately to the south known as the Austrian Netherlands, which constituted what is today Belgium and Luxembourg. The Netherlands were a federated republic, administered by a States-General, with the ruling prince holding the title of *Stadtholder*, an elected position yet hereditary within the House of Orange.

By 1789 the Dutch Republic was only a shadow of its former glory. It had waged three major naval wars against England (from 1707, Britain) in the seventeenth century (1652–1654, 1665–1667, and 1672–1674), and after the fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780–1784), it had lost its already-dwindling naval hegemony to the British. Internally it was in economic crisis and socially was strongly divided. The formerly relatively open merchant elite had developed into a closed oligarchy, the Regents, who were at odds with both the population and with the stadtholderate. The princes of Orange, the Stadtholders, traditionally the champions of the army, the fleet, and the people, had become semimonarchical and vied for establishing an absolute monarchy.

A new factor in the republic were the Patriots, a more or less democratically inclined group who wanted to reform the archaic and inefficient federal state and break the power of the Regents. The Patriots looked to the Stadtholder, William (Willem) V, for support, but this conservative and incompetent man preferred to make common cause with the Regents than to lead the people into reform, which would inevitably have led to limitations on his own power. Growing Patriot unrest was quickly crushed in 1787, however, by troops sent by Frederick William II of Prussia, the prince's brother-in-law.

Many Patriots fled south to the Austrian Netherlands and France, and when the French Revolution broke out they saw their chance. A Batavian Legion (*Légion Batave*) was formed in French service, containing roughly 2,500 men under the leadership of Pieter Willem Daendels, a man who would remain very influential, both militarily and politically, during the entire period of French suzerainty and occupation (1795–1814). The Legion saw action in the *Armée du Nord* (Army of the North) and would be present during the French invasion of Holland in 1794.

In 1793 the Dutch Republic became a member of the First Coalition, whose principal members included Austria, Prussia, Britain, and Spain. Dutch troops saw action mainly

in defense of the Austrian Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, taking Landrecies (30 April 1794), raising the siege of Charleroi (3 June), driving General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan over the Sambre (16 June), and preventing the French from crossing the Meuse (in Holland known as the Maas), Waal, and Rhine in December, until the rivers froze tight, which allowed the French to cross unhindered. The Batavian Legion fought first under General Charles François Dumouriez and later General Jean Charles Pichegru during the campaigns in Flanders and Holland.

### **The Batavian Republic (1795–1806)**

In 1795 the Dutch Republic was finally overrun by the French, an event strongly facilitated by extreme frost, rendering Dutch defenses, which mainly relied on a line of inundated areas surrounding the principal province of Holland, useless. The Stadtholder fled and the government was taken over by French sympathizers, among whom were many former Patriots, and the Batavian Republic was created. In the event, the result was not entirely what the Patriots had in mind. The French proved overbearing and treated the Dutch as vassals rather than as allies. One of the reasons for that was purely geopolitical, given that the French needed tight control over their allies to withstand the coalition. But there was more to it.

In France there was little sympathy for the Dutch. Not only had the exiled Patriots initially sought help from the French king, proving them rather opportunistic in the eyes of the Revolutionaries, but the Batavian Legions were embarrassed by being closely associated with Dumouriez, who went over to the Austrians after his defeat at Neerwinden. Moreover, the French wanted compensation for helping to overthrow the Dutch regime. As the former Dutch Republic had a (largely obsolete) reputation of being fabulously rich, the French exploited that reputation to the full.

In 1795 the Peace of The Hague was signed, in which the Batavian Republic, in addition to ceding some strategically valuable territory, was obliged to pay the enormous amount of one million guilders in tribute and further, to offer a large loan at a negligible rate of interest. Apart from providing troops as a very junior partner in an alliance with Revolutionary France, the Batavian Republic was expected to provide for a French force of 25,000 troops that would remain on Dutch soil.

Because the Dutch colonies and trade were by this time largely blockaded or disrupted by the British, the burden was prohibitively heavy. Used to diplomacy and negotiation, Dutch diplomats were reduced to continually harassing the French to relinquish them from part of their obligations. Forced, moreover, by shortages and impossibilities, many politicians did everything they could to

negate or delay payments or the execution of burdensome measures, further enhancing French indignation.

On a political level as well, the Batavian Republic was a hard nut to crack. Loyal to their republican past and to their strong federalist traditions, the Dutch defied the French call for a centralized state. The struggle between those who supported the centralist cause and those who were used to their old privileges and rights delayed the forming of a constitution until 1801, this in its turn delaying the creation of an efficient centralized state with a tax system, which for the French would be a far easier means of exercising extortion. Even this constitution would not last long, as Napoleon introduced another after making his brother Louis King of Holland in 1806. However, the Batavian Republic probably proved still more lucrative as a satellite state than it would have through outright annexation, which, by making the Netherlands part of the French nation, would entitle it to corresponding rights.

Militarily, the Batavian Republic was not a very important part of the French sphere of influence. The fleet, small, obsolete, in bad repair, and suffering from the Orangist tendencies of the crew, was decimated at Camperdown (Kamperduin) in 1797, and the feats of the Batavian Army were limited. Together with the French they fought against the British and Russians who invaded North Holland in 1799 and were defeated at Bergen under General Guillaume Brune. Later they marched to the Rhineland to join General Jean-Baptiste Dumonceau at the river Main in 1800–1801 and participated in the Ulm-Austerlitz campaign in 1805.

### **The Kingdom of Holland (1806–1810)**

Under Napoleon the French Empire became increasingly dependent on foreign manpower and matériel. The Emperor, being far less “republican” in his outlook than the republicans he replaced, was more inclined to mold his vassal states to his wishes. As the Batavian Republic remained recalcitrant and uncooperative and, with mounting injury upon insult was reluctant to supply sufficient troops for the French war effort, Napoleon disbanded the Republic and put his brother Louis Bonaparte on the throne of a newly formed Kingdom of Holland on 5 June 1806. Napoleon’s hopes were quickly destroyed. Louis was not to be a mere vassal who slavishly executed his brother’s orders but proved to be a responsible ruler who on occasion actively defied his brother’s wishes, up to the point of acting contrary to his interests.

The increasingly popular Louis quickly became fond of the Dutch and their small country, and he enjoyed his duties and hard work. Acting in the very manner of the Batavian Republic—often advised by the very same men who had administered it—he protested and delayed the

supply of troops and measures that damaged trade or standards of living. One of his major feats was his continuing refusal to introduce general conscription, which temporarily saved the Dutch male population from being decimated for the further glory of the French Empire. Moreover, Louis nakedly defied the Continental System and openly tolerated the smuggling of British goods. A boon for the Dutch, it was to his own detriment: On 1 July 1810 he was forced to abdicate, and he fled, finally leaving the country open to annexation by France.

Because its army was small and notoriously under-strength, the Kingdom of Holland played only a minor military role in the wars. From 1807 to 1809 Dutch troops served mainly in northern Germany and Belgium. They were in Westphalia and Hanover in the campaigns of 1806–1807, and in Mecklenburg and Pomerania from 1807 to 1809. A Dutch brigade served admirably in Spain from 1808 to 1810 under the command of General David Hendrik Chassé, who later would command a Dutch brigade at Waterloo. Within their own borders, Dutch troops served at Walcheren against the British expedition to that island in 1809.

#### **French Annexation (1810–1813)**

Wishing to tighten French control over its subject northern neighbor, Napoleon ordered French troops to occupy the southern provinces of the Republic in January 1810. On 4 February troops were ordered to occupy towns south of the Maas and Waal rivers. On 16 March Louis Bonaparte was forced to conclude a treaty with France ceding his southern provinces to the Empire, though French troops continued to expand their occupation of Holland. After Louis abdicated on 1 July the Netherlands became an integrated part of France, effective from the thirteenth. Well, almost so: Some regulations remained in place designed for further exploitation of the country. The regiments of the Dutch kingdom—with some changes—were redesignated as regiments of the French Army; the Dutch Guard Grenadiers became the 2nd (later 3rd) Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and the regiment of Horse Guards became the 2nd Guard Lancers. Most regiments, although forming an integrated part of the French Army, remained fully Dutch, with Dutch recruitment, officers, and staff.

Conscription was introduced on 3 February 1811, a move that led to a series of public demonstrations and clashes with troops, not least when large numbers of men were called upon to serve in the Russian campaign in 1812. Indeed, Dutch troops served in the Peninsula; in Russia, fighting at Borodino and at the crossing of the Berezina; and in the campaign of 1813 at Lützen, Bautzen, and Leipzig. Sadly, like many other foreign troops, Dutch troops were often treated harshly and wantonly by their French generals.

The Netherlands itself became a theater of operations when British and Russian troops invaded the country in November, precipitating uprisings against the French in Amsterdam and at The Hague on the fifteenth and seventeenth, respectively. The hereditary Prince of Orange, William VI (son of the former Stadtholder, William V, who had died on 9 April 1806), landed at Scheveningen on 30 November 1813 and was proclaimed Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands on 2 December, taking the title of William I. Although there still was some military resistance to the return of the Oranges, by the time the prince returned after 18 years in exile, this largely consisted of stubborn French troops or personal admirers of the Emperor. Most Patriot resistance had ebbed away in the twenty years in between and most Dutch hailed the prince, hoping for peace and better times. The armies of both parts were amalgamated, a process that was not fully completed when the Waterloo campaign began.

#### **The Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814–1815)**

William adopted a new constitution favoring a central over a federal system. After the fall of Napoleon in May 1814, the Netherlands was evacuated by the French, and William was inaugurated as King William I of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, to which shortly afterward the former Austrian Netherlands (roughly present-day Belgium and Luxembourg) was added by an agreement reached on 14 June by the Allied powers in the Treaty of London.

When Napoleon returned in the spring of 1815, the Dutch took part in the Waterloo campaign, in which some 30,000 Dutch and Belgians fought initially under the command of the Prince of Orange, the son of the new king, but later under the command of the Duke of Wellington. The Dutch troops suffered notoriously bad press, especially from the British, a reputation only partially deserved. Indeed, especially in the higher echelons, command was often of high quality, because many commanders in the Dutch contingents were career officers—as was common in continental European armies, several were not Dutch natives—who had been in foreign service, be it French, British, or Austrian. The above-mentioned General Chassé commanded a brigade; the Prince of Saxe-Weimar commanded the brigade that, contrary to Wellington's orders, held Quatre Bras; and Orange's chief of staff, Baron de Constant Rebecque, decided to reinforce the town; all were actions that proved of major importance in achieving victory at Waterloo.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bergen, Battle of; Bonaparte, Louis; Borodino, Battle of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Camperdown, Battle of; Conscription (French); Continental System; Dumouriez,

Charles François Dupérier; Dutch Forces; Dutch Navy; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William II, King; French Army; Imperial Guard (French); Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Landrecies, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Netherlands, Campaign in the (1813–1814); North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Orange, William, Prince of; Peninsular War; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Sambre, Battles of the; Schimmelpenninck, Rutger Jan; Second Coalition, War of the; Texel, Capture of the Dutch Fleet of; Third Coalition, War of the; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Neuwied, Battle of

See Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

## Neverovsky, Dmitry Petrovich (1771–1813)

Russian general and corps commander. Neverovsky was born to a petty noble family in the Poltava *gubernia* (province). He enlisted as a private in the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment in 1786 and became a sergeant in early 1787. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792, he transferred as a lieutenant to the *Malorosiisk* (Little Russia) Grenadier Regiment in October 1787 and fought at Salchea and Bender. In Poland in 1792–1794, Neverovsky participated in the actions at Derevitse, Gorodische (promoted to captain), Maciejowice, and Praga. Promoted to colonel, he took command of the 1st Marine Regiment in October 1803. The following year he rose to major general and *chef* of the 3rd Marine Regiment at Revel.

In 1805 Neverovsky served under General Peter Tolstoy in the expedition to Hanover. He returned to Revel in early 1806 and became *chef* of the Pavlograd Grenadier Regiment in November 1807. In late 1811 he organized the

27th Infantry Division, which was later assigned to the 2nd Western Army. During the 1812 campaign Neverovsky joined Prince Peter Bagration on the Russian retreat eastward and on 14 August distinguished himself at Krasnyi, where he halted the French army and allowed Russian forces to defend Smolensk. He then took part in the battles of Smolensk, Borodino (where he was wounded), and Maloyaroslavets. For his actions at Borodino he was promoted to lieutenant general in November 1812.

In 1813 Neverovsky served in General Fabian Osten-Sacken's corps of the Army of Silesia under the Prussian general Gebhard von Blücher and fought at the Katzbach. He was mortally wounded at Leipzig when a musket ball shattered his leg. He died of gangrene in the hospital at Halle on 2 November and was buried in a local cemetery. His remains were transferred to the Borodino battlefield on 20 July 1912. For his actions at Leipzig, Neverovsky was nominated for honors but died before receiving them.

Alexander Mikaberidze

See also Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Borodino, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Katzbach, Battle of the; Krasnyi, First Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Maciejowice, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Smolensk, Battle of

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## New Orleans, Battle of (8 January 1815)

The last land battle of the War of 1812, fought, unbeknown to the combatants, after a treaty of peace had been signed by their respective nations 3,000 miles away at Ghent (at the time part of the newly formed Kingdom of the Netherlands, though Ghent is now in Belgium).

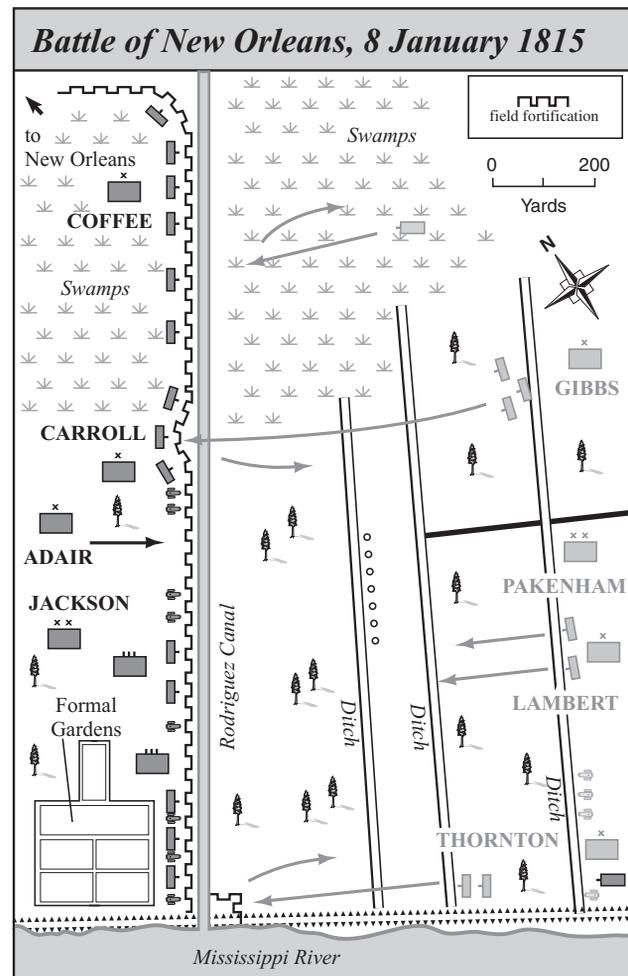
Seeking to capture the important trading center of New Orleans on the Mississippi River, Major General Sir Edward Pakenham, a veteran commander of the Peninsular War, landed his army in the delta in December 1814 and proceeded upriver, encountering American resistance on 31 December. American artillery silenced Pakenham's guns and obliged him to retire and await the opportunity for a second attempt on the city. On 1 January 1815, 1,600 reinforcements arrived, whereupon Pakenham, with about 5,800 men, decided to assault the main American position of about 4,300 men under General Andrew Jackson, whose forces lay camped on Chalmette Plain, on the left bank of

the river. Pakenham planned the attack for the morning of 8 January, which was to begin with a flanking movement launched against the weaker American position on the right bank. A shallow canal connected to the river, together with the American defense of Fort St. Philip downriver, prevented Pakenham from bringing up enough boats to enable the 1,200 men under Lieutenant Colonel William Thornton to cross to the right bank. The shortage of boats therefore held up the crossing, and because Pakenham intended to open the battle on the right bank, this threw his plans off schedule.

The main assault was to be made on the left bank, where the Americans were deployed behind a ditch four feet deep and a line of entrenchments fashioned from earth, bales of cotton, and boxes of provisions. The American left was anchored on a thick swamp and its right on the Mississippi. Major General Samuel Gibbs would lead one column of 2,100 forward about 200 yards from the swamp. The leading regiment was to carry fascines to be hurled into the ditch, while those behind would carry the ladders needed to scale the enemy earthwork. Strict orders were issued that no one was to fire until he had made it to the ditch. A second column of 1,200, under Major General John Keane, was to storm the American position closer to the river in the event that Thornton had taken the enemy guns on the right flank. If, however, Gibbs succeeded in penetrating the American line, Keane was to exploit that success by pushing his men through the gap thus created. A smaller, third column of four companies from various regiments under Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rennie was to proceed along the road that hugged the river. A reserve of 1,400 men under Major General John Lambert was kept farther to the rear.

Pakenham had given instructions that action was to open with the attack on the right bank, but when dawn arrived, accompanied by heavy fog, nothing could be seen or heard across the river. He consequently decided to proceed with the main thrust on the left bank. The three columns advanced, covered by skirmishers, but Gibbs's column stopped when it was discovered that someone had bungled and forgotten the fascines and ladders. Soon the fog dissipated, and with the British infantry clearly in sight, the Americans opened fire with their artillery, including guns on the right bank that began to enfilade Keane's men. At about the same time the Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen opened their own fire.

Keane, now aware that Thornton had failed to capture or drive off the enemy guns on the right bank, marched his column obliquely in Gibbs's direction, thus leaving Rennie's small force alone by the river. Rennie nevertheless managed to enter a redoubt separate from the main entrenchments, but this left him exposed to a terrible enemy



Adapted from Chandler 1999, 313.

fire. Rennie and large numbers of his men were easily shot down in their exposed position, while Keane suffered such intense fire in front of the main position that in less than half an hour his column was in confusion and his men began to lie down to seek protection. When the fascines and ladders arrived Gibbs proceeded, but despite his entreaties his men halted and began to fire. Again they became easy targets and were shot down in large numbers, causing them once again to cling to the earth. A small number, having crossed the ditch, reached the parapet, but these were left to be killed or captured by the refusal of their compatriots to advance under the withering fire.

Gibbs, ordering his men to leave their heavy packs on the ground, rode ahead in an effort to stop the pointless carnage and advance on the American position. A few men tried to rise, but most remained prone, while Gibbs was unhorsed and mortally wounded by a rifle ball, followed by Keane, who was carried away unconscious. Lambert now brought forward the reserve, but it, too, halted once exposed to the combination of accurate rifle and artillery

fire. Pakenham then intervened, and while in the midst of reproving his men, was thrown from his horse, which had been shot. Though badly injured in the fall, Pakenham mounted another horse and attempted to re-form his men before being hit again and killed 300 yards from the enemy line. Command devolved on Lambert, who called a halt to the assault on the left bank and sent Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson, the officer in command of the artillery, to make inquiries about progress on the right.

Thornton and his approximately 1,200 men were to have been transported across the river before dawn, but during the early hours of the morning he realized that without sufficient numbers of boats this was impossible. This left him with only 450 men, which he landed, much later than originally intended, a mile downstream from the Kentuckians, who were positioned in makeshift entrenchments under General Daniel Morgan. This delay had led Pakenham to commence his advance without waiting for Thornton, who was originally supposed to issue the signal for attack.

Morgan had only a scratch force of 250 backwoodsmen, recently arrived and exhausted from their night march through the mud. These Thornton forced back to Morgan's main line, which was undermanned and overextended in a position stretching 500 yards, with its left flank on the river and its right flank exposed. In this position some of the Americans remained for a brief time before running off. Only one of the American batteries was trained on these attackers, the remainder having been sighted to enfilade the assault on the left bank. With Thornton's advance, the Americans spiked their guns and general panic set in, causing the entire force of Kentuckians to flee until finally rallying far to the rear at Boisgervais.

With insufficient numbers to seize the new American position, Thornton halted in expectation of new orders and reinforcements. Dickson now arrived from across the river and, having assessed the situation, reported to Lambert that Thornton should withdraw. Lambert agreed, despite opposition from some of his officers, including the chief engineer, Lieutenant Colonel John Fox Burgoyne, who maintained that with reinforcements Thornton could penetrate the new line at Boisgervais and proceed along the riverbank to a point facing New Orleans. From there they could bombard the city and destroy it with fire or force its surrender on the threat of such destruction. Thornton, was, however, duly withdrawn to the left side of the river, and an armistice was agreed on between the two sides to allow burial of the dead.

Had Lambert prosecuted the offensive on the right bank, he would almost certainly have broken through, thus circumventing the apparently impenetrable American posi-



The Battle of New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson stands on the parapet of his makeshift defenses as his troops repulse attacking Highlanders. (Library of Congress)

tion of Jackson's main line. The British withdrew to their ships, and shortly thereafter, news arrived of the conclusion of peace between the two countries. Losses in the battle were extremely unevenly distributed and demonstrated the growing power of the defense by well-armed men firing from cover who had not been subject to a preliminary bombardment. The British lost 192 killed and a staggering 1,265 wounded to the Americans' 13 killed and the same number wounded. In addition, 484 British and 19 Americans went missing. Total losses were 1,941 and 45, respectively.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Chippewa, Battle of; Lundy's Lane, Battle of; Pakenham, Sir Edward; Peninsular War; War of 1812

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## Ney, Michel (1769–1815)

Possessing exceptional leadership qualities and bravery, Ney was more than one of Napoleon's most famous marshals, but ranks among the foremost French commanders of the Napoleonic Wars.

Michel Ney was born on 10 January 1769 in Saarlouis, Alsace, to Pierre Ney, a master barrel cooper and blacksmith, and his wife, Margarete Graffin. He apprenticed first as a cooper and then to a local notary lawyer, after which he worked as a mine administrator for three years. However, realizing his interests lay elsewhere and his innate intelligence for the military, he joined the 5th Hussars in February 1787 at Metz. Ney soon excelled in horsemanship and fencing, became a first-class swordsman, and proved to be a brave soldier. His temperamental, impetuous, warmhearted character, accompanied by a generous personal gallantry and flair, were balanced with a commanding voice, a cool, calm, professional demeanor, and boundless energy.

The iron-willed Ney was promoted up the ranks in a short period, becoming *maréchal des logis* (sergeant) in February 1792. As the war began in April, Ney joined the Army of the North and initially served as an aide-de-camp to General François Joseph Lamarche. Promoted to lieutenant on 5 November 1792, he fought at Neerwinden on 18 March 1793 and was promoted to captain in April 1794. Later that year, he transferred to the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, attracted the notice of General Jean-Baptiste Kléber, and rose to *adjutant général chef d'escadrons* in September. Distinguishing himself at Aldenhoven in October, he became *adjutant général chef de brigade* later that month. In November Ney served in the Rhine theater in the sieges of Maastricht and Mainz, where he was wounded.

Over the next three years, he participated in numerous engagements, defeating the Austrians at Loano in 1795 but also fighting at Opladen, Lahn, Friedberg, Dierdorf, Montabaur, Altenkirchen, Forchheim, Würzburg, Neuwied, and Kirchberg; and earned a reputation of veritable fire-eater and the nickname *Le Rougeaud* (The Ruddy). He was promoted to *général de brigade* on 1 August 1796. In the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, Ney commanded or otherwise played a leading role in the battles of Montenotte, Dego, Mondovi, Lonato, Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli. After being captured by the Austrians near Giessen on 21



Michel Ney. Known as “The bravest of the brave,” and arguably Napoleon's greatest marshal, Ney displayed great courage in action, above all during the retreat from Moscow, when he was reputed to have been the last Frenchman to leave Russian soil. (Engraving by Gaildrau and Leguay, 19th c. The David Markham Collection)

April 1797, he was exchanged on 27 May. He went on to command cavalry units in the Army of Mainz that same year, in the Army of England in 1798, and in the Army of the Lower Rhine in 1799. He distinguished himself at Mannheim in 1799 and was promoted to *général de division* on 28 March.

In May 1799 Ney was transferred to command the light cavalry of the Army of the Danube and Switzerland under General André Masséna. In action at Winterthur on 27 May he sustained several injuries and left the army to recuperate. Upon his recovery, Ney was transferred to the Rhine and fought at Hohenlinden under General Jean Victor Moreau in December 1800.

Ney met Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul, at a Tuileries function in May 1801. The courtlike atmosphere

annoyed Ney, who abhorred public life and never felt comfortable in what he considered an artificial social environment. Bonaparte was leery of Ney, who had worked closely with his rival, Moreau; on the other hand, Bonaparte's wife, Josephine, was impressed by him. Ney had bought a farm in Lorraine following the disbanding of the Army of the North and looked forward to some rest.

Bonaparte and Josephine arranged his marriage to the kindhearted, lively, and attractive Aglaé Auguié, a close friend of Hortense de Beauharnais, which took place on 5 August 1802 in the chapel of the Auguié château at Grignan, near Versailles. Aglaé had been one of the ladies attending Josephine. Her father was Pierre Cesar Auguié, and her mother, Adelaide Genet, had been a trusted lady-in-waiting to Queen Marie Antoinette. Aglaé thus was of a higher social background than Ney. The well-suited, happy couple had four sons by 1807. Aglaé effectively raised the children herself, for Ney seldom received extensive leave. This absence caused some marital problems, but the marriage survived. In 1808 Ney bought the Château des Coudreaux.

In 1802 Ney was appointed to command the French troops in Switzerland and served as Bonaparte's diplomatic representative to this country. The following year, he was recalled to France and given commands of the camps of Compiègne and Montreuil that trained troops for the planned invasion of England. As Bonaparte began reorganizing his armies, he conferred on Ney the newly created title of Marshal of the Empire on 19 May 1804 and made him a member of the Légion d'Honneur on 2 February 1805. Ney also received command of VI Corps of the newly created Grande Armée.

As the political reality quickly changed in Europe and France was pitted against the Third Coalition in 1805, Ney led his corps against Austrian forces. On 14 October, Ney prevented the Austrian army from breaking out of an encirclement at Ulm by leading a charge across the bridge at Elchingen, a few miles southeast of Ulm. This victory led to the surrender of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich's entire army and earned for Ney the title of duc d'Elchingen in 1808. He was then sent to conquer the Tyrol—thus his absence from the decisive Battle of Austerlitz—where he seized Innsbruck from Archduke John in November 1805.

In 1806 Ney participated in the campaign against Prussia and fought—rather recklessly—at Jena on 14 October. However, he distinguished himself in the subsequent pursuit of the Prussian army, when his troops captured Erfurt (together with its 100 guns and garrison of 14,000 men) and Magdeburg (with its 800 guns and some 23,000 troops). After a short rest in Berlin, Ney found himself in the midst of another campaign, this time against the Russians. He served at Thorn and Soldau in December 1806

before arriving in time to save the day at Eylau (8 February 1807), though the battle proved to be a bloody stalemate, with Ney famously noting, “*Quel massacre! Et sans resultat*” (What a massacre! And without result.) (Montesquiou-Fezensac 1863, 149). In June Ney demonstrated his tactical skills once again as he successfully escaped with his troops from the attacks of numerically superior Russian forces near Guttstadt (9 June) and then fought with distinction at Friedland (14 June).

In 1808 Ney's VI Corps was transferred to Spain, where he fought in several small actions in Galicia and Asturias. In 1810 he served under Marshal André Masséna during the invasion of Portugal. He took Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida in July–August 1810 but suffered heavy casualties during the French retreat from the Lines of Torres Vedras and the subsequent defeat at the Battle of Busaco on 27 September. The rather unorthodox Ney blatantly quarreled with his commanding officer, Masséna, and was charged with insubordination and sent back to France in disgrace in March 1811. Over the next year, Ney commanded a camp in Boulogne before being appointed commander of III Corps of the Grande Armée on the eve of the invasion of Russia.

During the Russian campaign in 1812, Ney served in the first action at Krasnyi; at the Battle of Smolensk, where he was wounded in the neck; at Valutina Gora (Lubino) in August; and at Borodino on 7 September, where he distinguished himself in valiantly leading attacks against the fortified Russian left flank.

Ney is probably best remembered for the exceptional personal bravery he displayed while commanding the vulnerable French rear guard during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in November and December, during which time his troops not only had to endure the bitter cold but also faced continuous Cossack attacks. After being cut off from the main army at Krasnyi, he managed to fight his way through the Russian lines after a Herculean effort that left most of his soldiers dead. Given the new nickname “The Bravest of the Brave,” Ney participated in the bloodbath on the banks of the Berezina in late November and then gallantly defended the bridge at Kovno in December, where he was reputedly the last Frenchman to leave Russian soil. For his heroic service, Napoleon made him prince de la Moskova in March 1813.

The Russian campaign had a profound effect on Ney, who was deeply moved by the continuous loss of his men. Having watched his frostbitten, starving, exhausted soldiers collapse to their deaths during the retreat, Ney began to grow weary of war. Nevertheless, he remained in command and went on to fight in the campaign of 1813 in Germany. On 29 April, he fought successfully at Weissenfels before being wounded in the leg at the Battle of

Lützen on 2 May. He later commanded the left wing at Bautzen on 20–21 May, when his delay and paucity of cavalry prevented Napoleon from completing his planned envelopment and destruction of the Allied armies. Later that spring, Ney led his corps into Silesia and served at Breslau in June and Dresden in August. He was then sent to restore French control of Berlin but suffered defeat at Dennewitz on 6 September. This setback convinced Napoleon to concentrate his forces near Leipzig, where Ney participated in the decisive battle in and around that city between 16 and 19 October, when he received another wound.

In 1814, as the Allied armies invaded France, Ney took command of the 1st Division of Voltigeurs of the Young Guard in January and fought at most of the principal battles of February and March, including St. Dizier, Brienne, La Rothière, Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Craonne, Laon, Rheims, and Arcis-sur-Aube. In early April, at Fontainebleau, he became the spokesman for the marshals, negotiated with the Allies, and persuaded Napoleon to abdicate. In a heated exchange, Napoleon, still not cognizant that defeat was inevitable, argued that the army would follow his orders, to which Ney famously replied that the men would follow their generals.

During the Restoration, Ney pledged an oath of allegiance to King Louis XVIII and, despite his service over the previous decade, he stood in high favor at court. One month after Napoleon's abdication, Ney was appointed to the Council of War and made commander in chief of the cavalry and commander of the 6th Military District at Besançon. The king also rewarded him with the title of chevalier of the Order of St. Louis (1 June) and peer of France (4 June). However, Ney's seemingly successful career was interrupted by the return from exile of his old master, Napoleon, in March 1815. Despite his infamous promise to deliver Napoleon in an iron cage, Ney recognized the unpopularity of the Bourbon monarchy and rallied to the Emperor's side at Auxerre on 18 March. Napoleon, probably less trusting of his old marshal, appointed him inspector of the northern frontiers near Lille and Landau. On the eve of his final campaign—against the seventh coalition formed against France since 1792—Napoleon recalled Ney and gave him command of the left wing of the Army of the North.

On 16 June, Ney fought field marshal the Duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras, where Ney's sluggishness and relative tameness enabled the Anglo-Allied forces to defend that strategic junction, averting the imminent destruction of the Prussian forces at Ligny. At Waterloo, on 18 June, Ney served as de facto field commander because of Napoleon's poor health.

Ney has been frequently accused of having mishandled the cavalry and infantry charges whose failure con-

tributed so much to the catastrophic French defeat. Specifically, Ney's impetuous unleashing of most of the French cavalry against Wellington's squares atop the ridge of Mont St. Jean is often cited as one of the deciding factors in the outcome of the battle. To his credit, Ney fought valiantly in this battle, having had four horses shot from under him and having attempted—but failed—to rally the fleeing masses of troops in the wake of the repulse of the Imperial Guard, famously shouting, "*Venez voir comment meurt un maréchal de France!*" (Come and see how a Marshal of France dies!) (Chandler 1987, 373).

After Waterloo, Ney decided against emigrating from France and hoped to be allowed to retire. Awaiting the verdict at his residence at Château de la Bessonie, near Aurillac, he was arrested on 3 August and was initially presented to the Council of War to be court-martialed for treason by his fellow marshals. However, they refused to try him and the case was passed to the Upper Chamber of the House of Peers on 4 December. Ney attempted to justify his actions but his arguments proved futile, and no one came to his defense. He was found guilty and sentenced to death on 6 December. The following day, Ney—refusing to wear a blindfold—was led before a firing squad at the Jardins du Luxembourg. "Soldiers," he declared, "when I give the command to fire, fire straight at the heart. Wait for the order. It will be my last to you. I protest against my condemnation. I have fought a hundred battles for France, and not one against her" (Chandler 1987, 374). An eyewitness on the day noted that one of the soldiers of Ney's firing squad deliberately aimed at the wall.

Although initially buried in an unmarked grave, Ney was eventually reburied at Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. His heroic death made him a French military icon, and in 1851 he was finally exonerated. A statue in his honor was unveiled at Carrefour Observatory on 7 December 1853, his aged wife and sons present to witness the ceremony.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Altenkirchen, Battle of; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Borodino, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Busaco, Battle of; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Cossacks; Craonne, Battle of; Dennewitz, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Elchingen, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedberg, Battle of; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; John, Archduke; Josephine, Empress; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; La Rothière, Battle of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Loano, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lützen, Battle

of; Maastricht, Siege of; Mainz, Siege of; Mannheim Offensive; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Montmirail, Battle of; Moreau, Jean-Victor; Neerwinden, Battle of; Peninsular War; Portugal, Invasion of; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Rheims, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1790–1800); Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of; St. Dizier, Battle of; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Ulm, Surrender at; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Würzburg, Battle of

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## **Nile, Battle of the (1–2 August 1798)**

Decisive British naval victory. In the spring of 1798 the French prepared a strong naval armament at the great Mediterranean naval port at Toulon. The destination of this force, which was to convey thousands of troops under Bonaparte on an expedition to Egypt, was a closely guarded secret, prompting the Admiralty in London to dispatch a fleet commanded by Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson to engage and destroy the French fleet, commanded by Vice Admiral François, comte de Brueys.

By the time Nelson reached Toulon the French fleet, consisting of 400 transports carrying 35,000 troops and escorted by 13 ships of the line and four frigates, had already sailed for parts unknown, though the British had their theories as to its purpose and destination: either an attack on Naples or Sicily; for the conveyance of an army to Spain,

ultimately destined for Portugal; or to pass the Straits of Gibraltar en route to Ireland. According to his instructions, Nelson could follow the French anywhere in the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, if necessary. As for Egypt, no mention was specifically made, and there is no evidence that the Admiralty ever imagined it to be Bonaparte's destination. Thus, Nelson had the entire Mediterranean to search, knowing as he did only that Brueys had left Toulon with a northwest wind.

Nelson made first for Corsica and reached Cap Corse on 12 June. Sailing down the coast of Tuscany he anchored in the Bay of Naples on the seventeenth, having received no intelligence from Civita Vecchia (the principal port serving Rome, now Civitavecchia) and a false report of the French at Syracuse as related by a North African vessel. At Naples Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador, informed Nelson that the French had gone to Malta, and on the strength of this impression he sailed for the Strait of Messina, which he reached on the twentieth. From the British consul at Messina he discovered that in fact both Malta and Gozo had been taken and that the French were still in the vicinity of the latter island. Nelson proceeded through the strait, but on the twenty-second, when off Cape Passaro, he received news that the French had left Malta on the eighteenth with a northwest wind. Alexandria therefore appeared the likely destination, and so Nelson made for the southeast under full sail. No further intelligence was received during the journey to the Egyptian coast and when, on the twenty-eighth, the *Mutine* (16 guns) entered the harbor at Alexandria in search of the French fleet, her crew found no sign of the French or evidence that they had in fact reached Egypt at all.

Thus frustrated in his search, Nelson adopted a new course on the twenty-ninth, sailing northeast until he reached the coast of Anatolia on 4 July. After several days of adverse weather preceding more than a week of favorable winds, Nelson managed to anchor at Syracuse on the nineteenth in order to procure supplies and water. The fleet weighed again on the twenty-fourth. Quite convinced that the French were not to be found at or near Corfu, Nelson decided to investigate the harbor of Alexandria for a second time. First, however, he made for the Morea (the contemporary name for the southern Greek peninsula now known as the Peloponnese), where, off Cape Gallo on the twenty-eighth, he learned from the governor of Corfu that the French had been sighted about a month before off the coast of Candia (Crete), proceeding on a southeast course.

Nelson naturally headed in the same direction, and at 10:00 A.M. on 1 August he caught sight of Alexandria. This time, however, the place was clearly under French possession. The tricolor could be seen flying, and the harbor was filled with vessels. Yet it did not contain the ships of the line

that Nelson had sought for so long. The two ships sent in to reconnoiter discovered only transports and merchant vessels. Only eight ships of war, all insignificant, lay at anchor.

The question remained how the French had arrived undetected by Nelson's fleet. Having left 4,000 troops to garrison Malta, Brueys had sailed east, reaching the coast of Candia at Cape Durazzo on 30 June. From there he made for the African coast, and on reaching a point 70 miles west of Alexandria, followed the shore east and reached the city on 1 July. Troops were immediately sent ashore, and on the following day, after brushing aside light resistance, the city was taken by Bonaparte's troops. However, as Alexandria was not deemed suitable for the ships of the line and the frigates, on the eighth Brueys took his warships to Aboukir Bay, about 15 miles to the northeast.

The frustration among Nelson and the fleet at failing to discover the French fleet was, however, short-lived. Around 1:00 P.M. on 1 August the *Zealous* (74 guns) discovered seventeen warships, of which thirteen or fourteen lay in line of battle, anchored in Aboukir Bay. After receiving the signal, Nelson immediately hauled up and proceeded east with a strong breeze. After a long game of cat and mouse the rival fleets were finally to confront one another.

Aboukir Bay features a semicircular opening to the north about 16 miles across, with Aboukir Point on the west and the Rosetta mouth of the Nile to the east. Access to all but the smallest of vessels was, however, restricted by a chain of shoals and rocks extending to the north from Aboukir Point. The largest of these rocks, Aboukir Island, lies almost 2 miles from shore, and the French occupied and fortified both this place and the town of Aboukir, which lay at Aboukir Point. None of Nelson's ships could negotiate through the shoals and rocks making up this chain, and at the time of the battle the shoal stretched to the northeast for almost a mile beyond Aboukir Island. Thus, for Nelson's fleet, the entrance to the bay measured about 13 miles, and both its mouth and interior were completely uncharted by the British.

Brueys's ships stood at anchor in line, stretching to the southeast, toward the shore, with the leading vessel about 2,400 yards southeast of Aboukir Island. Toward its middle the line took on a slightly convex shape, extending slightly to seaward. At the northwestern end of the line lay the *Guerrier* (74), situated about 1,000 yards from the edge of the shoal that circled the island. About 160 yards separated the anchored ships, making the whole line about 2,850 yards. Between this line and the shore lay a shoal, though the distance between the two was not so great that ships could not pass between them. Here lay the essence of Brueys's faulty dispositions. About halfway between the shoal and his line Brueys placed his four frigates, all parallel with the ships of the line. His smallest vessels—bomb

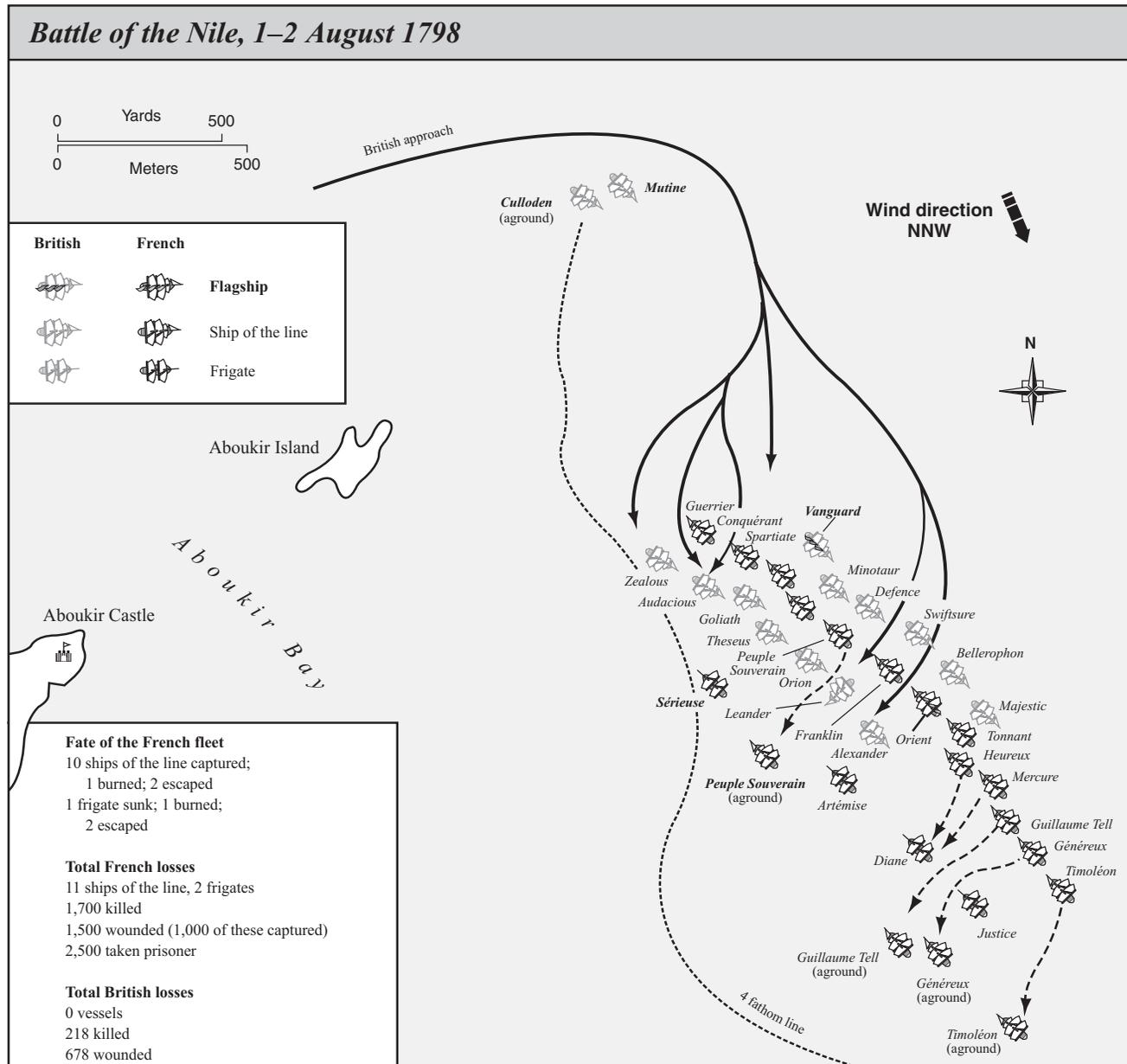
ships and gunboats—he placed closer to shore, near Aboukir Point. On Aboukir Island the French had four 12-pounders, two 13-inch mortars, and some other ordnance of still smaller caliber.

The first of Nelson's force came into view at 2:00 P.M., when the *Heureux* (74) signaled the approach of twelve ships of the line from the northwest. Brueys did not expect to fight, as was abundantly evident by the fact that a large number of men were on shore collecting water. The French commander immediately recalled as many as he could and transferred part of the frigate crews to his larger ships. At 3:00 P.M. he issued the signal to prepare for battle and sent two brigs, the *Railleur* and *Alerte*, to try to attract the attacking force on to the shoals. An hour later he discovered that in fact the British had a force of fourteen—not twelve—ships of the line, for the *Alexander* (74) and *Swiftsure* (74) had now come up with Nelson's fleet. As such, Brueys initially sought to weigh anchor, though when he realized that Nelson would not attack until the next day, he decided to remain in place.

Nelson issued the signal to prepare for battle at 3:00 P.M., and an hour later, with *Orient* (120), the French flagship, bearing southeast by south about 9 miles away, Nelson signaled for his fleet to prepare to anchor from the stern. Having issued this order, he indicated his intention to attack the French van and center. Having already briefed his subordinates with his plans should they find the French arrayed as they were in the end discovered, Nelson could now trust with confidence that his captains would carry out his intentions.

As the British approached, the *Railleur* and *Alerte* proved unable to distract Nelson's van, which ignored them entirely. At 5:30 P.M., as he approached the shoal off Aboukir Island, Nelson gave the signal for line of battle ahead and for his ships to position themselves astern of his flagship, the *Vanguard* (74), as his vessels found it possible to maneuver among the rocks. A short time later he called to the captain of the *Zealous*, asking whether he thought the ships could clear the shoal. A differing account relates that Nelson actually inquired about whether the depth of water would permit his ships to approach between the anchored French and the shore, rather than merely safely negotiating the shoal. If true, this would identify Nelson as the architect of the tactics actually employed in the battle. Nelson had no reliable chart of Aboukir Bay, and no captain present knew it firsthand—hence the investigation.

Nelson ordered Captain Samuel Hood, in the *Zealous*, to bear up and take a careful sounding, in order to guide the fleet safely into the bay. *Zealous* passed the head of the shoal with the *Goliath* (74) on her port bow, and the column arranged itself in order by signal: *Goliath*, *Zealous*, *Orion* (74), *Audacious* (74), *Theseus* (74), *Vanguard*, *Mino-*



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 47.

taur (74), *Defiance* (74), *Bellerophon* (74), *Majestic* (74), and *Leander* (50). Far to the north stood the *Culloden* (74), and from a considerable distance to the west came *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*.

Battle commenced at 6:20 P.M., when the *Conquerant* (74), and then the *Guerrier*, fired on the *Goliath* and *Zealous*, and the battery on the island began ineffective shell fire. Ten minutes later the *Goliath* passed and raked the *Guerrier* before attempting to anchor on her port bow. Delay in lowering the anchor meant that instead the *Goliath* came to rest abreast of the *Conquerant's* port quarter. The *Sérieuse* (36) stood on *Goliath's* starboard bow, and against both vessels Captain Thomas Foley opened a brisk fire.

The *Zealous* also passed the head of the French line on the landward side and, in only five fathoms, brought up abreast the *Guerrier's* port bow. The sun now began to set, and British crews gave a cheer as the foremast of the *Guerrier* came down under the *Zealous's* fire.

The *Orion*, next in line, rounded the *Zealous*, passing her and the *Goliath*, firing her starboard broadside against the tiny *Sérieuse*, which had foolishly fired on the *Goliath*. The small ship suffered terribly for it, for the *Orion's* shot brought down her mast, cut her cable, and generally left her a sinking wreck. The *Goliath* then proceeded to anchor opposite the *Peuple Souverain* (74), though farther from that vessel than Captain Sir James

Saumarez originally intended—a consequence of having to alter course slightly to engage the *Sérieuse*, and so as to avoid running foul of the *Theseus*, which stood anchored dead ahead of him.

At the same time the *Audacious*, passing between the *Guerrier* and the *Conquérant*, anchored to within 50 yards of the latter's port bow. The *Theseus*, meanwhile, sailed around the lead vessel in the French line and proceeded on a course between it and the *Zealous* and *Goliath*, which were already anchored. The *Theseus* then laid anchor by her stern, about 300 yards abreast of the *Spartiate* (74).

Nelson, meanwhile, in the *Vanguard*, chose not to cut through the French line, instead anchoring at 6:40 P.M. about 80 yards off the *Spartiate*'s starboard beam. Next in line, the *Minotaur*, passed the *Vanguard* and anchored abreast of the *Aquilon* (74) at 6:45. Following her came the *Defence*, which passed the *Minotaur* and at 7:00 bore up on the beam of the *Peuple Souverain*.

The situation as of 7:00 P.M. therefore stood thus: The first five ships in the French van were opposed to eight British, five on their port, or landward side, and three on their starboard, or seaward side. As darkness was well underway, about this time British vessels began to hoist lights in their rigging according to the directions laid out by Nelson before the action in order to facilitate recognition.

Around the same time the *Bellerophon* anchored abreast the starboard side of *Orient*, and a short time later the *Majestic* maneuvered herself into the same position with respect to the *Tonnant* (80).

As for the *Culloden*, at about 6:40 P.M., while attempting to negotiate the head of the shoal, she had run aground, preventing her from taking part in the fighting. This event held up the progress of the *Leander* for a while, but she soon worked around the *Culloden* and made for the French line. The ship's company aboard *Culloden*, together with her extremely agitated captain, Thomas Troubridge, tried every means to refloat her, but to no avail. The *Mutine* anchored nearby to assist, but the *Culloden* was unable to clear herself of the shoal until 2:00 A.M. on the following morning, by which time she had lost her rudder and sprung a serious leak, which brought in seven feet of water an hour. Nevertheless, Troubridge had had the sense to warn the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* as they approached so as to prevent a collision, and they managed to clear the shoal without incident.

The *Swiftsure* reached the center of the French line shortly after 8:00 P.M., but by that time she had been dismantled and was drifting without lights or her colors. Captain Benjamin Hallowell, in the *Swiftsure*, on falling in with an unidentified vessel, hailed her and was told she was the *Bellerophon*, now disabled and withdrawing from the action. In the darkness and smoke of battle Hallowell could

not be certain of his position, but knowing that he was in close proximity to the French line, he immediately bore up and passed the *Franklin* (80), anchoring a cable's distance on the starboard bow of the *Orient*.

A short time earlier the *Peuple Souverain* had lost her cable and left the line of battle. In the meantime the *Leander*, positioning herself in the gap left by the *Peuple Souverain*, had anchored athwart the *Franklin*'s bow, thus enabling her to rake the *Franklin*, and those vessels astern of her, with her port side guns. At the same time she could also rake the *Aquilon*. In the meantime the *Alexander* had cut through the French line astern of the *Orient* and had anchored by the bow of the flagship's port quarter.

The *Guerrier* took a tremendous pounding from several British vessels, in the course of which she was completely dismantled. The *Zealous*, anchored on her port bow, raked the *Guerrier*, as did the *Orion*, *Theseus*, *Audacious*, and *Goliath* as they passed her to take up their appointed positions. Notwithstanding this punishment, the *Guerrier* fought on valiantly until past 9:00 P.M., when she hauled down her colors to the *Zealous*. The next in line, the *Conquérant*, first fought the *Goliath* before being raked by the *Audacious*. Once both British ships applied steady fire in unison the *Conquérant* could not continue the fight for more than 10 minutes, and by the time she surrendered her fore mizzenmasts had come down, leaving her dead in the water. The *Spartiate*, which fought first the *Theseus*, joined soon after by the *Vanguard*, also took long-range fire from the *Minotaur* and later the *Audacious*. *Spartiate* received some support from her next astern, the *Aquilon*, which offered fire from her port side against the bows of the *Vanguard*. Nevertheless, eventually the *Spartiate* lost all her masts, and shortly after 9:00 P.M. she surrendered.

The *Aquilon* fought principally with the *Minotaur* and, to a lesser extent, the *Theseus*, which stood somewhat farther away than her consort. At 9:25, having taken great punishment, including the loss of all her masts, the *Aquilon* struck. Meanwhile, the *Peuple Souverain*, heavily engaged with the *Defence* and *Orion*, was quickly deprived of her fore- and mainmasts, and had her cable shot away. As a result the *Peuple Souverain* fell abreast of the *Orient*, dropped anchor, and ceased firing.

For some time the *Franklin* had no contender nearby but was distantly engaged with the *Orion*. Later, however, the *Leander* found a position in which to rake her successfully, to be joined by the *Swiftsure*, who could fire from her starboard quarter and stern. These were joined by the *Defence* and then—after finishing with the *Aquilon*—the *Minotaur*, which could direct fire at the *Franklin*'s starboard bow and beam.

Turning now to Brueys's flagship, the *Orient*, she first became engaged with the *Bellerophon*, which lay anchor



The decisive British victory at the Battle of the Nile left Bonaparte's army stranded in Egypt and reestablished the Royal Navy's dominance in the Mediterranean. (Engraving by J. Le Petit after J. Arnold from *The Life and Services of Horatio, Viscount Nelson . . . from his Lordship's Manuscripts* by James Stanier Clarke and John McArthur. London: Fisher, Son, 1840)

next to that vessel. However, *Orient's* greater number of guns began to tell, and by 7:50 P.M. the *Bellerophon* was without her mizzenmast. Her mainmast fell over the starboard bow soon thereafter and fire broke out in a number of places. By 8:20 she was completely disabled. Finding the *Bellerophon* could no longer sustain the fight, Captain Henry d'Esterre Derby set the spritsail, cut the ship's stern cable, and moved off.

However, when the fore-topsail was set, the heavily damaged foremast collapsed. The *Tonnant* then directed her fire on the disabled *Bellerophon*. But the attack on the *Orient* was not abandoned, for the *Swiftsure* and *Alexander* soon joined the action, and by 9:00 P.M. the *Orient* had caught fire. By this time Brueys had already been injured twice, and around 8:00 P.M. he was mortally wounded by a round shot. Refusing to be taken below, he declared that he must die on his quarterdeck. By the time the flagship had caught fire the admiral was dead. Shortly thereafter the flag captain fell, severely wounded as the ship was reduced to a floating wreck.

The fire could not be brought under control, and from the deck the flames spread to the rigging. The crews of the

vessels nearby, knowing the end was near, steered their ships clear or took other precautions: clearing the decks of ammunition and preparing teams of men carrying buckets of water. Finally, around 10:00 P.M., when the flames reached her magazine, the *Orient* went up in a tremendous explosion, causing severe damage to the ships nearby and sending burning wreckage high into the air, much of which rained down on the *Swiftsure*, *Alexander*, and *Franklin*. These last two were set alight as a result, but their respective crews had no trouble extinguishing the fires.

The shock of the explosion brought a complete lull in the fighting for several minutes. The heavily damaged *Franklin* was the first to resume firing, but her resistance collapsed when, having lost her main- and mizzenmasts to the fire of the *Defence* and *Swiftsure*, she struck her flag. Thus, by midnight every French ship ahead of the *Tonnant* had either surrendered or been destroyed. The *Tonnant*, however, heroically carried on the fight. Thus far she had been chiefly occupied in opposing the *Majestic*, who had in the course of this lost her main- and mizzenmasts. Farther away, the *Swiftsure* and *Alexander* also directed their fire at her.

Eventually her assailants deprived *Tonnant* of her masts, the debris of which rendered firing impossible. Undeterred, she let out her cable, so shifting into a new position from which she earned a temporary respite from the action. On board, her captain, Aristide Aubert Depetit-Thouars, had shown unparalleled bravery. Despite having lost both arms and a leg to three different round shots, he refused to be taken to the cockpit for treatment, instead having himself deposited in a barrel filled with bran. From there he gallantly carried on directing his vessel until massive blood loss rendered him incapable of further command. He had not lost the opportunity, however, of ordering that the crew nail the tricolor to the mast and go down with the ship rather than surrender her.

With the French van captured or destroyed, the *Tonnant* found herself the leading vessel in what amounted to a new line, which now extended leeward of the former one. Of these vessels, all remained fresh and untouched except for the *Tonnant*. They joined the engagement around 4:00 A.M. on the second and, as dawn approached, they exchanged long-range fire with the *Alexander* and the *Majestic*. Meanwhile the *Theseus* and *Goliath* proceeded southeast and anchored on the starboard side of the frigate *Artémis* (40), which fired only one broadside, at the *Theseus*, and then surrendered. Possession was only temporary, however, for she was on fire and was eventually destroyed in the inevitable explosion. Elsewhere, the French rear and the last two frigates had shifted considerably to leeward, placing them virtually out of range. In the cases of the *Heureux* and *Mercure* (74), these vessels succeeded in the desperate expedient of running themselves ashore to escape destruction.

At 6:00 A.M. the *Zealous*, *Goliath*, and *Theseus* weighed anchor. The *Zealous* then went in pursuit of the frigate *Justice* (40), which was proceeding toward the crippled *Bellerophon* with the intention of obliging her to strike. But the *Zealous* foiled this plan and remained to protect the *Bellerophon*.

Meanwhile, the *Alexander* and *Leander* pursued the *Heureux* and *Mercure*, which, after a brief exchange of fire, they obliged to surrender. While this accounts for the activities of the *Zealous*, *Goliath*, *Theseus*, *Alexander*, and *Leander*, this left a number of French vessels virtually or, in some cases entirely, unengaged: the *Guillaume Tell* (80), *Généreux* (74), *Timoléon* (74), *Tonnant*, *Diane* (40), and, eventually, the *Justice*, which it will be recalled, had to abandon her attempt to menace the *Bellerophon*.

The *Tonnant*, completely dismasted, sat dead in the water. The *Timoléon* had managed to get herself among the shoals to leeward, and in the course of trying to make sail on the port tack, inadvertently beached herself on shore. Brueys's other ships, however, had room for maneuver and

duly took advantage of the fact by hauling close on the port tack and making their best efforts to escape. On seeing this, the *Zealous* gave chase, and within a few minutes found herself singlehandedly taking on the four fresh ships and trying to block the path of the rearmost frigate. The possible results cannot now be known, for Nelson recalled her, in consequence of which Brueys's successor, Rear Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve, escaped with the *Guillaume Tell*, *Généreux*, *Diane*, and *Justice*. Every other vessel in the French fleet became a British prize or was destroyed either on the day of battle or shortly thereafter.

On the morning of the third, the *Theseus* and *Leander* confronted the *Tonnant* and compelled her to surrender, while later that day the crew of the *Timoléon*, having been grounded, set her ablaze and abandoned her to eventual explosion. The fates of the remaining vessels were thus: The *Généreux* was captured on 18 February 1799, followed by the *Guillaume Tell* on 30 March, and the *Diane* two years after the Nile, on 24 August 1800. Finally, the *Justice* fell into British hands on the French surrender of Alexandria on 2 September 1801.

Almost without exception, Nelson's ships suffered damage aloft, with the *Bellerophon* losing all three masts, and the *Majestic* losing her main- and mizzenmasts. No other vessels lost lower masts, and damage to topmasts was generally minor. A few vessels, including the *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, and *Vanguard* received serious damage to their hulls. Total British casualties were 218 killed and 678 wounded. Among the wounded was Nelson himself, struck in the forehead by a splinter early in the fighting, which had brought down a piece of skin over his eye, but which appeared to be minor. Later however, at Naples, his sometimes erratic behavior and severe headaches may have been the result of this otherwise apparently superficial head wound.

Those French ships that bore the brunt of the fighting, that is, the van and center, naturally suffered severe damage. Five of these lost all three masts and endured such appalling punishment to their hulls that they could barely remain afloat. Two other vessels possessed a single mast each, but their hulls were riddled with shot. French losses are not known with any certainty but are estimated at approximately 1,700 killed, 1,500 wounded (of whom approximately 1,000 were captured), and 2,500 taken prisoner. Brueys, it will be recalled, was among the dead, together with four captains.

The Nile ranks as one of Britain's greatest naval triumphs and certainly was the most complete victory at sea during the eighteenth century. Even without counting the guns of the *Culloden*, which, it will be recalled, was grounded and consequently took no part in the battle, Nelson was inferior to Brueys in both tonnage and, by a nar-

row margin, guns. True, Nelson had fourteen ships to Brueys's thirteen, but while the former's ships carried 1,012 guns, the French had 1,026, not counting the frigates. The French mounted, moreover, in general, heavier caliber guns and thus fired heavier broadsides from larger ships.

By way of comparison, Nelson's largest vessel was the *Minotaur*, of 1,718 tons, yet the *Spartiate* weighed 1,949, the *Franklin* 2,257, and the *Tonnant* 2,281 tons. Several other French ships, including the *Orient* and the *Guillaume Tell*, were also superior in size to any other ship available to Nelson. The British labored under still further disadvantages: the *Culloden* took no part in the action, and Nelson had no frigates, while the French had four, mounting 152 guns in all, in addition to a battery on shore.

By any standards, therefore, it was a brilliant victory for the British: Both sides fought with dogged determination and by dawn on the second Nelson had more than defeated a numerically superior opponent—he had all but annihilated his fleet. That Nelson actually ruined Bonaparte's plans for the conquest and rule of Egypt may be an exaggeration, but clearly Bonaparte thereafter could not look to reinforcement and the Mediterranean could no longer be regarded as the preserve of the French.

Victory can be attributed to a number of factors, above all to Nelson's immediate determination to engage Brueys with imaginative tactics, as well as to the superiority of the British crews' morale and training. By isolating a portion of the French line by striking its van and center from both sides, Nelson attained a temporary superiority in ships and guns to which Brueys could offer no effective answer. This underlines the negative, not simply the positive, factors responsible for British victory. Although personally brave, Brueys demonstrated extremely poor judgment in disposing his ships. Formed into an angle, at the apex of which sat the *Orient*, they were incapable of mutual support. Against the advice of his officers Brueys chose to remain at anchor, thereby passing the initiative to Nelson. Moreover, he refused to the last moment to believe that the British would—even were they to discover his position—attack him at his apparently secure anchorage.

If this were not folly enough, Brueys failed to ensure that, if he were wrong and the British did wish to engage, he was in a position to know this well in advance. In short, though Brueys possessed many frigates and other small, swift vessels, both with him at Aboukir Bay as well as at Alexandria, he had failed to dispatch any patrols to watch for signs of British naval activity, and thus had absolutely no intelligence on the approach or strength of Nelson's fleet when it eventually surprised him.

Nor did Brueys even bother to take soundings of the waters of Aboukir Bay or the passage through which, if the British were to appear, they might pass between the head of

the French line and Aboukir Island, so enabling them to attack from landward as well as seaward. Proper consideration of his situation would have led a more competent commander to at least assume an enemy could maneuver around the head of his line. With such knowledge he could shift his ships toward shore, maneuver them so as to block passage round their head, or, at the very least, clear for action both to starboard and port. Brueys took none of these simple, yet crucial, precautions in improving his defense.

Further evidence of the wholly inadequate manner in which the flagship itself prepared for action may be gleaned from the fact that no efforts were made to remove the cabin partitions that had been specially erected to accommodate military and civilian passengers accompanying the fleet. Nor did Brueys's subordinates commanding the rear (six) ships of the line and the frigates assume any initiative to support their consorts in the center and van. Disaster might have been averted had the rear got underway, stood out from the bay, and opposed the five or six British vessels that had yet to join the engagement. In so doing they would doubtless have taken the *Culloden*, marooned as she was on the shoal, and denied passage of the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* into the bay. Until about 7:00 P.M. the six ships of the French rear might yet have changed the whole course of the battle by taking advantage of the wind as it then blew, to leave the bay, tack when the wind shifted north as it eventually did, and operate as the new French van.

Of the nine vessels taken as prizes, three of them—the *Guerrier*, *Heureux*, and *Mercure*—were so severely damaged as to fit them only to be burned by their captors. The *Peuple Souverain* was renamed *Guerrier* and left at Gibraltar as a guardship. The other five ships reached Plymouth and were added to British service: The *Franklin* was altered to *Canopus*, the *Aquilon* changed to *Aboukir*, and the other three preserved their original names. On 5 August Nelson sent dispatches on the outcome of the battle to the commander in chief of the Mediterranean fleet, Lord St. Vincent, care of Captain Edward Berry of the *Vanguard*, who while proceeding in the *Leander* was captured en route to Cádiz by the *Généreux*. However, Thomas Bladen Capell, a lieutenant from the *Vanguard*, sailed for Naples by sloop on the thirteenth with duplicates and eventually reached London overland. On the following day, the bulk of the fleet, under Sir James Saumarez, including those prizes deemed worthy of retention, weighed, and on the fifteenth they headed west. Four days later Nelson, in the *Vanguard*, accompanied by the *Culloden* and *Alexander*, steered for Naples, leaving at Alexandria the *Zealous*, *Goliath*, *Swiftsure*, *Seahorse* (28), *Emerald* (36), *Alcmène* (32), and *Bonne Citoyenne* (20), all under the senior officer among them, Captain Samuel Hood.

Gregory Fremont-Barnes

*See also* Artillery (Naval); Brueys d'Aigalliers, François Paul, comte de; Middle East Campaign; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Royal Navy; Saumarez, James; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Nive, Battle of the (9–13 December 1813)

Fought in southwestern France between Anglo-Portuguese and French forces during the final months of the Peninsular War.

At the end of the Battle of the Nivelle, Marshal Nicolas Soult withdrew his forces to the area immediately around the strongly defended town of Bayonne, in southwestern France close to the Spanish border. Throughout the Peninsular War Bayonne had been the main depot for the French army and was fiercely loyal to Napoleon. The town's defenses were based on the sound principles laid down by the great French engineer Sébastien le Prestre, seigneur de Vauban. To the west of the town lay the Atlantic and to the east the river Adour. On the northern bank of the Adour lay a strong citadel that commanded the town, while the ground to the south of Bayonne was bisected by streams, woods, and enclosures, the ground itself being very muddy and soft after several days of hard rain.

The Marquis of (later Duke of) Wellington planned to approach the town from both the south and east, an advance from this latter direction being intended to threaten Soult's communications with the interior of the country. In deciding upon this course of action Wellington was taking a calculated gamble, because he would have to divide his army in two, part of it advancing along the Atlantic coast from the south, while the remainder would cross the river Nive—which flows southeast from Bayonne—and approach from the east.

Soult himself had established a defensive line running southeast from Bayonne along the right bank of the Nive as far as Cambo. The line was defended in strength,

and a flotilla of boats on the Adour enabled troops to be ferried from one bank of the Nive to the other without any trouble.

The Allied army was reduced in numbers at this stage of the war following Wellington's decision to send all the Spanish troops, except General Pablo Morillo's, back to Spain. This was as a result of numerous unsavory incidents involving the Spaniards who sought revenge after years of French persecution. Disorder was rife among them, something which Wellington could ill afford. He could not risk the possibility of a resistance movement similar to that which had dogged the occupying French in Spain and so ordered them home. Nevertheless, Wellington still had 63,500 men at his disposal, slightly fewer than Soult, but had a distinct numerical advantage in cavalry, 8,000 against Soult's 600. Unfortunately, there was little scope for effective use of cavalry over the ground around Bayonne.

The operations against Bayonne were hampered by bad weather, and it was not to be until 9 December that the operation to cross the river Nive got under way, when Sir Rowland Hill, with the 2nd Division, and General Carlos Le Cor's Portuguese division, crossed at fords close to Cambo, while Sir William Beresford, with the 3rd and 6th Divisions, was to cross the Nive by pontoon bridge at Ustaritz.

Having seen Wellington divide his army, Soult was quick to seize his opportunity, and on the evening of 9 December, amid heavy rain, some 50,000 troops under General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon began to move silently forward from Bayonne ready for the attack the next day. Shortly after dawn on the gloomy, misty morning of 10 December Sir John Hope's 1st and 5th Divisions, some 30,000 troops, were attacked and driven from Anglet by d'Erlon, who then advanced as far as Barouillet. On Hope's right the Light Division was attacked and driven back 2 miles to the village of Arcangues, where it held on grimly throughout the rest of the day in what was one of the most peculiar duels of the Peninsular War.

The church at Arcangues was quickly crowded with men of the 1st battalion 43rd Foot (1/43rd) who were soon engaged in a duel with some French artillery. The Light Division had been pushed back by four French divisions before finally drawing itself up on a position on a ridge astride the village of Arcangues. The French guns were situated on some ground about 400 yards from the church and presented a nice target to the highly trained and experienced veterans of the 43rd. The old church's interior galleries were quickly manned, the 43rd smashing in the windows to open fire, while others threw themselves into firing positions in the churchyard. Although the church was hit about eight times by round shot that smacked into the walls, the 43rd's marksmen wrested the initiative from the exposed French gunners, forcing them to withdraw, leav-

ing the British as victors and having left behind them twelve guns.

Throughout the next two days, heavy fighting raged across the area as Soult attempted to throw back that part of Wellington's force that remained on the left bank of the Nive. The attempt failed, however, and so Soult turned his attention to Hill's force, numbering about 14,000 men, which was still on the right bank of the river. The British force here had been severely reduced when Wellington ordered Beresford to re-cross to the left bank following Soult's attack on the tenth. To meet the impending threat against Hill, Wellington again ordered Beresford to return to the right bank, but the pontoon bridge connecting the two halves of the Allied army was swept away on the night of the twelfth, after heavy rain had caused the river to swell. This left Hill isolated with a relatively small force, which was now attacked by 35,000 French troops who had come forward from their positions in and around Bayonne.

The ensuing battle, although officially part of the Battle of the Nive, is often called the Battle of St. Pierre by the British, the French choosing to call it Mouguerre, after a small village above which now stands an obelisk to the memory of Marshal Soult.

The Battle of St. Pierre was a bloody and, for Hill, a close one, which swayed one way and then the next, as troops on both sides were thrown helter-skelter into the action. Ground lost by the Allies was regained at bayonet point, until by noon Hill was throwing in the last of his reserves. However, with the pontoon bridge at Villefranque having been repaired, two British divisions, the 4th and 3rd, were thrown across, the 6th coming up from Ustaritz, and by the time Wellington arrived Hill was assured of victory. Wellington's arrival heralded the start of a general advance that forced Soult back into Bayonne. It was a close call—Sir William Napier, the great historian of the war, called it the most desperate of the whole conflict—and losses were high: 1,500 on the Allied side and about 3,500 on the French.

When Soult returned to Bayonne, he no doubt reflected on his failure to defeat Wellington, having attacked half of the Allied force with the whole of his own on two occasions. His attack had failed, however, and the morale of his troops sank even further. In order to avoid being cut off in Bayonne, he withdrew the bulk of his force east along the Adour after leaving about 10,000 troops under General Pierre Thouvenot to defend Bayonne.

The Battle of the Nive brought an end to the year's campaigning, and the Allied troops settled into camps to the south and east of Bayonne as the cold winter weather set in. The crossing of the Adour would mark the resumption of Wellington's operations in 1814.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Hill, Sir Rowland; Nivelle, Battle of the; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Pierre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Nivelle, Battle of the (10 November 1813)**

Fought between Anglo-Portuguese and French forces along the river Nivelle, in southwestern France, during the final months of the Peninsular War.

On the very day that San Sebastian fell to the Allies Marshal Nicolas Soult made one last desperate attempt to relieve the place. The attempt ended in failure, however, and the relieving troops were ordered to withdraw. Consequently, 10,000 French troops under General Lublin Martin Vandermaesen pulled back toward Vera and the fords there across the river Bidassoa, which they had crossed that morning. Unfortunately for them, the level of the river had risen dramatically and the only way across it was via the bridge that spanned the Bidassoa at Vera.

However, as they approached it they found their way blocked by Captain Daniel Cadoux of the 95th Rifles. The French were left with little choice but to attack Cadoux and his small party of men whom the French thought would take little brushing aside. In the event, Cadoux held on for two hours, inflicting 231 casualties on the French, including Vandermaesen himself, who was killed. While the fighting was in progress Cadoux sent repeated requests to General John Skerrett, who was acting commander of the Light Division and aware of the action, but he did nothing; otherwise the whole of the French division might have been forced to surrender. No support was given to Cadoux, and finally the 95th were forced to give way. Cadoux was killed,

along with sixteen of his men, while three other officers and forty-three men were wounded. With the withdrawal of the 95th the French were able to gain the safety of the opposite side of the river.

There was no let-up in the Allied operations following the fall of San Sebastian. The winter rains were due, and the Marquis of (later Duke of) Wellington was anxious that his army get as far into France as was possible before the condition of the roads became too poor. At dawn on 7 October Wellington's army crossed the Bidassoa, the first of a series of rivers that had to be negotiated by Wellington's army before he could push on into the heart of France. Waiting to guide the British troops across were some local shrimpers who led the men out across the river, which, in spite of its wide estuary, came up only as far as the men's waists at most. The audacious crossing caught the French by surprise all the way along the river, and as Wellington's men scrambled on to the opposite bank the French troops made good their escape, only in a few places remaining to dispute the crossing. By the end of the day the operation to cross the Bidassoa had been a complete success with just 1,200 Allied casualties against 1,700 French.

Once across the Bidassoa and having established his army in France, Wellington's next objective was to clear away the French from their positions in front of the river Nivelle. Soult's lines stretched from the shores of the Atlantic on the French right flank to the snow-covered pass of Roncesvalles on the left, while the 16 miles between the pass of Maya and the sea roughly followed the line of the Nivelle, thus giving the battle its name.

The line was marked by a series of hills, upon the summits of which the French had constructed strong redoubts, some containing artillery. These redoubts ran from Finodetta on the extreme left flank of the French position, to Fort Socoa, on the coast opposite St. Jean de Luz. Although Soult's overall position grew in strength as he fell back on his base at Bayonne, he did not have enough men to man the lines in depth and was severely overstretched, the 20 miles of front being defended by just 63,000 men. Wellington's force, on the other hand, numbered 80,000, although 20,000 of these were Spanish troops, many of whom were as yet untried in battle.

Wellington planned to advance along the whole length of Soult's line but would concentrate his attack on the center in particular. Any breakthrough here, or on the French left flank, would enable his men to swing north and cut off the French right flank. On the Allied left, Lieutenant General Sir John Hope would advance with the 1st and 5th Divisions and Major General Manuel Freire's Spaniards. Marshal Sir William Beresford would lead the main Allied attack against the French center with the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and Light Divisions, while on the Allied right Sir Rowland Hill would attack with

the 2nd and 6th Divisions, supported by General Pablo Morillo's Spaniards and Lieutenant General John Hamilton's Portuguese. All preparations for the attack having been made, Wellington decided to attack on 10 November.

The French defensive line was dominated by the Greater Rhune, a gorse-covered, craggy mountain some 2,800 feet high. The mountain is fairly accessible to anyone on foot, the rocky spurs only becoming impassable toward the top and on the eastern side. Separated from the Greater Rhune by a ravine, some 700 yards below it, is the Lesser Rhune, along the precipitous crest of which the French had constructed three defensive positions. If the French defenses on La Rhune could be taken, Soult's position would become very precarious as his lines would then be open to Allied attacks from different directions.

The summit of the Greater Rhune was occupied by French troops but, following the crossing of the Bidassoa and the subsequent clearing of the French from their positions along the Bayonet Ridge above Vera, they evacuated it, fearing an outflanking movement that would leave them cut off from their own forces. Before he could consider attacking the redoubts Soult first had to turn his attention to the French defenders along the crest of the Lesser Rhune. This position was a strong one, as the southern face of it could not be assaulted, owing to the precipitous slopes that led to the summit. It was possible, however, to attack the three fortified positions by moving down into the ravine before turning to the left, which would enable the attacking force to take the French in their flank and sweep them from the crest. Wellington chose the Light Division for the task.

Shortly before dawn on 10 November the division carefully picked its way down from the top of the Greater Rhune and into the ravine in front of the Lesser Rhune. Once this had been done the men were ordered to lie down and wait for the order to attack; then suddenly, British guns fired from the top of the nearby Mount Atchubia as the signal for the attack to begin. The men of the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th—with the 17th Portuguese Caçadores in support—swept forward up the steep slopes to assault the French positions that ran along the crest to flush the defenders from their rocky redoubts. The men were exhausted by their efforts, but the surprise and boldness of their attack won the day and soon those defenders who had not been killed or taken were tumbling down the Rhune toward the redoubts atop the hills below.

While the 43rd and 95th were going about their business, there still remained one very strong star-shaped fort down below on the Mouiz plateau, which reached out toward the coast. This was attacked by Sir John Colborne's 52nd Light Infantry, supported by riflemen from the 95th. Once again, surprise was the key to their success, and as they sprang up from their positions in front of the fort the

startled French defenders, in danger of being cut off, quickly fled, leaving Colborne in possession of the fort and other trenches. It had been accomplished with hardly a single casualty.

Following this, Wellington's main assault began as nine Allied divisions advanced on a front of 5 miles, French opposition melting away before them; when the bridge at Amotz fell to the 3rd Division—it was the only lateral communication between the left and right halves of the French army—Soul's position fell with it. This meant that Soul's army was effectively cut in two. By 2:00 P.M. the French were defeated and were in full retreat across the Nivelle, having lost 4,351 men to Wellington's 2,450.

Wellington might have pursued the defeated French even farther, and there was a very real chance that he might cut off the French right flank. However, darkness was falling and, never one to risk the perils of a night attack, he called a halt to the day's proceedings, and his men camped that night upon the ground they had won during the day.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Bidassoa, Crossing of the; Hill, Sir Rowland; Peninsular War; San Sebastian, Siege of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Nore, Mutiny at the (12 May–14 June 1797)

The Royal Navy experienced two serious mutinies in 1797. On 15 April the Channel Fleet at Spithead refused to put to

sea, the men demanding an increase in pay, improved food, better treatment of the sick, and an entitlement to shore leave. By 17 May most of the seamen's demands had been met, in principle at least, including a King's Pardon for all the mutineers. However, the mutiny at the Nore, beginning on 12 May, had political undertones.

The Nore anchorage was situated in the Thames Estuary, just off the entrance to the river Medway. Ships sailing down the Thames from Deptford and Woolwich would assemble here alongside ships from Chatham. It was the main assembly point for the squadrons blockading the Dutch coast, and protecting the Straits of Dover.

While the mutiny at Spithead was concerned with conditions in the navy, the mutiny at the Nore was more serious and more violent, and was influenced by radicalism. It has been asserted that some men had joined the navy on board these ships with the express intention of fomenting disturbance and revolution. There were certainly a number of "sea-lawyers" among the lower decks, including Richard Parker, who was elected as the overall leader. Parker was a man of some education and had been a naval officer, but had been reduced in rank because of disobedience.

Despite the Spithead mutineers having achieved redress for their grievances, the Nore mutineers added demands of their own. They wanted shore leave, punctual pay, pardon of former deserters who had reenlisted, and more equal distribution of prize money. The mutiny soon spread to the North Sea Fleet, based at Yarmouth, leaving the blockade of the Dutch coast to only two ships, the *Venerable* (74 guns) and *Adamant* (50 guns), under Admiral Adam Duncan.

The Admiralty rejected all the demands and put pressure on the mutinous ships by depriving the vessels of provisions and refusing to receive the sick for treatment ashore. On shore, General Sir Charles Grey concentrated troops and artillery. Other ships were brought to the area to counter the mutineers. This prompted the mutineers to blockade the Thames to disrupt trade, which caused the value of government stock to fall dramatically.

The Admiralty stood firm, and public opinion was against the mutineers. The seamen sensed that they would not have an easy victory, and by 10 June several ships returned to their duties. The leading ship in the mutiny, the *Sandwich*, surrendered on 14 June, along with Richard Parker.

Thirty-five men, including Parker, were hanged, nine flogged, and twenty-nine imprisoned, and the mutineers gained no concessions from the Admiralty. While the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore seriously incapacitated the fleet, Britain's enemies failed to exploit the situation quickly enough, and many of the ships involved in the

mutiny fought and won the Battle of Camperdown later that year.

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*See also* Camperdown, Battle of; Royal Navy; Spithead, Mutiny at

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### North Holland, Campaign in (1799)

In 1799 the Second Coalition was formed and hostilities on the Continent resumed for the first time since April 1797. With war already raging in Switzerland and Italy, the coalition decided to put pressure on the French from the north as well, resulting in a joint Anglo-Russian invasion of North Holland.

The French had conquered the Dutch Republic in 1795. Renamed the Batavian Republic, it had been a vassal state since, and the Allies assumed that the population would be eager to return to the status quo ante and would welcome the restoration of the stadtholderate. The expeditionary force consisted of 12,000 men under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby, supported by a fleet of 26 ships of the line and some 150 smaller vessels and gunboats under the command of Vice Admiral Andrew Mitchell. The invasion commenced on 27 August when 2,500 troops disembarked on a stretch of coastline between the Helder and Callandsog, covered by a barrage of naval fire.

The invading British troops stormed the dunes, which were defended by a few battalions of Batavian *Jägers* and line infantry. There was hardly any space to maneuver, as this part of North Holland was in those days hardly more than a narrow corridor of beach, dunes, and a road on a dyke leading from Callandsog to the Helder, bordering the Koegras to the east, a swampy area descending into the Zuiderzee. The Batavians were forced to retreat into the Koegras. The British continued to disembark and, now organized sufficiently, forced further Batavian forces that blocked their way to the south toward Callandsog. The Helder was evacuated as it was deemed impossible to hold—tactically perhaps a viable decision, but a severe blow to morale. After the invasion the Batavians had initially taken position in the Zijpe-

polder, but that line was abandoned shortly after for a line between Alkmaar and Avenhorn more to the south. The British thereupon took up a position at the river Zijpe and took the Helder. Shortly after, the Batavian fleet surrendered at de Vlieter in the Zuiderzee as the crew mutinied after Mitchell flew the Orange banner (representing the former, independent government).

In the course of the following days both sides were continually reinforced, the British by fresh troops from overseas (the Russians did not yet take part, with the exception of a token force of marines), the Dutch by further Batavian troops on the right flank and by French troops on the left. Abercromby now had around 18,000 troops and General Guillaume Brune, Supreme Commander of the Franco-Batavian forces in the Batavian Republic, 25,000. The latter decided to take advantage of his numerical superiority and attack on 10 September. However, the marshy polders, broken up by brooks and gullies, were very difficult to negotiate, and Brune was forced to divide his troops in three narrow columns to make adequate use of roads and dykes. Through bad communication, inadequate intelligence, and general confusion this attack led to nothing.

Two days later 17,500 Russians disembarked, doubling Allied numbers to around 35,000 and leaving Brune outnumbered. On the thirteenth the Duke of York arrived and assumed supreme command. He decided to make use of this numerical superiority, and on the nineteenth he attacked, like Brune, dividing his army into columns. The brunt of the assault would be sent along the North Sea coast and would consist of 2,500 British troops and 9,000 Russians under the Russian general Ivan Hermann. Two columns in the middle would attack and pin Brune's troops in the center while a column on the extreme left under Abercromby would march along the Zuiderzee to outflank the Batavians on the right. The attack had about as much success as Brune's. Hermann's troops became confused, and although he reached Bergen, he there lost control over them and, surprised by fresh Franco-Batavian troops while sacking the town, the Allies were swept back to a position along the Zijpe. The center columns were beaten back and Abercromby, who had taken Hoorn, retreated to prevent his being cut off from the main body.

As a result of its resistance the Batavian command won valuable time to regroup and reinforce, and part of north Holland was inundated to hinder even more an attack farther inland. In addition, the Anglo-Russian forces in the swampy north started to suffer from disease, creating an even less enviable situation. On 2 October York attacked again, now concentrating the bulk of his forces on the coastline, a second column making an attack to pin the Batavian troops on the right flank. York surprised the French, who held this part of the defensive line on their own and broke

through to Egmond aan Zee, forcing the French back to Wijk aan Zee and threatening Brune's main force at Alkmaar, which was abandoned for positions farther to the south. York's victory proved indecisive, however. The Franco-Batavian forces had retreated on safer positions, while the Anglo-Russians were stretching their lines of supply, the surrounding countryside having been plundered bare and the army increasingly depleted by disease.

York decided to push on, and on 6 October he attempted to take three Franco-Batavian positions at Bakkum, Limmen, and Akersloot, a maneuver resulting in the Battle of Castricum. After Russian troops had taken Castricum, Brune counterattacked, and after several hours of fighting in the surrounding sand dunes the Russians had to abandon the town again. Then Abercromby arrived and retook Castricum later in the day, but when the Batavian cavalry charged their British counterparts in the flank Abercromby's troops panicked and abandoned the town. Once again an attack had led to nothing but substantial losses.

After the Battle of Castricum it was clear that, although initially the invasion had been successful and a significant bridgehead had been formed, the Anglo-Russian army would not be able to attain further results. Not only were the troops locked in an enclosed and unhealthy peninsula, the Allies had also severely overestimated anti-French sentiments, which were hardly enhanced by the misbehavior of the Anglo-Russian troops. Orangist loyalty was insignificant and insubstantial, except in the fleet, which after the surrender at the Vlieter served loyally under the British flag. York retreated to the Zijpe and opened negotiations, resulting in the release of prisoners of war, the formal handover of the Batavian fleet to the British, and the evacuation of the Anglo-Russian forces. On 20 November 1799 the last troops embarked from the Helder.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Bergen, Battle of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Netherlands, The; Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland, Campaign in; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Norway

A nation on the western edge of the Scandinavian peninsula whose ties first to Denmark and then to Sweden reflected the fluid geopolitics of the Napoleonic era.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, Norway had long been a part of the Danish kingdom, though the Norwegian people were increasingly interested in independence. Denmark and Norway were allied to Napoleonic France during the short period of the League of Armed Neutrality (1800–1801), an effort largely designed to counter the British policy of boarding neutral ships. This brought Norway into conflict with Britain, which instituted a generally successful naval blockade, the result of which was Norway's increasing isolation from Denmark. This isolation actually increased the Norwegian interest in independence, partially satisfied by the grant of an independent administration in 1807. Unfortunately, it also led to great economic hardship and even famine.

In 1810, the former French marshal, Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, became the Crown Prince of Sweden and assumed all real control over foreign policy. Though he had been one of Napoleon's senior commanders, he soon turned against his former Emperor. Sweden had lost control of Finland to Russia, but rather than try to recover it, Bernadotte chose instead to join in the Anglo-Russian coalition against Napoleon, with an eye to gaining control of Norway. At the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, Swedish forces were among the victorious Allies that defeated Napoleon. Military and political pressure on Denmark led to the Treaty of Kiel on 14 January 1814 between Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, by which Denmark left the war, ceding Heligoland to Britain and Norway to Sweden.

The Norwegians resented this cession, and turned to the Danish governor, Prince Christian Frederick, electing him their king on 17 May 1814 with the understanding that he would lead them in their fight against Sweden. On the same day, the Norwegian assembly, with the support of their new king, adopted a constitution. That day is now celebrated as Norwegian Independence Day, or *Syttende Mai*.

Bernadotte responded at the end of July by invading Norway, whose resistance lasted little more than two weeks. An agreement was reached at Moss on 14 August, which bound the two countries together. But Norway was allowed to maintain her recently adopted constitution and operate with a reasonable degree of freedom and independence under the rule of the Swedish king. Though Norway was now a part of Sweden, the events of 1814 are celebrated as the first major steps toward her ultimate independence, which came in 1905.

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*See also* Armed Neutrality, League of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blockade (Naval); Denmark; Leipzig, Battle of; Russo-Swedish War; Sweden

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### **Novi, Battle of (15 August 1799)**

A major battle between French and Austro-Russian armies near the town of Novi in the Italian Piedmont. As the Allies liberated Lombardy and Piedmont, the French Directory made a new effort to turn the tide of the war by appointing a new commander in chief, the young and energetic General Barthélemy Joubert, to the Armée d'Italie. The French advanced in early August from Genoa, and by 15 August they approached the Allied position at Novi. Joubert was surprised to find that he faced superior Allied forces, as Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov massed more than 50,000 men on the battlefield against 35,000 French and enjoyed a great superiority in cavalry. The French command spent the night vacillating, and, as a result, the French troops had no clear orders for the coming battle. On the Allied side, Suvorov was impatient to attack. At 8:00 P.M. on 14 August, he ordered Austrian *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova to begin movement during the night so that the troops could attack at dawn.

The Austrians (27,000 men) launched an assault on the French left flank at 5:00 A.M. Hearing the exchange of small arms fire, Joubert rode to observe the action and was instantly killed by a musket ball. His death was kept secret from the army, and General Jean Moreau assumed command in his place. An experienced commander, Moreau realized the dangers and kept his troops on the defensive. Meanwhile, as Kray continued his attack on the French left, generals Peter Bagration and Mikhail Miloradovich attacked the French positions in the center. For the next several hours, the Russians launched desperate charges on the town of Novi, where the French had established strong positions and expertly arranged their batteries on three levels. After seven hours of fighting, the Allies failed to break through the French positions but, around 3:00 P.M., Suvorov launched a flanking attack with *General der Kavallerie* Michael Freiherr von Melas's troops, while Bagration attacked Novi and Kray assaulted the left flank.

Despite their stubborn defense, the French right flank was swept away, allowing Bagration to capture Novi and pierce the central positions of the French. The Allies now threatened to encircle the French left wing, which hurriedly withdrew toward Pasturano. The retreating French packed the narrow streets of the village, while Allied troops opened fire on them from the nearby heights. Moreau's men fled in confusion, leaving their artillery and supplies. Generals Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy and Catherine Dominique Pérignon tried to organize some sort of resistance, but both were wounded and captured. *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Colli was surrounded and forced to surrender with 2,000 men and 21 guns. Only General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's troops retreated in good order and covered the rest of the army. The exhausted Allied troops did not pursue the French and bivouacked on the battlefield.

The next morning, Suvorov intended to resume the pursuit, but his troops were still exhausted and could not move. Moreau exploited the Allied inactivity and successfully extricated the remaining troops to the Riviera. The Battle at Novi was a decisive Allied victory. The French army was shattered, having lost almost 6,500 killed and wounded, 4,600 captured, including 4 generals, 84 officers, 4 flags, and most of the artillery. The Russians lost 1,900 killed and wounded, while Austrian casualties amounted to 5,800 men.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Colli, Michael Freiherr von; Directory, The; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Moreau, Jean Victor; Sardinia; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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# O

## **Ocaña, Battle of (19 November 1809)**

The biggest battle of the Peninsular War of 1807–1814, Ocaña was a major disaster for the Allied cause that had profound consequences for the history of Spain.

Beset by internal enemies, in the autumn of 1809 the Junta Central (the provisional government that had ruled Spain since 1808) was desperate for a victory. Against British advice, it therefore resolved on a concentric advance on Madrid. Of the three forces involved, the largest was the 60,000-strong Army of the Center under General Juan Carlos Areizaga, which was posted in the mountains that divide New Castile from La Mancha. The one hope that this force had of success was to hurl itself on the French so as to take them by surprise: With winter coming on they had gone into cantonments and were not expecting an attack. However, after a rapid initial march that took him to within a few miles of the capital, Areizaga failed to press home his advantage, and after some indecisive maneuvering, fell back to the small town of Ocaña.

Commanded by Marshal Nicolas Soult, the French attacked on 19 November with 33,000 men. Deployed in an open plain, unable to maneuver, and possessed of a commander who was by now paralyzed by fear and indecision—far from attempting to encourage his men, Areizaga spent the battle watching the fighting from the safety of one of the town's church towers—the Spaniards had no chance. While the French infantry pinned down their front line, a division of dragoons crushed the cavalry that protected their right wing and then rolled the entire army up from the flank. Some formations fought well enough and eventually got off the field in some sort of order, but by the end of the day, Areizaga had lost a third of his army along with sixty guns, while many other troops deserted in the days that followed. At fewer than 2,000 men, meanwhile, Soult's casualties had been minimal.

For the Allied cause, all this represented an unparalleled disaster. With few troops left to protect it, Andalusia

(Andalucía) was open to invasion and with it Patriot Spain's chief repository of the sinews of war (with the exception of Cádiz, the whole region was duly overrun in January 1810). As for the history of Spain, Ocaña brought in its train the downfall of the Junta Central, which was in January 1810 replaced by a Council of Regency, and at the same time helped ensure that the new parliament, which had in any case been scheduled for election in 1810, fell into the hands of Spain's small faction of committed liberals, the result being the revolution that produced the famous Constitution of 1812.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Cádiz, Cortes of; Junta Central; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu

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## **O'Donnell, Enrique (1776–1834)**

The descendent of an Irish Jacobite exile, Enrique O'Donnell was a prominent Spanish commander in the Peninsular War.

As an officer of the Ultonia Regiment in 1808, O'Donnell helped defend Gerona against repeated French assaults and continued to fight in Catalonia throughout 1809, eventually attaining the command of a division. Daring and ambitious, he was early in 1810 appointed to head all the Spanish forces in Catalonia, having made a name for himself in the fighting that accompanied the final siege of Gerona. Launching attack after attack on the French, on 20 February 1810 O'Donnell came very close to securing a major victory at Vich, about 40 miles from Barcelona. A risky attempt to relieve the besieged fortress of Lérida led to defeat at Margalef, but this affair

was balanced by a brilliant raid that resulted in the capture of an entire enemy brigade near Gerona. Rewarded for this feat with the title Conde del Abisbal, he was in December 1810 nevertheless forced to relinquish command of his army on account of an infected wound.

Once fully recovered, in January 1812 he became a member of the third Council of Regency, and in this capacity angered Viscount Wellington by trying to subject his operations to the control of the Spanish government. Resigning in August 1812 on account of the criticism provoked by the recent defeat of his brother, José, at Castalla, he was given the newly formed Army of Reserve of Andalusia (Andalucía), and in this capacity supported Wellington in the campaigns of 1813. However, supply problems prevented him from getting his men into the field in time for Vitoria, with the result that he was left with no other role than the blockade of Pamplona. Frustrated and angry, O'Donnell pushed hard for all the Spanish forces in the Pyrenees to be concentrated into a single independent army under his own command, but Wellington quashed this plan with the crushing rejoinder that independent Spanish armies never failed to be defeated.

Angrier than ever, O'Donnell now feigned sickness and did not return to his headquarters until December 1813. Denied any further part in operations, he gave vent to his ire by supporting the military coup that restored absolutism in May 1814. Made captain general of Andalusia in recompense, he then for some time played a double game that aimed to keep open his links with liberals and absolutists alike. Forced by the outbreak of the revolution of 1820 to join the former, he served the new regime as captain general of New Castile. Out of sympathy with the radicals who had taken control in Madrid, he went over to the absolutists as soon as the French intervened (1823) to overthrow the liberals, but Ferdinand VII had him arrested anyway. Spirited out of the country, he died in Montpelier in 1834.

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Ferdinand VII, King; Gerona, Siege of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Old Guard

*See* Imperial Guard (French)

## O'Meara, Barry Edward (1782–1836)

Irish by birth, O'Meara's medical career began in the British Army, but he was discharged as a punishment for having participated as a second in a duel. He then joined the Royal Navy and was a surgeon aboard the *Bellerophon* when that ship carried Napoleon into exile on St. Helena. Napoleon had designated a French doctor to join him in exile, but when he balked at that remote post the British offered the job to O'Meara. Though he was concerned about the obvious conflict inherent in serving both Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe, O'Meara accepted the position.

O'Meara's concern proved prophetic. Napoleon expected his doctor to serve as *l'homme de l'Empereur* (the Emperor's man), and O'Meara, no doubt under the powerful sway of Napoleon's personality, began to fill that role. Lowe soon began to believe, with some justification, that O'Meara was more sympathetic to Napoleon than to British interests. In July 1818 Lowe removed O'Meara as Napoleon's doctor and sent him back to Britain, where he was soon drummed out of military service.

During his years as Napoleon's doctor, O'Meara kept careful and extensive notes. After his retirement, he published several works, most notably *A Voice from St. Helena*. While his critics argue that the book is too favorable to Napoleon, it nonetheless serves as a significant source of information on Napoleon's time on St. Helena. A later edition of the work, *Napoleon at St. Helena*, contained numerous corrections.

J. David Markham

*See also* Antommarchi, Francesco; Lowe, Sir Hudson; St. Helena; Verling, James Roch

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## Oporto, Battle of (12 May 1809)

Oporto, the second largest city in Portugal, was an important location both strategically and symbolically. Early in the Peninsular War, Napoleon ordered Marshal Nicolas Soult to move his army south from the Galician city of Corunna to Oporto. From there, Soult was to plan an attack on the British stronghold at Lisbon. At the same time, by capturing Oporto, the French would control access to the river Douro. What should have been a rapid advance and easy victory was made more difficult by the very poor roads between Corunna and Oporto. Likewise, Portuguese guerrilla forces and scattered peasant armies made an ef-

fective defensive force. Several months behind Napoleon's schedule, on 29 March 1809, Soult finally captured the city. However, his worn-out army was unable to continue toward Lisbon.

The French army's communications with other units were severely limited by the activities of Portuguese guerrilla forces. Rather than risk further movements, Soult decided to adopt a defensive posture within the city. He ordered the only bridge crossing the Douro to be burned and began to fortify positions overlooking the river.

Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley had reached Lisbon on 22 April and found that the French controlled large amounts of territory not only to the north around Oporto, but also in southern Portugal and southwestern Spain. Fearing that movement to the south would provoke French armies there to unite, Wellington decided to focus his attention on Soult's forces in Oporto. He set out on 8 May with an army consisting of 16,000 British and 2,400 Portuguese troops. Estimates of Soult's strength vary wildly, but a conservative figure places his force at about 12,000 men. The journey north from Lisbon was made relatively quickly, and the Anglo-Portuguese forces reached the southern bank of the Douro on the morning of 12 May.

In preparation for battle, Soult had ordered all boats on the Douro moved to his side to block the British advance. Wellesley recruited several civilian wine barges to ferry a brigade of troops across the river upstream. Upon arrival, the soldiers secured a bridgehead where the now-destroyed bridge once stood and Wellesley ordered additional troops across the river. At first, the French were unaware of the British movements, but soon, Soult rushed reinforcements from the waterfront to the site of the bridgehead.

As French troops redeployed, a civilian fleet leapt into action along the undefended riverbanks. Dozens of small boats began to ferry British soldiers across the river to the banks of the city. French forces began to fall back from the river into the city, pursued by the British. As his position worsened, Soult began preparations for a withdrawal. The rapidly deteriorating situation made formal precautions impossible, and the French quickly abandoned Oporto and moved to the surrounding countryside.

Soult found the most convenient escape routes blocked either by British forces commanded by Marshal William Beresford or by hostile Portuguese civilians. Forced to leave most of his heavy equipment behind and fight a rearguard action for much of the journey, Soult withdrew his army through the mountains along the Spanish border and back into Galicia. French troops abandoned personal belongings all along their route away from Oporto and even left behind their sick and the force's

treasury. By the time Soult reached the relative safety of the city of Ourense, his original force of 23,000 had been reduced to 6,000 healthy men: his army was in a shambles.

What could have been a total victory for Wellesley and his Anglo-Portuguese army was limited by the inability of this recently amalgamated allied force to prevent Soult's withdrawal. Wellesley's troops were low on supplies, and his orders prohibited him from crossing into Spain. Thus, Soult was able to escape with his army to northern Spain, so enabling Wellesley to turn his full attention to French forces in southern Portugal and Spain.

*William Doody*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Guerrilla Warfare; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Orange, William, Prince of (1792–1849)

Prince William of Orange (or Willem Frederik George Lodewijk of Orange-Nassau) born on 6 September 1792 in The Hague as the grandson of William V "Batavus," Stadtholder of the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic, did not remain in the country of his birth for long, for in 1795 the Stadtholder fled with his family to Britain to avoid capture by Patriot rebels or invading French troops. Almost immediately the hereditary prince, Prince William's father, left for Germany, where the boy grew up and received a Prussian education at the Prussian Cadet School and the Military Academy in Berlin.

In 1811 the nineteen-year-old William was assigned the rank of lieutenant colonel in the British Army, and until 1813 he served as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington, serving with distinction at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, among others, and at the Battle of Salamanca. Wellington liked this charming and brave if slightly naive young man who threw himself into battle with the same audaciousness as he enjoyed the feasts of victory and the balls of the Spanish court. In 1813, however, when the Peninsular War was at its height, Wellington sent him to Britain to report to the government, and during his stay in the country he took a degree at Oxford.

In 1813 William's father became sovereign of roughly the territory of the old Dutch Republic (it having become the French-controlled Kingdom of Holland in 1806), and in 1814 he was inaugurated as William I of the United Netherlands. Shortly after he became governor-general of the former Austrian Netherlands (Belgium and Luxembourg), and soon after Waterloo the two territories would be amalgamated into the Kingdom of the Netherlands. With his father now sovereign, Crown Prince William was now formally assigned the title Prince of Orange-Nassau, and on grounds of status, he commanded during the Waterloo campaign the Dutch contingent until shortly before the battle, only reluctantly passing command to Wellington.

In older Dutch literature Prince William is remembered as a hero of Waterloo and Quatre Bras, an image at odds with most British accounts. His personal bravery was not in question, and the prince was shot in the arm during the battle; however, the inexperienced William, just twenty-two, was hardly fit for his command of the 1st Division of the Anglo-Allied army. He committed serious mistakes that in such a position could have been detrimental to the success of the battle. The decision to remain at Quatre Bras, which proved to be very important in securing ultimate victory in the campaign, is traditionally attributed to him but was probably the initiative of his subordinates, the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, a brigade commander who actually held the position against Wellington's orders, and Constant de Rebecque, William's chief of staff.

After the Napoleonic Wars the prince, who loved the army and military life, had few chances to prove his military merits, the only occasion being in the abortive Belgian campaign in 1830 when Belgium had declared itself independent. There he briefly commanded an army until a French force occupying Brussels rendered further operations unnecessary.

In 1816 Prince William married Anna Paulowna, daughter of Tsar Alexander of Russia, who bore him five children. He seems to have been a loving father, yet not a faithful husband. Nevertheless, the marriage seems to have been good, Anna correcting her husband in matters of etiquette and diplomacy and repeatedly acting as intermediary between William and his father. On a political level he tended to compromise himself as well, moving in circles sympathetic to the principles of the French Revolution and to Napoleonic France—not the sort of notions normally associated with the hereditary rulers of Europe—and he was repeatedly associated with intrigues, among others the assault on Wellington in Paris in 1818. Although such rumors remain unproven, they were a source of gossip and were damaging to his reputation.

In 1840 the king abdicated and the prince could finally ascend the throne, only to rule as king for a mere nine years until his death in Tilburg on 17 March 1849. His rule is mainly remembered in connection with the revolutionary year 1848, when under public pressure the monarch quickly changed his conservative and authoritarian style of rule to that of a constitutional monarch exercising only limited powers. However opportunistic, this move might not only have been responsible for preserving his House, which survives until this day, but might also have saved the Netherlands from the upheaval that convulsed many European states in that year.

*M. van der Werf*

*See also* Badajoz, Third Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Netherlands, The; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Salamanca, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Sir Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Oranges, War of the (1801)

A minor episode of the Napoleonic Wars, the “War of the Oranges” was a skirmish between Spain and Portugal that earned its name from a basket of oranges that were gathered under fire from the ramparts of the fortress of Elvas and sent to the Spanish queen, María Luisa, as a trophy (her comment on this gesture was that they were “very nice”). Nor was the conflict a much more serious affair than this suggests. Eager to save the garrison of Egypt, at the beginning of 1801 Bonaparte, as First Consul, was determined to force Britain to make peace, and to further this aim he decided to eliminate Portugal, which was then her last ally in mainland Europe. To this end King Charles IV of Spain was induced to mobilize an army, while 15,000 French troops were marched across the Pyrenees in support. For a variety of reasons, however, these troops were delayed, and in the end the actual fighting was left to the Spaniards.

Crossing the Extremaduran (Estramaduran) frontier on 20 May under the command of the royal favorite, Manuel de Godoy, 30,000 men attacked the fortresses of Elvas and Campo Mayor and routed an enemy force at Aronches. Thoroughly cowed, the Portuguese sued for peace, and on 8 June a hastily arranged peace treaty brought the fighting to an end at the cost to Portugal of a substantial indemnity, the frontier district of Olivenza, and

the promise of closing its ports to British ships. This settlement greatly displeased Bonaparte, who had wanted both a more impressive demonstration of the military might available to him and a much harsher peace settlement, but on the advice of Godoy, Charles stood firm and ignored the First Consul's demands for a resumption of hostilities.

In the end the French ruler backed down, and for a moment it had looked as if Spain and France might actually go to war. Ultimately the matter was taken no further, but the Spanish monarch was nevertheless frightened into granting Godoy *carte blanche* to reform the army (which had experienced many problems in the course of its mobilization), to which end he awarded him special powers and the unprecedented rank of *generalissimo*.

*Charles Esdaile*

*See also* Charles IV, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia

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## Orders in Council

Policy dictates from King George III known as Orders in Council were used by the British during the Napoleonic Wars to provide the legal framework for the blockade of European ports by the Royal Navy. The resultant restrictive British blockade led to retaliation by the French and increased tensions with neutral powers such as the United States. This economic strife would emerge as one of the principal causes of the War of 1812.

Orders in Council are official statements of policy from the monarch that carry the weight of law and are issued with the support of the Privy Council. They are based on royal prerogative and are not subject to prior review by Parliament. Traditionally, they are used during times of national emergency when the normal parliamentary procedures to enact legislation are judged to be too burdensome.

The British had traditionally attempted to restrict maritime trade as a means of weakening their continental enemies. When war broke out in 1793, the British insisted on the enforcement of the "Rule of 1756," which restricted neutral trade with belligerents. In 1793 Orders in Council were issued that declared that foodstuffs could be defined as contraband and that placed French colonies in the Caribbean under a blockade from neutral shipping. As the war progressed, British Orders in Council became even more restrictive, and in 1799 the blockade was extended to include Holland.

The failure of the Peace of Amiens led to a restoration of the British blockade. In May 1806, new Orders in Coun-

cil were issued in order to redouble the efforts to cut off maritime trade with continental Europe. The orders placed some 800 miles of coastline under blockade. The new regulations allowed British ships to seize merchant vessels bound for Europe just 3 miles from the coast of the United States. They also forbade the practice by which belligerent vessels offloaded goods bound for Europe and reloaded them on neutral ships. In response to these orders, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decrees, and the later Milan Decrees placed Britain under blockade as part of what became known as the Continental System. The United States also enacted retaliatory trade measures, including increased tariffs and embargoes on certain British goods.

As the war progressed, the British government used Orders in Council not only to blockade the Continent but also to try to force neutral powers to trade only with them. Subsequent Orders in Council further restricted trade through measures that forbade neutrals from even trading in ports in which the British were banned, unless the neutral ship docked at a British port and received a special license. Negotiations between Britain and the United States in 1812 failed after a new Order in Council was promulgated in April, which insisted on the French renunciation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees. As a result of this failure, the United States declared war on Britain on 18 June only to learn that the British had already in fact rescinded the offensive Orders in Council a week earlier.

*Tom Lansford*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Berlin Decrees; Blockade (Naval); Continental System; George III, King; Milan Decrees; Royal Navy; United States; War of 1812

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## Orthez, Battle of (27 February 1814)

One of the last battles of the Peninsular War, fought between the French under Marshal Nicolas Soult and the Anglo-Allies under the Marquis of Wellington.

On the morning of 23 February 1814 the left wing of the Allied army under Lieutenant General Sir John Hope began its daring but hazardous crossing of the Adour to the west of Orthez. The Coldstream and 3rd Foot Guards, supported by riflemen of the 5/60th (5th battalion, 60th Regiment), crossed the river in small groups, each party being ferried across the river in small rafts. By the end of the day a bridgehead had been established, and even a French counterattack failed to stop the operation when a

battery of rockets was scattered among them, sending the startled Frenchmen running for cover. By the afternoon of 26 February a bridge of boats had been constructed across the river, which enabled Hope to get some 8,000 men across to the north bank. Bayonne was now completely surrounded, and the blockade of the town began.

The day after Hope's blockade began, Wellington, with the main Allied field army, fought a major battle at Orthez, some 35 miles away to the east. On 26 February Beresford had crossed the Gave de Pau with the 4th and 7th Divisions near Peyrehorade, pushing Soult back toward Orthez. The 3rd Division forded the river at Berenx, while Wellington himself brought up the 6th and Light Division, plus a force of cavalry, across on a pontoon bridge that had been thrown across the Gave, also at Berenx. Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, meanwhile, with the 2nd Division and Carlos Le Cor's Portuguese division, marched to the south of Orthez, passing to the east of the town but remaining on the south bank of the Gave.

On the morning of 27 February Wellington had with him on the northern bank of the Gave some 38,000 infantry and 3,300 cavalry, as well as 54 guns. Soult's army, about 7,000 fewer with 48 guns, occupied a strong position along a ridge that ran north from Orthez for about a mile before running west for 3 miles from the bend in the main Bayonne-Orthez road, which ran along the ridge, to the small village of St. Boes, upon which Soult rested his right flank. Soult's troops occupied the whole length of this ridge from which three very prominent spurs extended south toward the Gave. The spur on the extreme western edge of the ridge does not actually connect with the ridge itself, being separated by a few hundred yards. The remains of an old Roman camp were situated on the forward edge of the spur and would feature prominently in the battle.

The battle opened shortly after 8:30 A.M. on the cold, frosty morning of 27 February, when a battalion of French infantry was driven from the church and churchyard of St. Boes by the 1/7th, 1/20th, and 1/23rd, who made up Major General Robert Ross's brigade of the 4th Division. The brigade advanced east along the ridge to clear the rest of the village, but it came under fire from French artillery and could go no farther. French troops under General Eloi, baron Taupin were then sent to recover the village, and St. Boes became the scene of bloody house-to-house fighting as both sides struggled for its possession.

While the fight for St. Boes flickered and flared, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton's 3rd Division entered the fray, attacking Soult's center. His troops advanced up the two center spurs but were held up by French artillery that swept the crests of the spurs, inflicting heavy casualties. The attack here was only intended to be a demonstration, however, and he pulled his troops back, leaving just

his strong skirmishing line of light troops and riflemen to prod and probe the French line, which they continued to do for the next two hours.

Meanwhile, the fighting in St. Boes intensified until at about 11:30 A.M. Wellington gave orders for an assault along the whole length of his line, leaving part of the Light Division only in reserve at the Roman camp, from where Wellington watched the progress of the fight.

On the Allied left, Major General Thomas Brisbane's brigade of the 3rd Division began to push its way up the easternmost spur, with the 6th Division following behind. At St. Boes the 4th Division was replaced by the 7th Division, while the 1/52nd advanced from the Roman camp to deliver an attack on the French brigade on the right flank of the advancing 7th Division.

These attacks were pressed home vigorously, but French resistance was stiff, and it was to take the advancing British columns about two hours of hard fighting to drive the French from the spurs. This was not accomplished without loss, particularly to the 1/88th, three companies of which suffered heavy casualties when a squadron of French cavalry, the 21st Chasseurs, charged and overran them after catching them in line. The French cavalry suffered similarly when they received return fire from Picton's men, half of their number being killed or wounded.

The French troops along the ridge were being severely pushed by Wellington's attacking columns, but it was the advance by the 1/52nd, under Lieutenant General Sir John Colborne, that decided the day. This battalion entered the fight in support of Walker's 7th Division just at the moment when this division, along with Major General George Anson's brigade of the 4th Division, was finally driving the French from the body-choked village of St. Boes. The 52nd advanced almost knee-deep in mud in places, but when it reached the crest of the spur it took Taupin's division in its left flank. Taupin's men were driven back by Colborne's determined charge and fell in with those retreating from St. Boes. In so doing, they precipitated a degree of panic, which caused the collapse of the entire French right. It was now about 2:30 P.M., and with Wellington's triumphant troops pouring along the main road on top of the ridge the day was as good as won.

At first, Soult's army began to fall back in an orderly manner with the divisions of generals Eugene Casimir Villatte, comte Villatte, and Jean-Isidore Harispe, comte Harispe drawn up on his left flank to cover the withdrawal. However, Hill's corps had crossed the Gave to the east of Orthez and fell upon Harispe's division, driving it back upon Villatte. The controlled retreat soon became a panic-stricken flight, which spread along the whole of the French line, Soult's men discarding great loads of equipment to facilitate their retreat to the northeast toward Toulouse.

The Battle of Orthez cost Wellington 2,164 casualties, while Soult's losses were estimated at around 4,000, including 1,350 prisoners, a number that would have been far greater had not Wellington been slightly wounded toward the end of the battle. This had caused him to halt and incapacitated him during the next few days. The wound was his third of the war, but at least he could rest that night with the satisfaction of knowing that there was little now standing between himself and final victory over the French.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Hill, Sir Rowland; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### **Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince (Fabian Gotlieb von der Osten-Sacken) (1752–1837)**

Prominent Russian military commander, whose surname is often shortened by historians to "Sacken." Born in Revel (now Tallinn, Estonia) on 31 October 1752 to a family of German barons in Courland (a constituent part of the Russian Empire on the Baltic), he enlisted as a sub-ensign in the Koporsk Infantry Regiment on 29 October 1766. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War in 1769–1770, fought at Khotin, and transferred as an ensign to the Nasheburg Infantry Regiment. In 1771–1773, Osten-Sacken served in Poland. By 1785 he was a captain in the Infantry Cadet Corps, transferring as a lieutenant colonel to the Moscow Grenadier Regiment in November 1786.

He joined the Rostov Musketeer Regiment in July 1789 and took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792. Promoted to colonel in August 1792, Osten-Sacken transferred to the Chernigov Musketeer Regiment in 1793. He served against the Poles in 1794. In October 1797 he became a major general and *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Ekaterinoslavl Grenadier Regiment; two months later, he became *chef* of the Pskov Grenadier Regiment. In 1799 Osten-Sacken served in the Russian corps in Switzerland and fought at Zürich, where he helped to cover the Russian retreat before being wounded in the head and captured by the French. Released in 1800, he became *chef* of the St. Petersburg Grenadier Regiment in January 1801.

In 1805 Osten-Sacken commanded a corps in the Grodno and Vladimir *gubernias* (provinces). In 1806–1807 he led one of the columns in General Levin Bennigsen's army and fought at Pultusk, Jankovo, Eylau, and Launau. During the operations around Guttstadt in June 1807, his column moved very slowly and allowed Marshal Michel Ney's corps to escape. Some contemporaries believed that Osten-Sacken, who had strained relations with Bennigsen, intentionally delayed the advance to undermine the entire operation and precipitate Bennigsen's removal from the army. Bennigsen himself accused Osten-Sacken of insubordination and held him responsible for the failure of the maneuver at Guttstadt. The military court found him guilty and relieved him of command on 10 June 1807.

Osten-Sacken spent the next five years in St. Petersburg before taking over as commander of the Reserve Corps in the 3rd Reserve Army of Observation in early 1812. In October he covered the advance of General Paul Chichagov's army to the Berezina and fought at Slonim and Volkovysk. In 1813 he commanded a corps in the (Russo-Prussian) Army of Silesia and fought at Leignitz, Kaizerwalde, Bunzlau, and the Katzbach. He was promoted to general of infantry in September 1813 and distinguished himself at Leipzig that October. In 1814 during the campaign in France he participated in the battles at La Rothière, Craonne, and Montmartre. He was appointed governor-general of Paris for the month that followed the Allied occupation, which began on 31 March 1814. He served in various military and administrative posts after the Napoleonic Wars and became a field marshal in 1826. He died in Kiev on 19 April 1837.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Craonne, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Jankovo, Battle of; Katzbach, Battle of the; La Rothière, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Ney, Michel; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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**Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count (1771–1857)**

Russian military commander, born to one of the wealthiest and most prominent Russian noble families, the Tolstoy. While only three, in 1774, his name was put down for future service in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment and he rose to the rank of ensign in 1788 at the age of seventeen. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792, Tolstoy volunteered to serve in the army, earning promotion to lieutenant of the Guard, and fought at Ismail and Macin. He transferred as a lieutenant colonel to the 2nd Battalion of the Bug *Jäger* Corps on in 1793. Promoted to colonel in November 1796, he was allowed to add the name and title of his childless grandfather, Count Osterman, to his last name. Osterman-Tolstoy became a major general and *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Schlüsseburg Musketeer Regiment in February 1798. Two months later, he was transferred to the civil service with a rank of civil counselor.

Osterman-Tolstoy returned to military service in 1801 and took command of an infantry division. In 1805 he served under Count Peter Tolstoy in Pomerania and rose to the rank of lieutenant general on 27 June 1806. During the 1806–1807 campaign in Poland he led the 2nd Division fighting at Czarnow and Pultusk. In 1807 Osterman-Tolstoy took part in the retreat from Jankovo and commanded the left flank of the Russian army at Eylau. He was seriously wounded at Guttstadt in June 1807 and left the army to recuperate. He bitterly opposed the Tilsit peace treaty with France and led the anti-French faction in St. Petersburg. He retired because of poor health on 4 November 1810.

During the 1812 campaign Osterman-Tolstoy joined the 1st Corps as a volunteer and fought at Wilkomir. On 13 July he became commander of the 4th Corps of the 1st Western Army and distinguished himself at Ostrovno and Valutino. He was seriously bruised at Borodino and, at the council of war at Fili, he urged the abandonment of Moscow. In October–November 1812, he fought at Tarutino and the second Battle of Krasnyi, but had to leave the army because of poor health in December.

Osterman-Tolstoy returned to the army in early 1813 and was seriously wounded later that spring at Bautzen.

After recuperating, he was given command of the Guard Corps in August. He distinguished himself at Kulm, where he was seriously wounded when a round shot (cannonball) cut off his left hand, and he took a furlough to recuperate. He was appointed an adjutant general in March 1814 and *chef* of the Life Guard Pavlovsk Regiment in December 1815. Osterman-Tolstoy took command of the Grenadier Corps in 1816 and rose to general of infantry the next year. He was relieved of his position in 1826 and served as military adviser to Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt in 1831. After returning to Russia, Osterman-Tolstoy had an argument with Tsar Nicholas I and had to leave the country in 1834. He spent the rest of his life in Switzerland and died in Geneva in early 1857.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bautzen, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; Ostrovno, Battle of; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Tilsit, Treaties of

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**Ostrach, Battle of (21 March 1799)**

Opening Austrian victory in Germany during the War of the Second Coalition. The French commander, General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, established a defensive position at Ostrach, 30 kilometers north of Lake Constance. The Austrian commander, Archduke Charles, marched west from the Lech, and on 21 March his advance guard under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Graf Nauendorff attacked Jourdan, leading three columns across the river Ostrach to break the French position. Following his victory, Charles advanced to the key road junction at Stockach, where he defeated Jourdan four days later.

On 1 March, Jourdan crossed the Rhine with his Army of the Danube (40,000) to support General André Masséna in Switzerland, as the Austrians under Archduke Charles assembled 80,000 men on the Lech and marched west to contest the roads into central Switzerland. On 20 March Jourdan halted on the river Ostrach, protected by marshy ground in front, while Charles massed his army a few kilometers east of Saulgau. Unaware of the close proximity of the Austrian army, Jourdan arranged his army with General François Lefebvre's division in the

center, covering Ostrach village, which controlled the main river crossing from the west bank; General Joseph Souham's division and General Jean d'Hautpoul's cavalry were in reserve at Pfullendorf, while in the north, General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's division guarded Mengen. To the south, Pierre Ferino's division moved toward Markdorf near Lake Constance.

The next morning, the Austrian attack developed in three columns to seize the crossings over the Ostrach. At 2:00 A.M. Nauendorff led the advance guard along the road toward Ostrach village, followed by the central column under Archduke Charles. Despite Souham dispatching reinforcements, Lefebvre was pushed back through the wooded hills to Ostrach as his right flank came under simultaneous attack by the Austrian left wing column under *Feldzeugmeister* Olivier Graf Wallis. To the north, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Fürst von Fürstenberg's column headed for the crossings at Mengen and Einhardt.

Around 7:00 A.M., without seeking orders from Charles, Nauendorff began his assault on Ostrach, just as Jourdan established his headquarters there. The French held the bridge for three hours. Around 8:00 A.M. St. Cyr attempted to aid Lefebvre with a counterattack on the Austrian right wing, but allowed Fürstenberg to outflank his open left wing, and the French left was soon retreating toward the river. St. Cyr clung on until part of Fürstenberg's column crossed the Ostrach at Einhardt around 11:00 A.M., threatening his right.

At 10:00 A.M. Nauendorff had stormed Ostrach village, supported by the two main columns. Within an hour, Lefebvre's resistance was broken as Charles advanced the center column. As *Generalmajor* Ignaz Graf Gyulai's brigade crossed the river to the north and Fürstenberg drove St. Cyr back across it, Jourdan ordered Lefebvre to withdraw at noon. French sappers blew several bridges and d'Hautpoul's reserve cavalry slowed the Austrian pursuit, but St. Cyr had to withdraw on Mösskirch, and Ferino retreated toward the lake. Both sides had lost about 2,200 men.

*David Hollins and Roland Kessinger*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Gyulai, Ignaz Graf von Maros-Nemeth und Nadaska; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Masséna, André; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Second Coalition, War of the; Souham, Joseph, comte; Stockach, First Battle of

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## Ostrovno, Battle of (25 July 1812)

A rearguard action fought during the campaign of 1812 between Russian and French forces near the village of Ostrovno, 12 miles west of Vitebsk. As Napoleon's Grande Armée invaded Russia in June, the 1st Western Army under General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly quickly retreated to the east. On 23 July it approached Vitebsk, where Barclay de Tolly planned to wait for the 2nd Western Army under General Prince Peter Bagration, who was marching to join him via Mogilev. Receiving intelligence on the French advance, Barclay de Tolly decided to delay the enemy until the arrival of Bagration. On 24 July he designated General Alexander Osterman-Tolstoy's 4th Corps as a rear guard and reinforced it with the Ingermanland and Nezhinsk Dragoon, Life Guard Dragoon, Sumsk Hussar, and Life Guard Hussar Regiments, and a company of horse artillery.

The French advanced along both banks of the Western Dvina River and encountered Osterman-Tolstoy's troops near Ostrovno, where Russian cavalry initially overwhelmed the advance elements of General Etienne, comte de Nansouty's 1st Cavalry Corps. On 25 July Marshal Joachim Murat arrived with his advance guard (1st Light Cavalry Division) under General Jean Pierre Bruyères; the 1st Heavy Cavalry Division under General Antoine Louis Decrest de Saint Germain; and two battalions of the 8th Légère from the 13th Division, under General Alexis Joseph Delzons. On the morning of the twenty-fifth, as the French approached Ostrovno, the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Light Cavalry Division routed two squadrons of the Life Guard Hussars and captured six horse artillery guns. Both sides threw in reinforcements, and the battle began.

General Saint Germain's cavalry division was deployed on the French left flank, the 8th Légère and sixteen squadrons of Bruyères's cavalry division were in the center, and the remaining squadrons of Bruyères's division were on the right flank. Delzons's division was still en route. Russian troops were deployed on both sides of the main road to Vitebsk, protected by dense forest and swamps on the flanks. Osterman-Tolstoy moved the Ingermanland Dragoon Regiment to observe the French right flank. He then deployed the 11th Division under General Nikolay Bakhmetyev and the remaining artillery in the first line, with the 23rd Division under General Aleksey Bakhmetyev in the second line, supported by the Sumsk Hussars.

The initial artillery bombardment was followed by a charge of the Ingermanland Dragoon Regiment against the French right flank. However, the Russian attack proved disastrous as the French cavalry counterattacked and routed the Ingermanland Dragoons, capturing some 200 of them. In the center, Russian troops suffered considerable casualties

from the fire of French *tirailleurs* (light infantry skirmishers), and Osterman-Tolstoy ordered a bayonet attack to drive them back. Yet, as the Russians advanced, the French cavalry charged their exposed flank and inflicted heavy casualties.

Notwithstanding these successes, the French could not make any real headway because the Russians took up positions in a wood. Murat then brought his artillery closer and opened canister fire against the opposing infantry, which though suffering heavy casualties continued to hold their ground. When he was told about the losses and asked for instructions, Osterman-Tolstoy famously responded, "Just hold ground and die." The Russians managed to rally their troops, while Osterman-Tolstoy led infantry attacks against both French flanks, which were repulsed. Delzons's division, meanwhile, arrived on the battlefield and threatened the Russian right flank. Osterman-Tolstoy had no alternative but to withdraw to more favorable positions, and the fighting soon ended because of darkness.

During the night, Barclay de Tolly reinforced Osterman-Tolstoy with the 1st Reserve Cavalry Corps under General Fedor Uvarov and the 3rd Division under General Peter Konovnitsyn. The French also received reinforcements, drawn from the main forces of the Grand Armée, which gradually reached the scene of the fighting. At dawn on 26 July Osterman-Tolstoy began an orderly retreat toward the village of Kakuvyachino, 3 miles east of Ostrovno. The battle resumed that morning, with the Russians holding back the French advance. Despite initial French success (capturing three guns) when Murat personally led cavalry charges, the Russians repulsed all enemy attacks. The fighting continued until late evening, when the Russians finally retreated to Vitebsk. The Russians suffered heavy casualties, losing more than 3,700 men, including 834 killed and 1,855 wounded, and the remainder captured or missing.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Murat, Joachim; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion, comte de; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Russian Campaign; Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count

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## Ottoman Army

By the late eighteenth century, the Ottomans controlled one of the largest dominions in the world, which provided them

with enormous military potential. However, a combination of cumbersome administrative and financial organization, and political division into virtually autonomous provinces led by pashas, prevented the sultan from successfully exploiting his resources. The Ottoman Army was composed of regulars on pay (*kapikulu*, including Janissaries) and irregular troops, with the latter branch also including regional irregulars (*toprakli*), short-term levies (*miri-askeris*), troops raised by provincial governors (*siratku*), local militias (*yerli neferats*) used for town defense, and tribal irregulars (*gönüllüyan*). The irregular troops had no training, and anyone able to wield a weapon was considered a soldier and could enlist. Renowned for their courage and weapon handling, the Ottoman troops nevertheless lacked in discipline and tactical maneuverability. The Ottoman ranking system also represented a complex hierarchy, with ranks varying depending on the branch.

The regular infantry, or *kapikulu*, was established under the premise of the sultan's right to a fifth of the war booty, which he interpreted to include captives taken in battle. The captive slaves were converted to Islam and trained in the sultan's personal service. The most famous branch of the *kapikulu* was the Janissary corps, but there were also several other troop types such as *baltaçis* (halberdier corps); *bostancis*, who were deployed as elite reserves around Constantinople and Edirne; and *solaks*, who defended the royal palace. A series of garrisons along the Straits of the Bosphorus were each commanded by a *dizdar* (warden) under the general supervision of a *bogaz naziri* (superintendent). Since the fourteenth century, a system of conscription had been in place in the Ottoman military requiring every town and village to present a quota of fully equipped conscripts at the recruiting depot. A newer force of irregular infantrymen was called *azaps*, which were organized into garrison *azaps* and naval *azaps*; they transported the supplies to the front line, dug roads, and built bridges. One branch of the *azaps*, the *başıbozuk*, specialized in close combat, sometimes on mounts.

The Janissary corps constituted a major force in the empire and was organized through a *devshirme* system, which conscripted Christian youths from the Balkan and Caucasian provinces, converted them to Islam, and rigorously trained them in martial arts. Janissaries were organized into *ortas* (regiments) and *odas* (barracks) and enjoyed certain privileges and duties such as policing the harbor, acting as members of fire brigades, or guarding foreign embassies. By the late sixteenth century, the Janissaries had become a powerful force within the empire, as the sultan grew dependent on them to counter other internal factions. As a result, Janissaries were frequently involved in palace coups and stubbornly resisted any reforms that might undermine their status. The opposition be-

tween the sultan and the Janissaries was particularly evident under Selim III, who attempted to modernize the army by launching a series of reforms called *nizam-i cedit* (new system). This reform agenda led to a rebellion of the Janissaries and the deposition of Selim in 1807. Such resistance prevented the introduction of much-needed reforms at a crucial time when the Ottoman Empire was struggling to fend off the attacks of the European powers, especially the Russian Empire. The Janissary corps was not to be destroyed until well after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, when Sultan Mahmud II disbanded the corps in the so-called Auspicious Incident in 1826.

The Ottomans also had a well-developed system of raising troops from the subject nations. Local militias (*serhat kulis*) served throughout the Balkans, and their composition and strength varied from province to province. Provincial governors often raised their own cavalry (*deli*), infantry (*seğban*), and light infantry (*panduks*). Christian nations of the Balkan peninsula also had their own forces, among them Serbian *hayduk* units, Wallachian *dorobanti*, Moldavian *slujitori*, Albanian light infantry (*arnauts*), and Bosnian troops (*pandurs* and *eflaks*). In the eastern provinces, the local forces included Kurds, mainly re-

cruited as *tüfenkçis* (musketeers), as well as irregular tribal troops. Ottoman provinces in Syria and Palestine had diverse forces that included *tüfenkçis*, *deli* (mostly Arabic cavalry), *levant* (mounted infantry, mostly Kurdish), *seğbans* (mostly Turkish cavalry), and others. In Egypt, Mameluke slave warriors from the Caucasus had ruled the country since 1250 but had been nominally under Ottoman rule since 1517.

An important part of the Ottoman Army was the six cavalry branches (*altı bölük*), a mounted elite force. The most important of them were *Spahis*, who served as an escort and mounted bodyguard to the sultan and, in times of peace, were responsible for collecting taxes. They gradually became the mounted counterpart to the Janissaries, and the two factions often clashed over influence at court. *Spahis* later played an important role in the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826. *Spahis* are often confused with *timariots*, an irregular cavalry that provided military service in return for land (*timar*), much like the system of fiefs in medieval Europe. The *timariots* usually assembled after a call for troops but then returned to their land in times of peace. They were organized into regiments (*alays*) commanded by *alay beys*. Above them,



Mamelukes. An elite body of cavalry whom the French encountered during their campaign in Egypt in 1798, the Mamelukes could trace their lineage of service to the Ottomans back to the mid-thirteenth century. (Print by F. de Myrbach from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 2)

*sançak beys* commanded districts and were elected by the landowners. A special Tatar courier corps (*posta tatar*) was in charge of communications.

Although the Ottomans understood early on the power of artillery, they failed to keep up with Western modernization. The Ottoman *topçu ocağı* (field artillery corps) and *humbaracı ocağı* (siege artillery corps) lacked professional officers and modern artillery pieces. In the late eighteenth century, European officers were regularly invited to train this branch. A special artillery corps (*süratçi ocağı*), armed with modern artillery pieces, was established in the 1770s, and after reorganization this corps consisted of several 10-gun batteries, which included old guns (*balyemez and şahi*), new light caliber guns (*abus*), and heavy pieces (*sürat*). Each gun was manned by a *bölük* of ten men led by *top ustası*. The artillery had an auxiliary corps (*top arabacı ocağı*) of five regiments to provide ammunition and technical support. Other auxiliary corps included military bands (*mehterhane*), which used doubled kettle-drums (*nekkare*), cymbals (*zil*), two-sided drums (*davul*), bass drums (*kös*), trumpets (*kurenay, boru*), and two kinds of seven-hole clarinets (the low pitched *kaba zurna* and the higher pitched *zurna*).

In the 1790s Selim III launched a series of reforms to modernize the army and train new units in the European manner. To secure new sources of revenue, Selim established the *irad-i cedid* (new revenue) system financed from taxes imposed on previously untaxed sources and the confiscation of *timars* whose holders were not fulfilling their duties to the state. Technical and military books were translated into Turkish from Western languages; recruits were trained based on French military manuals; soldiers were armed with modern weapons; and graduates from new military schools were assigned to these units. The regiments were divided into battalions (*taburs*, led by *ağas*), companies (*bölük*, led by *bölükbaşı*), and platoons under *onbasi*. Regimental officers included a *binbaşı* (colonel) and two *ağas*—*ağa-i yemin* and *ağa-i yesar*—who commanded flank battalions. Finally, an attempt was made to introduce discipline into the decadent Janissary corps. However, the creation of new regular army units and growing French influence led to open rebellion of the Janissaries and conservative elements in society. In 1807 the Janissaries organized a coup d'état against Selim, who was imprisoned and then assassinated. By this action the modernization of the Ottoman Army was considerably delayed.

The eighteenth century saw the Ottoman Army engaged in a series of wars against Russia and Austria. The Ottomans fought with varying degrees of success, achieving certain tactical victories but often losing campaigns. The Janissaries refused to adopt any Western tactics or weaponry and objected to serving with the *nizam-i cedid*

troops. These forces thus took virtually no part in the fighting against the Russians, leaving it to the relatively ineffective Janissaries and irregular troops. The conflicts of the late eighteenth century demonstrated that long periods of neglect and decay had left the Ottoman forces far inferior to their European rivals.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 ended the undisputed Ottoman control of the Black Sea and gave Russia the right to navigate freely through the Straits. In 1783–1784, the Ottomans failed to defend their interests in the Crimea and Georgia, where the Russians then effectively established their authority. Selim engaged Austria and Russia in 1787–1792, but following Ottoman defeats at the hands of the legendary Russian general Alexander Suvorov he was forced to accept the Treaty of Jassy (1792), which extended the Russian frontier to the Dniester River. In 1798 the Ottoman Army faced a new enemy: the French expeditionary force under Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria. Although the sultan organized two large armies of almost 60,000 men, both were decisively defeated by smaller and more effective French forces at Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Lake Tiberias in April 1799, and later at Aboukir in July 1799. After Bonaparte's departure Ottoman forces failed to defeat the isolated French troops in Egypt and ultimately succeeded only with British help in 1801.

The early nineteenth century saw the rise of nationalism among Ottoman subject peoples in the Balkans, where a Serbian uprising began in 1803, soon followed by revolts in Bosnia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Ottoman forces were effective in suppressing local rebellions but failed to subdue the Serbs, who appealed for help from Russia. A new Russo-Turkish War began in 1806 and continued for the next six years. The Ottoman Army itself was in disarray after Selim's attempts to modernize it led to conflict with the Janissaries and others adversely affected by the reforms.

The new sultan, Mahmud II, faced a desperate situation both internally and externally. His authority was greatly diminished within the empire because of the opposition of the Janissaries and conservative elements. Muhammad Ali, viceroy of Egypt, became virtually independent; Ali Pasha of Janina led an open revolt in southern Albania; and various local governors in Syria and Arabia also disregarded the central authorities. In early 1807 the British attempted to seize the Dardanelles with a naval squadron but were repulsed by Turkish defenses directed by French officers.

Still, the Ottomans suffered a series of reverses against Russian forces in the Danubian Principalities (now Romania). By late 1809 the Ottomans were driven across the river Danube and lost all of Serbia and Greater and Lesser Wallachia. Two years later an Ottoman army under Ahmed Pasha was surrounded near Ruse on the Danube and

starved into submission. Unable to continue the war, Mahmud finally signed a peace treaty at Bucharest on 28 May 1812, relinquishing his claims to Bessarabia and Georgia but restoring his authority in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Serbia. For the next fifteen years, the Ottoman Army avoided wars with major powers and made continuous attempts to modernize.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Aboukir, Battle of; Dardanelles, Expedition to the; Egypt; El Arish, Convention of; Janissaries; Middle East Campaign; Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Navy; Mount Tabor, Battle of; Pyramids, Battle of the; Russo-Turkish War; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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## Ottoman Empire

For centuries the Ottoman Empire was one of the greatest and most powerful states in Eurasia. As late as 1683 Ottoman armies threatened the European mainland and besieged Vienna. Yet by the late eighteenth century the empire was in decline, presenting only a shadow of its former glory, and it was reluctant to take part in European affairs, largely owing to its internal difficulties. Weak central authority led to the loss of control of many provinces to the local notables (*ayan* or *derebeyi* in Anatolia, *klephts* or *hayduks* in European possessions), who gradually increased their power, exercised virtually unlimited authority, collected taxes, and sent nominal payments to the central authorities.

The central government maintained its position when it could by manipulating local rulers against each other. The Ottoman ruling elites saw the necessity of reforms but failed to implement them, because many of them benefited financially from the anarchy and the sultan's weakness. More significant was the Ottoman sense of superiority over anything other societies could possibly produce and offer. As a result, solutions to financial, social, and political problems were sought within the Ottoman experience and European advances were largely ignored. Major reforms

were attempted in the army and navy under the leadership of the Grand Admiral Gazi Hasan Pasha and Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha, but even these met with considerable resistance.

The eighteenth century saw the Ottomans engaged in a series of wars with the rising Russian Empire for the control of the Black Sea and the Danubian Principalities (Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia—mostly modern Romania). The Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 concluded with the peace treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which ended undisputed Ottoman control of the Black Sea. The Ottomans had to acknowledge an independent khanate in the Crimea and ceded certain territories on the Black Sea coastline to Russia. The treaty gave Russia the right to navigate freely through the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (also known as the Black Sea Straits) and the privilege of representing Greek Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire, a basis for future Russian interventions in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

Ten years later, relations between the two empires worsened again, and in 1783–1784 the Ottomans witnessed the Russian annexation of the Crimea and advancement into the Caucasus, where Georgian kingdoms acknowledged Russian sovereignty. Furthermore, in 1787 another Russo-Turkish War began as Russia and Austria sought to extend their influence into the Danubian Principalities. In 1789, as France experienced the upheaval of revolution, Sultan Abdul Hamid had been succeeded by his son Selim III, who actively continued the war against Austria and Russia. However, the war proved to be less successful to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Jassy, signed on 9 January 1792, did restore Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia to the Ottomans but it also secured Russian dominance in the Black Sea and confirmed the earlier Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, extending the Russian frontier to the Dniester River, including Ochakov in the Crimea. More importantly, the war consumed enormous resources and prevented Selim from implementing military reforms.

After the Treaty of Jassy, the sultan, realizing the importance of modernization, embarked on creating a new army called the *nizam-i cedit* (new order) using modern weapons and tactics developed in Europe. To fund his reforms and increase state revenue, Selim established the *irad-i cedit* (new revenue) financed from taxes imposed on previously untaxed sources and the confiscation of *timars* (lands) whose holders were not fulfilling their duties to the state. However, his reforms faced bitter resistance from various internal factions, including the powerful *ulama* (religious leaders) and the Janissaries, who felt threatened by the sultan's changes.

In addition to internal strife, the Ottoman Empire faced a French invasion of Egypt, an Ottoman province, in

1798. In May 1798 Bonaparte led an expedition to Egypt to establish a base for an attack on Britain's trade and possessions in India. Though nominally under Ottoman sovereignty, Egypt was in fact under the control of the Mamelukes, and while the French attempted to portray the invasion as a move to restore the position of the Ottoman sultan they failed to achieve this goal; in 1798 Selim joined the anti-French coalition. In December of that year, Russia and the Ottoman Empire signed an eight-year military alliance that would play an important role in subsequent relations between the two empires. This alliance gave the Russian fleet unlimited access to the Straits of the Dardanelles and placed the Russian Black Sea squadron in the Mediterranean, where it supported the Ottomans against the French in 1799.

The Turks, meanwhile, fielded two large armies against the French, but both were decisively defeated by Bonaparte in battles at Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Lake Tiberias in April 1799, and later at Aboukir in July 1799. Eventually the Ottomans succeeded, largely with British help, in driving the French out of Egypt and reestablishing their control over the province by 1801. The Ottoman hold over Egypt proved to be fleeting as the sultan's appointee, Muhammed Ali Pasha, who was appointed as the viceroy of Egypt in 1805, became increasingly independent and later even challenged the sultan for supremacy in the Levant.

By the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire also faced the rise of nationalism among its subject peoples, especially in the Balkans, where a Serbian uprising began in 1803 and a Greek independence movement flourished in the 1810s. Russo-Turkish relations also became strained, particularly after Napoleon approached Selim with a proposal of alliance. The possibility of the French domination of the Balkans and the Black Sea Straits concerned Russia. In addition, Russian monarchs sympathized with the Slavic peoples under Ottoman domination; when the Serbs revolted in 1803, they turned to Russia for protection and received substantial diplomatic and financial support. Furthermore, when the sultan expressed his interest in renewing the alliance of 1799, the Russian tsar, Alexander I, proposed to expand it to satisfy Russian interests in the region, which were reflected in a new treaty signed on 23 September 1805. However, two months later, a decisive French victory at Austerlitz had changed the European balance of power as Napoleon destroyed the Third Coalition (Austria, Russia, Britain, and Sweden).

After the defeat of the Allies, Selim decided to join the victorious side, hoping to recover lost territories from Russia. He acknowledged Napoleon's imperial title and began negotiations for an alliance with France. Trusting in new relations with Napoleon, the sultan declared his intention

to close the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to Russian vessels and replaced the current pro-Russian *hospodars* (princes) of Moldavia and Wallachia. Both of these decisions had a profound effect on Russo-Turkish relations since they violated the articles of the Treaty of Jassy—which had required Russia's consent to dismiss or appoint the *hospodars*—and threatened Russian strategic interests in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. In response, Alexander ordered the invasion and occupation of Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia in late 1806.

Selim's military reorganization and the increasing influence of France evoked a strong reaction from the conservative coalition of the Janissaries, the *ulamas*, and others adversely affected by the reforms. The sultan, on the other hand, lacked the determination to enforce the measures. The Janissaries soon mutinied in Edirne (Adrianople) and were joined by the local notables. Selim halted the process of reorganization and dismissed his reformist advisers, but it was too late. Discontented with the sultan's reforms, the *yamaks* (auxiliary levies) rebelled in 1807 and imprisoned him. The new sultan, Mustafa IV, ended the reforms, and most of the reformers were persecuted and massacred. However, Mustafa Beyraktar, pasha of Silistra, supported Selim's reform policy, and after the sultan's deposition, he rallied forces at Edirne in 1808. He marched with Grand Vizier Celebi Mustafa Pasha on Constantinople, where they dictated their terms to Sultan Mustafa IV. On 26 July 1808, Mustafa Pasha was appointed commander in chief of the Ottoman Army, and two days later he attempted a coup d'état to restore Selim to power. However, Selim was assassinated on the orders of Mustafa IV, who was himself immediately deposed by Mustafa Beyraktar.

Under the new sultan, Mahmud II, Mustafa Beyraktar became a grand vizier. He continued the reform policy of Selim and summoned a great imperial conference at Constantinople, where the highest-ranking officials were invited to adopt an extensive program of reforms. His actions alienated the conservatives and the Janissaries, who rebelled on 14 November 1808. Mustafa's residence was surrounded and set on fire. He hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days later, once the fire was quenched.

Mahmud faced a daunting task of reviving the empire despite internal and external threats. His authority was greatly diminished in the wake of civil unrest and the Janissary revolts as well as the Russian invasion of the Danubian Principalities. Egypt, led by Muhammad Ali Pasha, was only under nominal control, and the central authority struggled to contain local governors in Tunisia, Eastern Anatolia, and Arabia. The situation in the Balkans was most pressing. Greek provinces were in turmoil, Ali Pasha of Janina was in open revolt in southern Albania, as

was Serbia under the leadership of George Petrovic (Karageorge).

The region was also appealing to the interests of European powers; while Austria vied for a slice of territory and exerted great influence in Serbia, Russia was already at war with the Ottoman Empire and its armies occupied Bessarabia and Wallachia. In 1805 Selim hoped to receive French support to recover lost territories but French promises soon proved to be illusive, if not outright detrimental to Ottoman interests. The sultan's pro-French policy led to discord with Britain; in early 1807, Britain attempted to seize the Dardanelles with a naval squadron, but it was repulsed by artillery mounted in coastal fortifications and directed by French officers.

Meanwhile, Napoleon and Tsar Alexander negotiated peace agreements at Tilsit (July 1807) and Erfurt (October 1808), ending the war between France and Russia. Seeking Russia's cooperation in the Continental System and neutrality in regard to his efforts in Spain, Napoleon was willing to agree to Russian requests that were disadvantageous to his Turkish ally. France agreed to abandon its alliance with the Turks and help to mediate a peace between the Ottoman and Russian empires. One of the secret provisions further stipulated that if Russo-Turkish negotiations were to fail, Napoleon would join Alexander in making arrangements to partition the Ottoman Empire. Abandoned by France, Mahmud had to continue the war against Britain and Russia alone. He was able to take advantage of Franco-Russian rapprochement to negotiate a treaty of peace with Britain in January 1809. Implicitly directed against Russia, the Treaty of Çanak guaranteed that no warships of any power would pass through the Black Sea Straits and reaffirmed Britain's capitulatory rights (trading and consular privileges) in the Ottoman Empire; the secret provisions provided for British assistance to the Ottomans in case of a war against France.

The war with Russia continued for another three years and drained Ottoman resources. By late 1809, the Russian army had secured all of Greater and Lesser Wallachia and forced the Grand Vizier, Yussuf, to halt his invasion of Serbia. Two years later, General Mikhail Kutuzov destroyed the Turkish army under Ahmed Pasha near Ruse on the river Danube, forcing Mahmud to open negotiations in October 1811. The Turks prolonged the process, hoping France's impending conflict with Russia would change the political situation. Yet, under pressure from Britain and Russia, the Turks finally had to sign a peace treaty at Bucharest on 28 May 1812. The new agreement was not excessively harsh for the Ottomans since Russia, on the eve of invasion by Napoleon, was seeking ways to secure its southern borders and disentangle its army. Although the Treaty of Bucharest required the sultan to surrender

Bessarabia and Georgia, it also restored his authority in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Serbia, which the Russians had spent more than four years to secure.

Ottoman hopes of French success in Russia in 1812 and any subsequent settling of scores with Russia proved futile. Over the next three years, the sultan watched his archenemy, Russia, become the arbiter of the European balance of power. The Ottomans participated in the Congress of Vienna but did not sign the Final Act of the conference. By that time, the internal situation remained precarious and civil strife continued in various provinces. Serbia was virtually autonomous by 1815, and a Greek independence movement, already gaining support from European powers, would eventually lead to a Greco-Turkish war in 1821 and independence in 1830. Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire remained strained despite the Treaty of Bucharest and would result in another war in 1828–1829.

*Alexander Mikaberdize*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austerlitz, Battle of; Continental System; Dardanelles, Expedition to the; Egypt; El Arish, Convention of; Erfurt, Congress of; Ibrahim Bey, Al Kabir Al-Muhammadi; Janissaries; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Middle East Campaign; Murad Bey; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Navy; Russia; Russo-Turkish War; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Ottoman Navy

The Turkish, or Ottoman, Navy played a limited role in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Its operations were largely confined to the waters around Greece, the Dardanelles, and the Black Sea. Although their equipment was comparable in quantity and quality to that of other

countries, the Turks suffered from an archaic organization and a lack of vision, experience, and modern tactics. The navy suffered a series of defeats as the Ottoman government regularly changed alliances in an attempt to regain lost territory.

After a disastrous defeat at Chesme in 1770, the Turkish Navy instituted a massive shipbuilding program. By 1790 Ottoman naval forces numbered thirty ships of the line and fifty frigates, built to modern European designs. Contemporary observers commented that Turkish ships had greater headroom between decks, a characteristic they attributed to the Turks' custom of wearing elaborate headgear. The resulting greater freeboard of Turkish ships made them less navigable in heavy weather. Turkish vessels were also highly decorated and were regarded as the most beautiful in Europe. The fleet included around a hundred galleys, especially effective in coastal waters.

Sultan Selim III (ruled 1789–1806) initiated further naval reforms. Frenchman Jacques Balthazard Le Brun was hired to develop a modern naval establishment. The naval arsenal at Constantinople (Istanbul) was enlarged, and a school to train officers at Haskoy was modernized. Modern shipbuilding facilities were established at Sinope and Rhodes, as well as at the capital. Selim appointed a boyhood friend, Kucuk Huseyin Pasha, as the kaptain pasha, or grand admiral, of the navy. Kucuk Huseyin Pasha retained this position until the end of Selim's rule, giving the navy an unprecedented stability. He instituted regulations to reduce corruption and ensure promotion of talented officers. The reinstatement of conscription in the maritime provinces provided a supply of mostly Greek sailors with seafaring backgrounds. Selim organized a naval medical service based on Western experience, improving the general health of the navy. Standard uniforms remained unknown in the Turkish Navy, and officers' ranks were distinguished by the color of their boots. Marines were provided by the 31st Ortah of the Janissary Corps and had anchors tattooed on their forearms to distinguish them.

The Turks were regarded as brave and tenacious fighters and could handle their ships competently, but their knowledge of naval tactics was primitive compared with that of Europeans. The Ottoman government failed to use its navy to project its power, the navy's role during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars being limited mostly to conveying troops and defending Constantinople.

The Ottoman Empire remained neutral until Bonaparte invaded Egypt on 1 July 1798. After Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson won control of the Mediterranean at the Battle of the Nile, the Turkish navy conveyed an army to Egypt in June 1799. The navy also cooperated with the Russian Black Sea fleet in 1798–1799 to capture French possessions in the Adriatic. Following the Peace of Amiens

in 1802, the Turkish Navy was allowed to deteriorate. During the peace, relations with France grew closer, while those with the traditional enemy, Russia, became strained. Russian forces invaded Moldavia in December 1806, resulting in war. To assist their ally, a British squadron under Vice Admiral Sir John Duckworth forced its way through the Dardanelles in February 1807 and anchored at Constantinople. Their goal was to force the Turkish to adopt a policy of neutrality. Selim refused to negotiate and ordered ships manned. Duckworth, recognizing that his mission was hopeless, retreated back down the Dardanelles.

In the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812, the Turkish navy's main opponent was a Russian Mediterranean squadron under Vice Admiral Dmitry Senyavin. Senyavin seized several Turkish islands in the Aegean and used them as bait to draw the Turkish fleet out of the Dardanelles. Senyavin cornered the Turks at Lemnos where, though the Ottoman fleet was superior in numbers, it anchored in a defensive formation. Senyavin attacked on 19 June 1807, capturing one ship of the line and destroying two others. The surviving Turkish ships fled back to the Dardanelles and did not challenge the Russians again.

The war with Russia dragged on until 1812. The Turkish navy maintained a squadron in the Black Sea but limited its activities to supporting land forces and raiding Russian commerce.

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*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Dardanelles, Expedition to the; Janissaries; Marines; Middle East Campaign; Naval Warfare; Nile, Battle of the; Ottoman Army; Ottoman Empire; Russo-Turkish War; Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich

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### **Oudinot, Nicolas Charles (1767–1847)**

A ferocious and often wounded battlefield commander, Nicolas Oudinot began his military career in the armies of Revolutionary France in the 1790s. After numerous fights against the Austrians, he rose to general's rank in 1794 at the age of twenty-seven. Oudinot began his association with Napoleon Bonaparte only in 1800, and had to overcome suspicions of being linked with the young dictator's political opponents. He quickly began to distinguish himself in four years of campaigning in the Grande Armée, starting with the conflict against Austria in 1805. Rewarded with the governorship of Holland in 1810, Oudinot displayed a surprising talent for ruling a volatile civilian population.

Oudinot returned to combat as a corps commander in Russia in 1812, and he displayed his talents for aggressive leadership in helping to secure the bridgehead over the Berezina River during the retreat of the Grande Armée. But he showed his limits as an independent commander when he tried to lead four corps against Berlin in 1813. He became timid and hesitant in unrestricted command over large numbers. Fighting against the forces invading France in 1814, Oudinot decided firmly that Napoleon had no chance of winning. He approved of the Emperor's abdication, rallied to King Louis XVIII, and refused to support Napoleon's bid to return to power in 1815. He held various military commands under the restored Bourbon dynasty and then under King Louis-Philippe until his death, at the age of eighty, in 1847.

Oudinot was born at Bar-le-duc on 25 April 1767. From an early age, this son of a prosperous brewer exhibited distaste for the quiet life of a businessman. He ran away from home at the age of seventeen to enlist in the Royal Army. He served for three years until his parents arranged for his release. In 1789, he abandoned a course of study in bookkeeping to join the National Guard. Two years later, when National Guard units were being mobilized for duty with the army, he volunteered for active service.

The young man's leadership qualities became evident from the start. His fellow members of the National Guard chose him as their captain, and comrades in his unit of volunteers in 1791 elevated him to the position of lieutenant colonel. Starting with his first experience of combat in the Moselle valley in June 1793, Oudinot received rapid promotion while defending France's eastern frontiers against the Austrians. By November he was a full colonel. In June 1794, still only twenty-seven, he was promoted a brigadier general (*général de brigade*). By the time he reached this rank, Oudinot had already suffered numerous wounds on the battlefield. In one encounter, in which he was captured, the daring young commander was wounded five times by enemy saber cuts.

Oudinot's career took a crucial turn in late 1798, when he left campaigning in Germany in order to serve in Switzerland under General André Masséna, his first great military mentor. He distinguished himself the next spring leading a brigade, as French forces advanced eastward across Switzerland. Masséna rewarded his young subordinate with a promotion to major general (*général de division*) and assignment as the army's chief of staff. In the autumn of 1799, when Masséna's army found itself pushed back to Zürich, Oudinot played a key role in the new French offensive. As usual, his presence in combat brought him a new set of injuries at the hands of the enemy. By this point, Russian troops had replaced the Austrians facing the French army. In command of one of Masséna's attacking

columns, Oudinot led a decisive envelopment of the Russians near Zürich, then pushed ahead to capture Constance. There, he showed a human touch in permitting the escape of émigré Frenchmen who had fought on the side of the enemy. The close tie between Oudinot and Masséna continued during the siege of Genoa in 1800. At one point during the campaign, Oudinot passed through the blockading British squadron in a small boat to contact French forces outside the city.

During the first years of the new century, Oudinot found his glowing military talents overshadowed by his links to individuals accused of plotting against Bonaparte. Fighting along the Rhine in Germany in the previous decade had brought him close personal ties to known opponents of Bonaparte such as General Jean Moreau. Apparently, in the years just after Bonaparte took power in 1799, Oudinot was present at discussions among disgruntled generals seeking to overthrow the young dictator. But Oudinot was able to overcome Bonaparte's distrust, and he soon found himself placed in responsible positions of command.

In 1803, as Bonaparte prepared for an invasion of England, Oudinot received command of a division in the corps led by General Louis Davout. At the start of 1805 Oudinot was given the signal honor of commanding the Grenadier Division, an elite infantry formation. He led this formation in the series of victorious French campaigns that began that year. In August 1805, Oudinot's troops, now part of Marshal Jean Lannes's V corps, advanced rapidly into western Germany to help surround the Austrian army at Ulm. In the subsequent advance toward Vienna, Oudinot encountered the bulk of the Russian army at Amstetten on the southern bank of the Danube. His ferocious assault against this numerically superior force compelled the enemy to abandon its defensive position, opening the way for a French occupation of the Austrian capital shortly thereafter.

Upon reaching Vienna, the Grande Armée was confronted with the problem of seizing the heavily defended Tabor Bridge across the Danube. In a daring ruse, Lannes and Marshal Joachim Murat approached the Austrians guarding the bridge, pretending that an armistice had ended open fighting. While his superiors occupied enemy officers with their conversation, Oudinot led a force of French troops to capture the span.

Kept mainly in reserve at the battles of Austerlitz (1805) and Jena (1806), Oudinot returned to the thick of action in the 1807 campaign against the Russians. At Ostrolenka in February of that year, he fended off a surprise Russian attack that threatened to crack the right flank of Napoleon's army. A few months later, serving as a divisional commander under Lannes at the Battle of Friedland, he helped to pin down superior numbers of Russian troops

until Napoleon could bring up reinforcements and win the day. On this occasion, Oudinot's coat was riddled with musket balls and a round shot (cannonball) nearly killed him, taking the life of his aide-de-camp beside him instead.

Oudinot displayed his daring and aggressiveness to good effect in the campaign of 1809 against Austria, when for a time he served again under Masséna. Oudinot's troops led the French advance from southern Germany to Vienna, and, on 13 May, he entered the enemy's capital city. During Napoleon's first effort to cross to the northern bank of the Danube, Oudinot fought heroically at Aspern-Essling. Upon the death of Lannes at the close of the battle, Oudinot took command of II Corps. Six weeks later, in early July, he led the second crossing of the Danube. Oudinot's performance at the subsequent Battle of Wagram—in which he made an unauthorized but successful assault on the key Austrian-held village of Baumersdorf—led Napoleon to make him a marshal. Oudinot also received the title of duc de Reggio on 13 July.

Oudinot took a new role in the years following, that of military governor of Holland. He led French troops into that kingdom in February 1810 and completed the occupation of the country two months later with his entry into Amsterdam. Oudinot then presided over Holland's formal annexation by France in July 1810. After Holland became fully incorporated into Napoleon's Empire, Oudinot proved to be a firm but tactful administrator. Under his control the Dutch accepted their new status without resorting to violence.

Leading II Corps into Russia in the summer of 1812, Oudinot and his force of 33,000 men occupied a position on the northern flank of the Grande Armée. He now commanded a larger force than at any time in his career, though he enjoyed only mixed success. In an extended summer battle against the Russians at Polotsk, Oudinot was uncharacteristically timid, hesitating to advance against the enemy for fear of being outnumbered. Nonetheless, he redeemed himself with his heroism in late November. At that time, his troops helped to hold off numerically superior Russian forces on the west bank of the Berezina River, maintaining a bridgehead that allowed the rest of the Grande Armée to cross to safety. As always, Oudinot's service was accompanied by battle wounds. These new injuries were sufficiently severe that they may have affected his subsequent military leadership.

Oudinot's difficulty in commanding large numbers of troops became evident in 1813. Although he contributed to the French victory at Bautzen in May, Oudinot was unsuccessful when Napoleon ordered him to advance on Berlin. Capturing the important capital was a key element in Napoleon's campaign plan, since the French emperor anticipated that it would drive the Prussians out of the opposing coalition. But Oudinot could not produce the results Napo-

leon needed. Defeated by the Prussians at Luckau in early June, he led a second attempt to take the Prussian capital in late August. Oudinot's hesitant advance in command of four corps was followed by a hasty withdrawal after being rebuffed at Grossbeeren. He suffered the humiliation of being demoted to command of a single corps and placed under the orders of Marshal Michel Ney. Despite the shift in leadership, the French were decisively defeated by the Prussians at Dennewitz on 6 September. Annoyed at his demotion, Oudinot contributed directly to the failure: He insisted on following Ney's battlefield orders to the letter, even though he knew they would produce a French defeat.

Oudinot led an army corps during the 1814 campaign on French soil, receiving wounds to both legs at Brienne. At Arcis-sur-Aube he was hit in the chest by a musket ball which, however, on striking his Legion of Honor decoration, was deflected. Early in the fighting Oudinot became convinced that the campaign could not succeed in the face of such superior numbers of the enemy. Although he did not take the lead in calling for the abdication of the Emperor, Oudinot readily agreed to Napoleon's departure from power, and he rallied without hesitation to the newly restored monarchy of Louis XVIII. He was rewarded with an important military post, commander of the garrison at Metz.

When Napoleon returned from exile on Elba in the spring of 1815, Oudinot tried unsuccessfully to keep the troops at Metz from rallying to their old leader. Nonetheless, he refused to support Napoleon's brief return to power himself. Following Waterloo, Oudinot received a variety of new positions under Louis XVIII and his successors. He had been fortunate not to have served in Spain during Napoleon's futile effort to conquer the Peninsula, but, in 1823, he led a corps of the French army across the Pyrenees in a successful campaign to help the reigning Spanish monarch. He received a final appointment, as governor of the Invalides, in 1842, and the old warrior died in Paris on 13 September 1847.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Amstetten, Battle of; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dennewitz, Battle of; Elba; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Genoa, Siege of; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Lannes, Jean; Louis XVIII, King; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Murat, Joachim; National Guard (French); Netherlands, The; Ney, Michel; Polotsk, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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**Owen, Robert (1771–1858)**

Welsh industrialist, labor reformer, and Utopian socialist who pioneered the formation of cooperative societies with his experiments at New Lanark, Scotland, and New Harmony, Indiana. Influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, he authored numerous books, including *The Formation of Character* (1813), *A New View of Society* (1814), and *Lectures on an Entire New State of Society* (1830). Such works discussed the need for factory reform, suggested new codes of morality, and promoted the virtues of cooperative living.

Owen was born in Newton, Montgomeryshire, Wales, in May 1771. The youngest son of an ironmonger, he began as an apprentice in a firm of drapers in Stamford, Lincolnshire. By age sixteen, he was working in the textile industry in Manchester. While there, Owen was exposed

to the latest developments in mechanized manufacturing, in particular, Richard Arkwright's flying shuttle. His intense interest in the newest technology, coupled with his drive and intellect, fostered his involvement in several investment and business opportunities during the early 1790s. In 1792 Owen became manager of industrialist Peter Drinkwater's spinning mill. Impressed with his new assistant, Drinkwater introduced Owen to several other prominent industrialists, including David Dale, proprietor of Britain's largest cotton-spinning business, the Chorton Twist Company of New Lanark, in Scotland. Dale and Owen quickly developed a solid friendship, and in 1799 Owen purchased Dale's company and later married his daughter, Anne Caroline.

Owen now enjoyed both personal and professional success, yet he remained unfulfilled. The exploitative nature of capitalism troubled the young entrepreneur. Profiteering at the worker's expense disheartened Owen and countered the concepts of social justice he championed. He was a devotee of the socialist notions that originated with the French Revolution, and, once in control of New Lanark, he embarked upon a program of reform that conformed to such ideals. New Lanark was set up as a model factory community where both profit and people were paramount. Free education, medical care, and the like were provided for the community's benefit, and Owen's program became a great success, generating international recognition.

He planned to expand his notions of social change even further with the establishment of another model community, New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. Citizens of New Harmony would live communally, working, worshipping, learning, and recreating for the mutual benefit of all. However, disorganization, incessant infighting among the inhabitants, and lack of dedication to the Utopian ideal ended the experiment by 1828.

The failure of New Harmony led Owen back to Britain the following year. He became involved in the trade union movement, promoting the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and an eight-hour workday, during the 1830s. He joined other crusades by the 1840s, particularly those dealing with religious reform, but he never completely abandoned his cooperative dream, continuing to pursue such objectives until the end of his life. Owen died in November 1858 in his hometown.

Rachel Finley-Bowman

See also *Idéologues*; *Luddites*

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# P

## **Paget, Sir Edward (1775–1849)**

Potentially one of the best subordinate commanders to serve under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular campaigns, but dogged by ill fortune.

Major General Sir Edward Paget commanded a brigade during Sir John Moore's campaign in 1808, serving with distinction and valor as the commander of the rear guard during the retreat to Corunna and commander of a brigade at the battle of that name in January 1809. He later commanded a division under Wellington, losing his right arm in 1809 at Oporto, during the successful seizure and defense of the convent at the crossing of the Douro on 12 May. He convalesced until he returned to Spain in the fall of 1812, when he was named as second in command to Wellington. He was captured on 17 November 1812.

Prior to his campaigns in Spain and Portugal, Paget had served in Flanders, as a senior marine officer at the Battle of St. Vincent in 1797, and at the capture of Minorca in November 1798. In 1801 he fought in Egypt where he was wounded at the Battle of Alexandria, and later served in Hanover and in Sicily before joining Lieutenant General Sir John Moore's forces in the Peninsula.

Born on 3 November 1775, Edward Paget was the brother of Henry Paget, second Earl of Uxbridge, the latter of whom was despised by Wellington for having eloped with his sister. Henry Paget commanded the cavalry in Moore's campaigns but was not employed by Wellington until he was forced to accept appointment as the commander of the cavalry during the Waterloo campaign in 1815. Wellington's antipathy toward the Earl of Uxbridge does not seem to have extended to Sir Edward.

After the Napoleonic Wars Sir Edward served as the colonel in chief of the 28th Foot (the Gloucestershire Regiment) and as commander in chief of British forces in India during the First Burma War in 1822–1825. There he was involved in the suppression of the Barrackpur Mutiny in November 1824, which resulted in the trial and sentencing of forty-one, and the actual execution of twelve, sepoy of

the 47th Bengal Foot. Sir Edward gained notoriety by the severity of his actions during this incident, notwithstanding that he was not disciplined or replaced as a result of it. He died in England on 13 May 1849 at the age of seventy-three while governor of Chelsea Hospital.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Alexandria, Battle of; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Middle East Campaign; Moore, Sir John; Oporto, Battle of; Peninsular War; St. Vincent, Battle of; Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## **Paget, Henry William, Second Earl of Uxbridge**

*See* Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of

## **Paine, Tom (1737–1809)**

Idealist author of the revolutionary pamphlet *Common Sense*, Paine was born on 29 January 1737 in Thetford, Norfolk, England, to Joseph Paine, a Quaker, and Frances Cocke Paine, a practicing Anglican. He received a basic education after which he attempted a variety of options to obtain a career. After a short stint working for his father as a corset apprentice he tried to be a sailor, a supernumary officer, a teacher, a preacher, a servant, and then an excise

officer, an entirely unsuitable profession for one with Paine's mentality; he did not know his niche in life.

A chance meeting with Benjamin Franklin in London led to letters of introduction supporting Paine's subsequent immigration to America, where he settled in Philadelphia in 1774. Paine was married twice; his first wife died within a year of their marriage, and he separated from his second wife after a stormy three-year marriage that ended in 1774. During this time he developed liberal views, radical for the time, on natural justice, public education, and social security.

Paine became an author and publicist. His 1774 publication, *African Slavery*, characterized the inhumanity of slavery. He also coedited the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. His intuition and sense of anxiety led to his sympathy for the American rebels, especially after the initial clashes at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. He reasoned that no one should pay taxes without parliamentary representation. He abhorred the abuse of power that was officially sanctioned by Parliament; he postulated that governments should be elected frequently and regulate affairs, nothing more. Paine was further emboldened to suggest independence; he argued that the colonists ultimately had a right to independence from a government that had lost touch with its people.

This radical idea was published in his pamphlet *Common Sense* on 10 January 1776. He wrote that "Society in every state is a blessing, but Government, even in its best state, is a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one." The pamphlet sold 500,000 copies, largely because Paine was determined to keep the price reasonable, thus foregoing hefty profits. *Common Sense* inspired the general public toward accepting independence and directly influenced the authors of the Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776.

Paine inspired the Continental Army, in which he volunteered, with the influential sixteen patriotic *American Crisis* papers published from 1776 to 1783, which further encouraged revolutionary thought. Paine was forced to resign his position as secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress because of his disclosure of secret documents. He then obtained a position as clerk and continued publishing. Meanwhile he turned to inventing and received a patent for his single-span iron bridge. Paine had become a republican as well as a deist with great disdain for organized religion.

Paine returned to England, and from March 1791 to February 1792 he wrote the *Rights of Man*, which postulated democracy for all men. This response to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) necessitated Paine's escape to France, where he supported the Revolution. As an elected official to the National Assembly he voted against Louis XVI's execution and abhorred the subsequent Terror. Maximilien Robespierre tried to have

Paine guillotined for voting against his wishes. Paine was imprisoned from January 1793 to November 1794 and due to be executed, but a chance event prevented this. His executioners, failing to dispatch him on the day appointed, were prevented from carrying out the sentence amid the chaos that ensued after the fall of Robespierre a few days later. Then in 1796 he published *Agrarian Justice*. Thereafter he wrote the inflammatory work *The Age of Reason*, which attacked organized religion; this controversial work alienated him from his former supporters. By 1802 Paine was invited back to the United States by Thomas Jefferson.

Paine was gradually abandoned except by a few friends from his small social circle. He died penniless and in obscurity in New York City on 8 June 1809. Despite his public derision, his ideas had a strong influence on such august figures as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln.

Annette E. Richardson

See also French Revolution; Louis XVI, King; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The

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### Pajol, Claude Pierre (1772–1844)

French general who enjoyed a long and distinguished military career. Wounded many times, Pajol was staunchly opposed to the Bourbons, serving in the French Army during the First Republic, the First Empire, and the July Monarchy.

Born in Besançon on 3 February 1772, Pajol studied law as a young man. Before completing his studies, he joined the National Guard in August 1789. By 1791 he was a sergeant major, and he became a lieutenant in the 82nd Line Infantry Regiment in 1792. Lieutenant Pajol was twice wounded on 30 September 1792 while leading a company of grenadiers in an assault on the town of Speyer. He was made captain and became an aide to General Jean-Baptiste Kléber in 1794. Wounded again at Esneaux, 11 September 1794, Pajol was afterward given the honor of escorting thirty-six captured enemy flags to Paris. Fighting in September 1795, he was hit by a musket ball in the leg. He was promoted to *chef de bataillon* (major) and distinguished himself at Friedberg on 10 July 1796.

Pajol transferred to the 4th Hussars and with two hundred troopers captured two battalions of Austrians in March 1799. Promoted to colonel, he took command of the 6th Hussars. Pajol led this regiment in a successful charge at Neuburg on 27 June 1800. He participated in Napoleon's Ulm campaign in 1805 and then performed garrison duty in Italy. In 1807 Pajol became a general and led a cavalry brigade at Königsberg. In 1809 he fought gallantly at the Battle of Wagram and personally captured an Austrian colonel.

During the invasion of Russia in 1812, Pajol commanded a cavalry division. He captured Kovno and Vilna, and he fought at Borodino. Escaping injury at that bloody battle, he was badly wounded two days later, while pursuing the retreating Russians. Recovered by the following summer, Pajol fought at the Battle of Dresden in August 1813. Two months later, at Wachau, an enemy shell killed his horse, and in the resulting fall the general broke his left arm and several other bones. Barely recovered from his injuries, Pajol fought against the Allied invasion of France in 1814. He led a victorious charge of raw cavalry conscripts at the Battle of Montereau and was again wounded.

When the exiled Napoleon returned to France during the Hundred Days in 1815, he gave Pajol command of a cavalry corps. The general fought at the battles of Ligny and Wavre and helped cover the French retreat from Waterloo. Pajol left the army during the Bourbon Restoration, attempting life as a businessman. He participated in the Revolution of 1830, which overthrew the Bourbons. The new king, Louis-Philippe, returned Pajol to his military duties. Pajol only retired from active duty in 1842, at the age of seventy, and died two years later, on 20 March 1844.

*Ralph Ashby*

*See also* Borodino, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedberg, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Ligny, Battle of; Montereau, Battle of; National Guard (French); Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of

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## **Pakenham, Sir Edward (1778–1815)**

A general in the British Army, he led forces through the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, most notably

in the Iberian Peninsula and at the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 against the United States.

He was born a member of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy to Edward Michael Pakenham, second Baron Longford, and Catherine Rowley Pakenham. The young Pakenham was educated in the finest military schools and rose quickly through the ranks, becoming a major in the Ulster Light Dragoons when he was sixteen. During the French Revolutionary Wars he was part of the expedition that captured St. Lucia in 1803. Politically and militarily well connected, Pakenham became brother-in-law of Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, when Wellesley married his sister in 1806. From 1810 Pakenham served under Wellington in the Peninsular War, and he was promoted to major general by the following year. Pakenham was well respected among the British troops, and he was the epitome of a gentleman-soldier. He distinguished himself at the battles of Salamanca in 1812 and the Pyrenees in 1813, receiving a knighthood (Knight Commander of the Bath) in 1813 for his military achievements.

In 1814 Pakenham was sent to the United States to replace Major General Robert Ross, who was killed near Baltimore. Pakenham's expedition was directed against New Orleans, where General Andrew Jackson held command. Pakenham had been opposed to war with the United States but nevertheless fulfilled his duty. Arriving in Jamaica, he found that part of his intended forces had earlier left for the Gulf Coast. By Christmas 1814 Pakenham linked up with Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, coordinating plans with him for an attack from the British advance camp at the Villeré Plantation, close to New Orleans. His supply lines were overextended, the weather was foul, and his forces lacked accurate intelligence on American strength. Nonetheless, artillery was disembarked from his ships and emplaced so as to strike the Americans' defensive position established along both sides of the Mississippi River east of the town.

On 8 January 1815 Pakenham attacked Jackson's forces without first capturing American gun emplacements on the river's west bank, which continued to rain fire down upon the advancing British troops. Encountering a storm of musket and rifle fire from the American entrenchments to their front, Pakenham's men began first to hesitate and then to retreat, whereupon Pakenham rode to the front of his lines to encourage them forward. Hit first by a round shot (cannonball) and then by two musket balls, he died courageously after being carried to the back of the fray. His last order, that his reserves be sent forward under Major General John Lambert, failed to produce victory. Pakenham died knowing he had lost the Battle of New Orleans, an action that, ironically but unbeknownst to him, was fought after the Treaty of Ghent (24 December 1814) had

ended the war between Britain and the United States. Pak-enham's service was commemorated with a life-sized statue in St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

*Barbara Bennett Peterson*

*See also* New Orleans, Battle of; Peninsular War; Salamanca, Battle of; St. Lucia; War of 1812; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Palafox, José

*See* Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José

## Palm, Johann Philipp (1766–1806)

Publisher later seen as a martyr to the German nationalist cause. Born in Schorndorf, near Stuttgart, on 18 December 1766, Palm became an apprentice bookseller with a relative, who was established within the book trade. After several appointments with major German-language editors of the time, Palm settled in Nuremberg and bought the Steinische Buchhandlung, a bookshop and publishing house, in 1796. He was especially engaged in printing and distributing books on natural sciences and theology and offered almost nothing concerning political issues. After the victory of Napoleon over Austria in 1805, the old Holy Roman Empire collapsed and finally vanished in August 1806. In the month preceding this collapse large parts of southern Germany were still under French occupation as a result of the 1805 campaign, and the first signs of nationalist German resistance were emerging. After Austria's defeat Prussia remained the only major German state not controlled by Napoleon until it, too, was vanquished, in October 1806, at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt.

Yet in the spring and early summer of 1806 these events were not foreseen. Instead German nationalists were confronted with a political situation transformed by the French: remodeled southwestern German states, a defeated Austria still claiming the German Imperial crown, and Prussia preparing for war, though still hesitating. This political turmoil caused economic problems, especially in

those regions where French forces of occupation had to be fed and housed.

The printing of the sharply anti-French and, specifically, anti-Napoleonic pamphlet, *Deutschland in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung* (Germany in Its Deepest Humiliation) by Palm was probably the product of the prevailing political and economic crisis: Palm was certainly a German nationalist opposing foreign occupation, but he also hoped for good business with such an agitating publication despite the economic gloom, which had affected the bookselling business. The risk involved in such an undertaking was obvious, as occupying authorities were likely to regard even such a somewhat naive call for resistance as tantamount to a full-scale uprising. Palm therefore took precautions to organize a clandestine distribution of his pamphlet.

In spite of this he was arrested on 14 August 1806, and executed on the twenty-sixth. While the trial was certainly fixed before it started, it is important to note that harsh penalties for agitation against occupying forces were not solely the preserve of the French, but an established custom in war. Palm did not name the author of the booklet during his trial; today Philipp Christian Gottlieb Yelin is regarded as the author. Owing to the lack of archival evidence, many details of Palm's motivation and the extent of his clandestine propaganda campaign still remain unclear. Palm became a martyr for the emerging cause of German nationalism and was celebrated as a hero well into the twentieth century, by which time the lack of historical evidence had transformed the story of Palm's life into the realm of fairy tales.

*Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Fichte, Johann Gottlieb; Hofer, Andreas; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Holy Roman Empire; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Pamplona, Siege of (25 June–31 October 1813)

After the French defeat at Vitoria in June 1813, their presence in Spain was reduced to garrisons at Pamplona and San Sebastian. As long as the French controlled these cities, the army of the Marquis of Wellington would be limited in its ability to invade France itself. The Spanish and Anglo-Portuguese forces decided to starve Pamplona into sub-

mission, a process that took five months. Efforts by Marshal Nicolas Soult to relieve the city were unsuccessful.

The total defeat of French forces in Spain at Vitoria on 21 June 1813 resulted in a rout of the surviving troops over the Pyrenees into France. French garrisons were maintained only in San Sebastian, on the Biscayne coast, and Pamplona, a major city located nearly 50 miles inland. Some survivors of Vitoria took refuge in Pamplona, joining the existing garrison of 3,000 troops from General Bertrand Clausel's corps, who were backed by 80 heavy guns and secure fortifications around the city. The commander was General Louis Pierre Cassan, who was determined to hold Pamplona as long as possible. He recognized that the city commanded one of the major routes between France and Spain, and that as long as the French remained in control of the city, the Allies would be unable to undertake major operations in southern France.

Wellington was unwilling to rush into an invasion of France. He feared that Napoleon might sign a peace treaty with Prussia and Russia, allowing large French forces to return to Spain. As his army had only one siege train, Wellington decided to attack San Sebastian first. The French could resupply that port city, and Pamplona could be completely cut off. Therefore, by 25 June, a Spanish division of 11,000 men under General Henry O'Donnell invested Pamplona. The siege was punctuated only by periodic forays by the French to gather more food.

Soult quickly reorganized the defeated French forces. One of his most important goals was to break the Allied siege of Pamplona. He realized that the city would eventually fall from lack of food, so he quickly moved to relieve it. While his reserve division on 25 July demonstrated on the Bidassoa River to hold Wellington's attention, Soult moved most of his forces over the Pyrenees directly toward Pamplona. Despite stubborn resistance at the Roncesvalles Pass, the British under generals Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole and Sir Thomas Picton were forced to retreat almost as far as Pamplona by 27 July.

When Cassan saw French campfires around Sorauren, the general ordered a sortie to break the siege on 27 July. O'Donnell, fearing his division would be caught between Soult and Cassan, ordered that the siege be lifted. The arrival of another Spanish division under General Carlos d'España, however, caused O'Donnell to cancel his orders. Cassan's sortie was unsuccessful, and the garrison awaited Soult. The marshal, however, was defeated at Sorauren by Wellington and forced to retreat. Although the French in Pamplona had lost hope of relief, Cassan was determined to hold on as long as possible, hoping that Soult would be able to mount another relief effort. Events prevented that from happening, but the siege dragged on. Much to Wellington's surprise and disappointment, Pamplona held

out until October. The defenders had used up all their food and exhausted all other resources by the end of the month; even the rats and dogs had been eaten. Cassan planned to surrender after destroying the key fortifications. He was only dissuaded when he learned that Wellington promised to have him, his officers, and one-tenth of his men shot if the fortifications were destroyed. On 31 October, Pamplona surrendered.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Peninsular War; Roncesvalles, Battle of; San Sebastian, Siege of; Siege Warfare; Sorauren, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Papal States

As it had been for more than a millennium, during the French Revolution the papacy was involved in many significant political and religious events, influencing affairs beyond the borders of its own territories, known as the Papal States. Prior to Napoleon Bonapartes's arrival, the Papal States had consisted of various territories situated in central Italy, specifically Lazio, Umbria, Marche, Romagna, and part of Emilia. It also included cities, like Pontecorvo and Benevento, that were situated far from Rome, the capital. The territory was divided into seven provinces, each governed by a legate chosen by the pope.

In 1793 the French republican government decided to expand its dominance beyond the French borders, and fighting spread into the Low Countries, the Rhineland, and northern Italy. Relations between France and the Papal States became hostile when in 1796 the young General Bonaparte was put in command of the (French) Army of Italy. Officially, the purpose of the campaign was to avenge the murder in February 1793 of a French diplomat, Ugo Bassville. On that pretext, on 19 June 1796 Bonaparte invaded Bologna and then, having defeated the Papal army at Fort Urban on 23 June, reached Rome. After the French occupation of central Italy in early 1797 and the defeat of Papal forces at the Senio on 5 February, Pope Pius VI was forced to sign a truce on 17 February, followed by the Treaty of Tolentino two days later. By this agreement Pius was obliged to pass to French control the cities of Bologna

and Ferrara, and also the nearby territories of Romagna, Ancona, and the enclave of Avignon. Avignon had in reality already been annexed to France in 1791 but prior to that time had been controlled by the Papacy. Pius now renounced all claims to the territory, disbanded the Papal army, and paid an indemnity in exchange for the departure of French troops.

Numerous riots in Rome led by local patriots resulted in the death of French general Léonard Duphot in December 1797 and the occupation of the city by a French army under General Louis-Alexandre Berthier. There followed the deposition of the pope and the establishment of the Roman Republic, a French satellite, on 15 February 1798. The French army pillaged the city, and by an agreement between the rebels and the army, Pius was imprisoned in Siena, followed by his deportation to Valence, in France, where he died in August 1799. In November 1798, taking advantage of the chaotic atmosphere in the former Papal States, Austrian general Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich led a Neapolitan force and liberated Rome, though by the following month French forces had retaken the capital. In September of the same year, the Roman Republic collapsed when Neapolitan troops again entered the capital, at that time no longer under French occupation.

As these events unfolded Bonaparte proclaimed himself First Consul and in 1801 sent troops to reoccupy Rome and the territory of the former Roman Republic. The new pope, Pius VII, elected in Venice in March 1800 and desiring amicable relations with France, signed a concordat in July 1801. He took part in Napoleon's coronation on 2 December 1804, though the Emperor took the crown from Pius's hands and dramatically crowned himself.

Napoleon returned the former Papal territories to Pius, with the exception of Romagna and Marche. Yet tensions increased when the pope showed reluctance to annul the marriage of Joseph Bonaparte. In 1808, after Pius had refused to join the Continental System, Napoleon broke the treaty and annexed the Papal States and the region of Umbria to France, forming the departments of Tiber and Trasimeno. The pope thereupon excommunicated Napoleon, but at the cost of the former's freedom: Pius was arrested and imprisoned first in Savona and later in Fontainebleau. Thereafter the Papal States were administered as an autonomous region of France.

When Napoleon was forced to abdicate in April 1814, the pope returned to power in Rome the following month. The Congress of Vienna restored the territory of the Papal States as they had existed in 1792. However, Pius permitted a number of social and political reforms introduced by the French to remain in force.

*Elvio Ciferri*

*See also* Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Bonaparte, Joseph; Concordat; Continental System; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Naples; Neapolitan Campaign; Pius VI, Pope; Pius VII, Pope; Vienna, Congress of

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## Paris

In 1789, Paris was by far the largest city in France and one of the most important urban areas in all of Europe. The crowded city's 700,000 inhabitants relied on the brisk commerce along the river Seine for grain supply, manufactured products, and luxury goods. Paris represented the political center of France, with the palaces of the Louvre and Tuileries providing residences for the royal family when visiting the city. The monarchy's judicial, legal, and municipal officials worked in the courts and offices on and around the Ile de la Cité and the Hôtel de Ville. King Louis XIV had built the palace of Versailles and the administrative offices of the monarchy only a few miles southwest of Paris, allowing the city and palace together to form a fixed capital.

When the Estates-General met at Versailles in May 1789 to address the problem of the king's debts, its close proximity to Paris was immediately felt. Louis XVI quickly became frustrated by the assembly's failure to concentrate on his personal agenda and attempted to disband the Estates-General in June. Thus sent out of the chambers, many of the deputies claiming to represent the entire nation convened outdoors to take the Oath of the Tennis Court, vowing not to disband until they had drawn up a constitution. The deputies published newspapers reporting on the dramatic events and circulating their ideas throughout the capital.

A large, literate public followed the development of the fledgling French Revolution very closely from Paris. The city, then as now, was France's cultural capital, teeming with hundreds of cafés and theaters where its residents could meet and discuss politics. The vibrant cultural milieu also included *salons* in nobles' urban homes, especially in the Marais quarter. Probably no other place in the capital could rival the Palais-Royal for news of the debates in the National Assembly as the Revolution developed. One visitor to the Palais-Royal remarked at the time, "Just picture a beautiful square palace; and beneath it arcades, where in countless shops glitter treasures from all the

world. . . . Here you see, too, the finest coffeehouses in Paris, also crammed with people. Here they read newspapers and magazines aloud, they shout, argue, make speeches, and so on” (quoted in Karamzin 2002, 106).

Paris was also a vital military center during the French Revolution. The fortifications (the best known being the Bastille), Arsenal, and Invalides soldiers’ hospital built by the monarchy continued to house garrisons, artillery, weapons, and munitions. As the crisis of 1789 deepened, Louis XVI ordered troops from throughout France to concentrate on Paris; many of them camped at the Champ de Mars on the outskirts of the city. Parisians’ fears that these troops would be used to suppress the National Assembly led Revolutionary artisans and members of the new National Guard to storm the Bastille, which held a large cache of arms as well as political prisoners, on 14 July.

Throughout the French Revolution, Paris would remain the key site of political change and transformation. Each of the successive French legislative bodies sat in Paris, and political clubs, forerunners of modern political parties, proliferated in the capital city. The artisans and skilled workers of Paris became known as the *sans-culottes*, perhaps the most important pressure group among the French Revolutionaries because of their ability to organize and demonstrate in the capital city. Parisian women from *sans-culottes* households took the lead in forcing the king and his ministers to leave the palace of Versailles and come to Paris during the October Days. From that point on, the monarch was embroiled in Revolutionary urban politics and unable to act without being closely observed by all groups within the capital.

Successive Revolutionary governments had to negotiate the frequent political plots and popular demonstrations within the city. After the initial chaos of Revolutionary war in 1792, Parisian crowds broke into the city’s prisons to kill “traitors” during the September Massacres. Parisian National Guardsmen stormed the Tuileries palace on 10 August 1792, leading to the deposition of the royal family and the creation of a republican government. Throughout the war and the Terror, the bread supply for Paris remained a key concern for the government.

Napoleon attempted to transform Paris into a Neoclassical capital but also kept the city under close surveillance through his police and officials. Paris remained a volatile focal point for radical politics throughout the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. It surrendered to the Allies on 31 March 1814 following the action at Montmartre, and again after Waterloo, in June 1815.

*Brian Sandberg*

*See also* France; France, Campaign in; French Revolution; Louis XVI, King; Montmartre, Action at; National Guard (French); Terror, The

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### **Paris, First Treaty of (30 May 1814)**

The first Peace of Paris was signed on 30 May 1814 between France and the victorious Allies: Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain. It was intended by the signatories to provide a durable and just peace for Europe, at war for more than twenty years, and there is broad scholarly consensus that its remarkable leniency was designed specifically to ease the return of the newly restored Bourbon dynasty in France. A reordering of the map of Europe was needed because of the territorial changes caused by Napoleonic expansion, but the discussion of this issue was postponed for a later conference, ultimately held at Vienna. Yet the peace was of short duration, for with Napoleon’s return from Elba on 1 March 1815, war again broke out and made a new, revised settlement necessary—the second Peace of Paris.

The immediate origins of the peace treaty can be traced to the Treaty of Chaumont, which on 19 March 1814 reaffirmed the cooperation of the Allies against France and prepared their final advance on Paris from the east and Bordeaux from the south. Paris was reached by 30 March, and on 2 April the French Senate demanded Napoleon’s abdication. Formal abdication took place on 13 April by the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. While Napoleon had attempted to offer peace based on discussions with the Allies, held previously at Châtillon between 5 February and 19 March, Tsar Alexander I had insisted on abdication. Now that the Emperor had been defeated, the Allies were divided on his treatment and that of France. Prussia demanded severe terms after the humiliation of 1806, when France had treated it in a harshly punitive fashion, and German public opinion was to be outraged by the final mild terms. Britain and Austria, however, promoted moderate terms, aiming to stabilize Europe quickly. A major problem was also the choice of government for France. In the end, following the principle of legitimacy, the Allies restored the Bourbon dynasty to the throne, in the person of Louis XVIII, older brother of the beheaded Louis XVI.

Negotiations began on 9 May 1814. France was represented by Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand; Emperor

Francis I of Austria by Klemens Fürst Metternich and Johann Philipp Graf Stadion; King Frederick William III of Prussia by Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg and Wilhelm von Humboldt; Tsar Alexander I of Russia by Prince Andrey Razumovsky and Count Karl Nesselrode; and King George III of Britain by Viscount Castlereagh, Lord Aberdeen, Earl Cathcart, and Charles Stuart, the British minister *ad interim* to France. Spain acceded to the treaty belatedly, on 20 July. The treaty was written in French and composed of thirty-three articles and five additional articles, one of which was secret. Four identical copies were made and exchanged between France and each of the Allies. Proclaiming perpetual peace and friendship between France and the contracting parties, the treaty called upon all signatories to ensure, to the best of their abilities, the maintenance of that peace, which was to be based on a true balance of power in Europe, still to be determined.

According to the territorial terms of the document, France was reduced to its borders of 1 January 1792, as had been previously agreed with the comte d'Artois, Louis XVIII's younger brother. Still, it was allowed the minor territorial acquisition of some 150 square miles at the expense of Belgium and Savoy. France was also required to return the part of Santo Domingo (the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola) to Spain that it had acquired in 1795. In return, Spain retroceded to France Guadeloupe and French Guyana. Britain, for its part, acquired the strategic Mediterranean island of Malta and from France received the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, Ile de France, Rodriguez, and the Seychelles (these last three in the Indian Ocean). Thus the most substantial and lucrative West Indian territories that France had possessed on 1 January 1792 were restored to it. Inhabitants in territories that had changed hands, it was further agreed, were not to be politically persecuted on account of their previous allegiance or political persuasion. Indeed, anyone living in such territories was free to emigrate within six years.

Other stipulations further demonstrated the treaty's moderate and pragmatic character. In a show of good faith toward France, the Allies declined any claims for reparations. They even left France the works of art captured as booty of war except the *Quadriga* (four-horse chariot) of the Brandenburg Gate, which was returned to Prussia. Antwerp, previously a naval port, was demilitarized. The navigation of the Rhine was to be free, while specific provisions regarding the collection of duties along that river were to be regulated at a future congress, which would also examine the possible extension of the principle to other rivers flowing through more than one state.

The additional articles voided the French-imposed Treaties of Pressburg (1805) and Schönbrunn (1809) with Austria, and for Prussia expressly declared the Treaties of

Basle (1795) and Tilsit (1807) null and void. France agreed to the acquisition of Genoa by Sardinia. Under intense pressure from Britain—whose negotiators were themselves under pressure from the British abolitionist lobby—France agreed to abolish its slave trade after a grace period of five years and collaborate with the British at the upcoming congress in a push for a general abolition of the trade by all powers.

As for the complex question of the territorial reorganization of Europe, finally, it was decided that all belligerents were to convene in Vienna within two months to complete the more basic provisions of the treaty with a general European settlement, especially regarding the future of Holland, Germany, and Italy—which as yet were still undetermined, though the broad lines of the framework had emerged during the negotiations. Holland, it was decided, was to be enlarged under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, by the acquisition of Belgium; the Scheldt River opened to navigation; the various German states (apart from Austria and Prussia) given a federal structure; and Italy composed of independent states—with the exception of the Italian territories to be ceded to Austria.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Art Treasures (Plundered by the French); Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Basle, Treaties of; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Elba; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; George III, King; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand; Louis XVIII, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Paris, Second Treaty of; Pressburg, Treaty of; Santo Domingo; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Slave Trade; Stadion-Warthaussen, Johann Philipp Graf; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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### Paris, Second Treaty of (20 November 1815)

The second Peace of Paris was signed on 20 November 1815 between France and the victorious Allies: Austria,

Prussia, Russia, and Britain, and put a final end to the Napoleonic Wars. After the Emperor's return from Elba, the Hundred Days, and Waterloo, it was felt by the Allies that a more severe peace was needed to prevent yet another renewal of French adventurism. Terms therefore included a significant loss of territory, the payment of a high indemnity, and occupation for up to five years. Still, in their view, it was by any standard a moderate settlement, balancing territorial and pecuniary terms without prejudice to France in any of its essential interests.

Soon after Waterloo (18 June 1815), in a climate of reduced willingness for clemency, the ministerial council of the Allies began discussions for a new peace treaty. The negotiations were largely determined by Britain and Prussia, who, led by the Duke of Wellington and Field Marshal Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt (generally shortened to Blücher), had mounted the final assault against Napoleon. The Prussian general staff demanded extremely harsh terms for France, including the loss of the remainder of Savoy and of Alsace-Lorraine (which they wanted lumped together with Burgundy into an artificial state to be headed by the Austrian Archduke Charles), as well as the payment of substantial reparations. But Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary, worked against this, believing that moderation was still in order to ensure a stable peace.

France's interests were defended by the duc de Richelieu, an able émigré. Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (who had represented France during the negotiations leading to the first Peace of Paris) had resigned, having seen the writing on the wall of the harsher terms of the second Peace, and predicted its unpopularity in France. Richelieu bargained well and succeeded in having not only the amount of lost territory but also the price of reparations and length of occupation reduced. It was again decided to re-restore Louis XVIII to the French throne, since he was considered a lesser evil than a Bonapartist or Orleanist candidate—or an unknown entity perhaps chosen by the French National Assembly. In the end, Castlereagh and Wellington, whose position appears to have been strengthened by Tsar Alexander I, were responsible for a relatively moderate settlement through a combination of “idealism” and a “sense of practical realities,” though they were also influenced by “Alexander's [Christian] ideals” (Schroeder 1994, 557–558).

The signatories were Richelieu for France; Klemens Wenzel Fürst Metternich for Austria; Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg and Wilhelm von Humboldt for Prussia; Count Karl Nesselrode, Prince Andrey Razumovsky, and Count Giovanni Capo d'Istria for Russia; and Wellington and Castlereagh for Britain. The treaty was in French and consisted of twelve main articles, three additional articles,

three conventions, a tariff, and a protocol. These annexes dealt with the slave trade; manner of reparations payment; distribution, administration, and provisioning of the occupying force; treatment of deserters from the occupying army; liquidation of claims of British subjects against France; and the distribution of the French indemnity among the Allies. Four identical copies were made for France and each of the Allies.

The Hundred Days and the widespread French enthusiasm at Napoleon's return resulted in somewhat harsher terms than those of the first Peace of Paris, though on balance they were still relatively lenient, since a compromise had been worked out between the tough Prussian and moderate British positions.

Territorially, France was reduced to the borders of 1790. This meant the loss of Philippeville and Marienburg to the Netherlands; Saarlouis and Saarbrücken to Prussia; the remainder of Savoy to Sardinia; and Landau to Austria (who passed it on to Bavaria). All inhabitants (regardless of nationality) of territories having changed hands were allowed, for a period of six years, to freely liquidate property and move elsewhere, if they so desired.

France was required to pay more than 700 million francs in reparations. It was to be occupied by 150,000 troops, stationed primarily in the border fortresses, for a period of no more than five years. The occupation could be terminated after as little as three years, if all conditions had been met satisfactorily. France was required to bear the cost of its own occupation. All other troops were to leave the country within five weeks.

The indemnities were to be distributed as follows: to the countries bordering on France, for the purpose of building and maintaining fortifications on her frontier, 187.5 million francs, the bulk of which went to the Netherlands and Prussia; 25 million each went to Prussia and Britain, as leaders in the final campaign; a further 100 million each were given to Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Britain; 100 million were distributed, on a pro rata basis according to the number of troops supplied to the common effort, to other middling powers (mainly Bavaria, the Netherlands, Württemberg, Baden, and Saxony). Of the remainder, minor sums went to Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland, since their war effort had been negligible. The terms of the first Peace of Paris and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna were expressly confirmed, except when modified by the present treaty. The treaty, finally, foresaw joint action of the signatories to work for the abolition of the slave trade, referring to its formal denunciation in the declaration made at Vienna on 4 February 1815.

The Quadruple Alliance was signed on the same day as the second Peace of Paris. In it the sovereigns of Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia promised to uphold the terms

of the peace, prevent Napoleon's return, and consult regularly in support of the general status quo. This instituted what came to be known as the Congress System or Concert of Europe. In spite of Allied efforts at moderation, however, the treaty was considered harsh in France. Opposition to its terms were to determine Restoration politics, marked by territorial revisionism and a desire to break out of isolation, especially under François Guizot, the prime minister from 1847 to 1848.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Elba; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Holy Alliance; Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand; Louis XVIII, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Paris, First Treaty of; Quadruple Alliance; Slave Trade; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Parthenopean Republic

*See* Naples

## Paul I, Tsar (1754–1801)

Tsar of Russia between 1796 and 1801. Paul was the son of Catherine II and Peter III; however, his paternity is still disputed and is often ascribed to Count Sergey Saltykov. During his infancy, Paul was taken from Catherine by Tsarina Elizabeth and tutored by Nikita Panin, a prominent statesman and diplomat, and Sergey Poroshin, a prominent mathematician. Relations between Paul and Catherine eventually grew distant, particularly after Catherine seized the throne in a coup against Peter III.

In 1773 Paul married Princess Wilhelmina of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was renamed Natalia Alekseevna. After his first marriage he began to engage in court intrigues

and suspected his mother of intending to kill him. When his wife died in childbirth in 1776, Catherine arranged another marriage with Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg, who took the Russian name of Maria Feodorovna. On the birth of his first child in 1777, Paul received an estate in Pavlovsk, where he established his residence. In 1781–1782, Paul traveled through western Europe and, returning to Russia, established his residence at Gatchina, where he maintained Prussian-style military barracks.

In November 1796 Paul ascended the throne after Catherine the Great suddenly sickened and died. He immediately reversed his mother's policies and made changes to the Russian royal succession, excluding females from any role in it. He introduced Prussian-style regulations to the Russian Army, which alienated many in the military. Strict social rules and an austere atmosphere in the capital also contributed to the dislike the Russian upper class felt toward Paul. He ignored the Charter of the Nobility of 1785 and subjected the nobles to taxation and severe punishments. At the same time, he purged the officer corps and closed its ranks to nonnobles. In foreign affairs, Paul joined the anti-French Second Coalition and dispatched Russian armies to Holland and Italy, while a Russian fleet operated in the Mediterranean and enforced a new policy of naval conduct in the Baltic as part of the League of Armed Neutrality.

Following a disagreement with Austria and Britain, Paul suddenly reversed his foreign policy and concluded peace with Bonaparte in late 1799. However, Paul's policies, both domestic and foreign, were extremely unpopular with the nobility, many of whom believed him to be mentally unbalanced. A conspiracy was organized and led by counts Peter Pahlen and Nikita Panin. On the night of 23 March 1801, with Crown Prince Alexander's tacit approval, Paul was murdered in his bedroom in the St. Michael palace by a group of officers headed by General Levin Bennigsen.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Armed Neutrality, League of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Russia; Second Coalition, War of the

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### Peninsular War (1807–1814)

A bloodbath that might have cost the lives of a million people, the Peninsular War was the fruit of overconfidence, *folie de grandeur*, and miscalculation. In October 1807 with the permission and assistance of the Spanish government, Napoleon sent French troops to occupy Portugal in order to close it off to British trade. The royal family escaped to Brazil, but resistance was nonexistent, and there seems little reason to believe that the French would have experienced more than minor local difficulties in the ordinary course of events. However, impelled by little more than opportunism, as autumn turned to winter Napoleon resolved on intervention in the complicated politics of the Spanish court, his aim being to make Spain a more effective ally.

This proved a disastrous mistake. In March 1808 a palace coup had replaced King Charles IV with the heir to the throne, Ferdinand VII. Thanks to the propaganda of powerful elements of the Church and aristocracy bent on opposing (Spanish) Bourbon reformism, who had seized on the vacuous and malleable Ferdinand as a useful tool, the new king had come to be seen as a “Prince Charming,” who would put all Spain’s many ills to rights. French intervention, and, more specifically, the invitation of the entire royal family to a “conference” with Napoleon in Bayonne, therefore provoked unrest: There was, for example, a serious uprising in Madrid on 2 May. In consequence, news that Ferdinand had been forced to abdicate in favor of Napoleon’s brother, Joseph, was the catalyst for a series of revolts in the many parts of the country that had remained unoccupied by the French, a similar wave of rebellion soon gripping Portugal.

The nature of this revolt has been widely misunderstood. The subject is a complex one, but in short it was not the unanimous uprising for God, king, and fatherland of legend. Popular concern was not for the Bourbons or the Braganças, but rather land, bread, and revenge on the propertied classes, while the leaders of the insurrection entertained a variety of conflicting interests, which they sought to pursue at the same time as channeling the people’s energies into fighting the French. In consequence, the political history of the war is one of great complexity—its chief feature is the elaboration of a liberal constitution in Spain in 1812—while the background to the struggle was everywhere one of desertion, banditry, agrarian unrest, and resistance to conscription. In those areas actually occupied by the French, the invaders were inconvenienced by much irregular resistance, but close analysis of this phe-

nomenon has suggested that in most cases it bore little resemblance to the legend so beloved of the traditional historiography.

On close inspection, indeed, much of the “little war” proves to have been the work of forces of regular troops or local militias raised and controlled by representatives of the Patriot government operating in the king’s absence. At the same time, such irregular bands as were formed were drawn in large part from men who had either already been bandits in 1808 or had been drawn into banditry since the start of the war (a prime example here is constituted by the many men who fled to the hills to avoid conscription to the Spanish Army, or who had deserted after being called up). With other men brought in by impressment of one sort or another, it is therefore hard to see how the Spanish struggle against Napoleon can really merit the description of a “people’s war.” All the more is this the case, given the fact that those guerrilla bands that were not militarized in the style of such forces commanded by Juan Martín Díez and Francisco Espoz y Mina did not follow the French as they evacuated their areas of operation in the latter part of the war, but rather batted upon the civilian inhabitants and the baggage trains of the Allied armies.

Militarily speaking, the history of the war is much simpler. Initially, the French armies were roughly handled, the forces sent to Portugal being expelled by a British expeditionary force under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) after the Battle of Vimeiro (21 August 1808) and another contingent forced to surrender at Bailén by the Spaniards. Other forces, meanwhile, were repulsed from Valencia and Gerona, while Saragossa (Zaragoza) beat off a full-scale siege despite the fact that it was devoid of regular fortifications. Forced to draw back beyond the river Ebro, the invaders then received major reinforcements, while Napoleon himself came to Spain to take charge of operations.

There followed a whirlwind campaign, which saw the Spaniards suffer major defeats at Espinosa de los Monteros (10 November), Gamonal (10 November), Tudela (23 November), and Somosierra (29–30 November). With the Spanish armies in tatters, on 4 December the Emperor recaptured Madrid. Meanwhile, the position had also been restored in Catalonia, where the French army of occupation had for the last few months been bottled up in Barcelona, the Spaniards having been routed by fresh forces dispatched from France at Cardedeu (16 December) and Molins de Rei (21 December). With matters in this situation, it seemed entirely possible that the French would go on to overrun the entire Peninsula and end the war at a stroke.

All possibility of this, however, was precluded by a last-minute intervention in the campaign on the part of



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 10.

the British. Having cleared the French from Portugal, the British expeditionary force had advanced into Spain under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Moore. For various reasons it had taken a long time for it to prepare for action, and for a while it looked as if Moore would have no option but to withdraw into Portugal. Eventually, however, Moore resolved on an offensive against the French communications in Old Castile. As this brought the full weight of the French armies in northern Spain against his 20,000 men, he was soon forced to retreat to the coast of Galicia in search of rescue by the Royal Navy, but so many troops were sent after him that the French had effectively to abandon their plans for the immediate conquest of southern Spain. As for Moore and his army, almost all the troops were rescued after a rearguard action at Corunna (La Coruña) on 16 January 1809, but their commander was mortally wounded by a cannonball at the moment of victory.

The campaign of November 1808–January 1809 set the pattern of operations for the whole of the next year. In brief, the French controlled most of central and northern

Spain, together with a separate area around Barcelona, while Spanish armies held southern Catalonia, the Levante, Andalusia (Andalucía), and Extremadura. As for Portugal, it, too, was in Allied hands with a British garrison in Lisbon and such few troops as the Portuguese themselves could muster deployed to protect Elvas, Almeida, and Oporto. Called away from Spain by growing fears of a new war with Austria in 1809, Napoleon had left instructions for the various commanders he had left in Spain—most notably, marshals Nicolas Soult, Michel Ney, and Claude Perrin Victor—to crush Allied resistance by a series of powerful offensives, but this plan quickly foundered: The Spanish armies defending Andalusia proved unexpectedly aggressive; the British reinforced their presence in Portugal and, now commanded once again by Wellesley, repelled a French invasion; the province of Galicia rose in revolt; and the cities of Saragossa and Gerona both put up desperate resistance (Gerona, indeed, did not fall until December).

By the summer, then, the initiative had passed to the Allies, the rest of the year being dominated by two major attempts to recover Madrid. Of these, the first—an Anglo-

Spanish offensive from the west and south—led merely to a stalemate. Thus, a major triumph at Talavera (27–29 July) was deprived of all effect, first by the arrival of massive French reinforcements released by the fortuitous evacuation of Galicia one month earlier, and second by serious divisions in the Allied command. The second offensive, however, was a far more serious affair. In the wake of Talavera, Wellesley—now Viscount Wellington—refused to engage in any further operations with the Spaniards and pulled his men back to the Portuguese frontier. In consequence, the offensive was the work of the Spaniards alone. Operating on exterior lines from the northwest, the west, and the south, in terrain that greatly favored the vastly superior French cavalry, however, they had no chance and were routed at the battles of Ocaña (19 November) and Alba de Tormes (28 November) with terrible losses.

The defeat of the main Spanish field armies and the British decision to concentrate on the defense of Portugal opened a new phase in the conflict. So serious had been the Spanish losses in the campaigns of 1809 that there was little left to put into the line. Nor could these losses be made up: Though generous, British supplies of arms and uniforms were insufficient to the task of equipping whole new armies from scratch, while resistance to conscription among the populace was greater than ever. Meanwhile, with the new Austrian war fought and won, Napoleon was pouring large numbers of fresh troops into Spain, the result being that the initiative passed back to the French. With the Spaniards further emasculated by the outbreak of revolution in Latin America—by now their chief source of revenue—over the next two years the picture is one of constant French advances. City after city fell into the invaders' hands while the Spaniards lost more and more of such troops and sinews of war as remained to them. First to fall were Seville, Granada, Córdoba, Málaga, and Jaén, all of which were overrun by a massive French offensive in January 1810, and these were followed by Oviedo, Astorga, Ciudad Rodrigo, Lérida, Tortosa, Badajoz, and Tarragona. By late 1811 all that was left of Patriot Spain was Galicia, the Levante, and the blockaded island city of Cádiz, which had in 1810 become the new capital.

Penned up inside Portugal, the British, meanwhile, could do nothing to arrest the march of French conquest, and much the same was true of the Spanish guerrillas, who at the same time were coming under more and more pressure. In the end, indeed, it is clear that Napoleon's commanders could have crushed resistance in Spain and then marched against Portugal in such overwhelming force that even Wellington could not have overcome them. All that was needed was for the French armies in the Peninsula to receive a constant stream of replacements and reinforcements. Thanks to the impending invasion of Russia, how-

ever, in 1812 the supply of men dried up, the Armée d'Espagne even being stripped of a number of troops. As was only to be expected, the result was that the French forces suddenly found themselves badly overextended, and all the more so as Napoleon insisted that they continue with the offensive against Valencia, which they had begun in the autumn of 1811.

What saved the Allied cause in the Peninsula was therefore not Wellington's genius but rather Napoleon's errors. This, however, is not to decry the British commander's very real contribution to the Allied cause. Particular attention should be paid here to his defense of Portugal in 1810–1811. In accordance with France's resumption of the offensive in the Peninsula in 1810, the summer of that year saw some 65,000 men under Marshal André Masséna move across the Portuguese frontier and besiege the fortress of Almeida. This fell very rapidly, thanks to the chance explosion of its main powder magazine and the consequent destruction of much of the town, and the French moved on toward Lisbon.

Wellington, however, had anticipated such a move and put together a comprehensive plan for the defense of Portugal. From the beginning the countryside in the path of the invaders would be devastated—livestock slaughtered or driven off, crops burned, supplies removed or destroyed, and villages abandoned—and the French forces harassed by the irregular home guard known as the *ordenança*. If possible, the French would then be brought to battle and forced to retreat, to which end the Portuguese Army had been completely rebuilt under the direction of Sir William Beresford and the main routes toward Lisbon blocked by field works at a number of obvious defensive positions. Failing that, however, the countryside would continue to be devastated, while the Anglo-Portuguese army would continue to fall back on Lisbon, along, or so it was hoped, with the bulk of the civilian population.

Waiting for the French would be probably the greatest single engineering feat in the entire Napoleonic era, in the form of the so-called Lines of Torres Vedras—an impenetrable belt of fortifications stretching from one side of the peninsula on which Lisbon was built to the other. Whether this plan would have sufficed to hold off the French had they ever unleashed the sort of massive offensive that would have followed the final conquest of Spain is unclear—Wellington, for one, certainly had his doubts—but against the 65,000 men brought by Masséna, it was more than adequate. Despite achieving complete success on the battlefield itself, an attempt to turn the French back at Busaco (Buçaco) on 27 September 1810 failed because of the marshal's discovery of an unguarded track around Wellington's northern front, but when the French reached the Lines of Torres Vedras they found that they could go no



British infantry deployed in line on the ridge at Busaco during the Peninsular War. Successive campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula led to a continuous drain on French manpower. (Print after Major Thomas S. St. Clair, engraved by C. Turner from *Wellington and Waterloo* by Major Arthur Griffiths. London: George Newnes, 1898)

farther. In this situation Masséna did his best, but, deprived of adequate supplies, he could not continue to blockade the lines forever, and in March 1811 he abandoned his headquarters at Santarem and fell back on the Spanish frontier.

However, clearing Masséna from Portugal was one thing, and invading Spain quite another. For the whole of 1811, indeed, the situation on the Portuguese frontier was a stalemate. Authorized by the British government to enter Spain once more, Wellington soon found that this was easier said than done. The crucial border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz had been greatly strengthened by the French, while every attempt to besiege them was met by massive French counteroffensives, as at Albuera (16 May) and Fuentes de Oñoro (3–5 May). Repelled though these were, they cost Wellington heavy losses and dissuaded him from marching too far into Spain, and progress was in any case rendered still more difficult by the fact that the Anglo-Portuguese army lacked an adequate siege train. Of course, the French were in no better state: Twice, indeed, they refused battle rather than attack him in powerful defensive

positions inside Portugal, and an attempt on Elvas or Almeida (now back in Allied hands again) would have been out of the question. But that is not the point. What matters is the simple fact that for the whole of 1811 the British remained able to exert only the most marginal influence on the situation in Spain.

In the autumn of 1811, however, the situation changed dramatically. In the first place, Wellington took delivery of a powerful siege train. And in the second the effect of Napoleon insisting that the French commanders in Spain should continue to expand the territory under their control—and, in particular, to continue with the offensive they had launched against Valencia—at the very time that he was pulling men out of Spain and cutting the supply of reinforcements, completely destabilized the position on the Portuguese frontier: In brief, the French no longer had the men they needed to contain Wellington. What followed was all too predictable. Seeing his chance, Wellington struck across the border and was quickly able to capture the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo (20 January 1812) and Badajoz (7 April), win a major victory at Salamanca, and liberate

Madrid. Thanks to a variety of problems, of which by far the greatest was the de facto collapse of government and society in Spain, in November 1812 Wellington was again forced to retreat to Portugal, but the French were never fully able to recover and were further weakened by the withdrawal of still more troops in the early months of 1813.

Aided by the continued attempts of the French to hold more territory than they could garrison, in May 1813 Wellington was therefore able to launch a fresh offensive that led to the defeat of King Joseph's main field forces at Vitoria on 21 June, after which, Catalonia and a few scattered garrisons aside, most of what remained of his domains had to be evacuated. Bitter fighting continued in the Pyrenees, with the French vainly trying to relieve the besieged fortresses of San Sebastian and Pamplona, but they were repelled at Sorauren (28–30 July) and San Marcial (31 August), while in October 1813 Wellington invaded France and, after several fierce battles, established himself in an unassailable position south of Bayonne. Though French troops stayed in part of Catalonia until the end of hostilities in April of the following year, to all intents and purposes the Peninsular War was over, the battles that Wellington went on to fight at Orthez (27 February) and Toulouse (10 April) really belonging more to the campaign of 1814.

The significance of the Peninsular War was considerable. British historians have, for obvious reasons, been inclined to emphasize the part that their country played in the downfall of Napoleon, while the Emperor also assigned it much importance, famously calling it his “Spanish ulcer.” But in this respect its effects have probably been exaggerated. Although it inspired many German nationalists, for example, it did not inspire much popular participation in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, nor still less persuade the people of Germany to heed the various attempts to spur them to rise against Napoleon that were made in the course of 1809. Nor did it do much to erode the Emperor's war-making capacity: It is hard, for instance, to see how the forces caught up in the Peninsular War would have made much difference in Russia in 1812. Nevertheless, the continued struggle in the Peninsula undoubtedly strengthened the credibility of British diplomacy in the period 1812–1814, while the heavy losses suffered in Spain and Portugal certainly played their part in eroding support for the French ruler in the final crisis of the Empire. In Spain and Portugal, by contrast, no one can doubt the war's importance. In both countries it was the key to liberal revolution, loss of empire, and a series of civil wars, while in Spain in particular it gave birth to a long tradition of military intervention in politics that culminated in the bloody conflict of 1936–1939 and the eventual dictatorship of General Francisco Franco.

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Afrancesados; Alba de Tormes, Battle of; Albuera, Battle of; Almeida, Sieges of; Argüelles Alvarez, Agustín; Arroyomolinos de Montánchez, Battle of; Badajoz, First Siege of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Barrosa, Battle of; Bayonne, Conference at; Benavente, Action at; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Bidassoa, Crossing of the; Blake, Joaquín; Bonaparte, Joseph; Burgos, Siege of; Busaco, Battle of; Cabrera; Cádiz, Cortes of; Cádiz, Siege of; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Charles IV, King; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Díaz Porlier, Juan; El Bodón, Action at; Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of; Espoz Ilundain, Francisco; Ferdinand VII, King; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Gamonal, Battle of; Garay y Perales, Martín de; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Gerona, Siege of; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcadia; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de; Graham, Sir Thomas; Guerrilla Warfare; Irun, Battle of; Jovellanos Jove, Baltasar Melchor Gaspar María de; Junta Central; López Ballesteros, Francisco; Madrid, Action at; Madrid Uprising; Martín Díez, Juan, “El Empecinado”; Masséna, André; Maya, Battle of; Merino, Jerónimo; Mina y Larrea, Martín Javier; Moore, Sir John; Ney, Michel; Nive, Battle of the; Nivelles, Battle of the; Ocaña, Battle of; O'Donnell, Enrique; Oporto, Battle of; Orthez, Battle of; Pamplona, Siege of; Portugal; Portugal, Invasion of; Portuguese Army; Queipo de Llano, José Maria, Conde de Toreno; Quintana y Lorenzo, Manuel José; Roliça, Battle of; Sahagún de Campos, Action at; Salamanca, Battle of; San Marcial, Second Battle in; San Sebastian, Siege of; Sánchez García, Julián; Saragossa, Sieges of; Somosierra, Action at; Sorauren, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Spain; Spanish Army; Talavera, Battle of; Tarbes, Battle of; Tarragona, Sieges of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Toulouse, Battle of; Tudela, Battle of; Valencia, Siege of; Valmaseda, Action at; Vera, Battles at; Victor, Claude Perrin; Vimeiro, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Perceval, Spencer (1762–1812)

Spencer Perceval is best remembered as the only British prime minister to be assassinated. But both in his own short ministry from 1809 to 1812 and before, he played an important part in the war against Napoleon.

A younger son of the second Earl of Egmont and a barrister who wrote against the French Revolution and helped to prosecute radical sympathizers on behalf of the government, Perceval entered the House of Commons in 1796. He was a committed supporter of the war against France and an outstanding orator. A zealously evangelical Anglican, he was opposed to both slavery and Catholic emancipation. When William Pitt resigned over the latter in 1801, Perceval joined the government of the more Protestant Henry Addington as solicitor general; he was promoted to attorney general and continued in that post when Pitt returned as prime minister in 1804.

Out of office during the so-called Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807), Perceval became chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons in the Duke of Portland's administration. His main task was to supply the money to fight Napoleon without antagonizing the landed interest, which controlled Parliament, by raising taxes. This he did by government economies and Orders in Council regulating shipping into Napoleonic Europe, which provided substantial revenue from duties and licenses as well as giving Britain control of maritime trade. When Portland resigned in 1809 following Foreign Secretary George Canning's intrigue forcing out Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, secretary of state for war and the colonies, the cabinet, knowing that Canning refused to serve under him, decided on Perceval as prime minister.

In the aftermath of Austria's failed war of 1809 against the French and the British army's disastrous Walcheren expedition, and with the Peninsular War far from living up to the high expectations that followed the Spanish and Portuguese uprisings in 1808, the prospect of decisively defeating Napoleon seemed at best a very distant one. Perceval and his colleagues nevertheless kept doggedly at it, sending the army in the Peninsula all the resources they could muster, while warning the commander, Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, not to take undue chances in what seemed a highly risky and politically controversial enterprise. This was not

bold enough for the foreign secretary, Wellington's imperious brother Richard, Marquis Wellesley, who demanded far more money and troops. When Wellesley resigned early in 1812, Castlereagh took his place.

At home Perceval was widely criticized for the Orders in Council during the economic distress of 1811–1812. Conceding an investigation, he was hurrying to a meeting to consider repeal on 11 May 1812 when he was shot dead in the lobby of the House of Commons by John Bellingham, who had decided to assassinate the prime minister for the British government's refusal to intervene when he had been imprisoned for debt in Russia. Bellingham was tried and hanged a week later. Perceval at his family's request was buried privately, but a monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Bank Crises (1811); Canning, George; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Catholic Emancipation; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Great Britain; Orders in Council; Peninsular War; Pitt, William; Slavery; Walcheren, Expedition to; Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, First Marquis; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Pérignon, Dominique-Catherine (1754–1818)

Generally regarded as the least known of Napoleon's marshals, Pérignon made his reputation more as a politician, diplomat, and administrator than as a soldier. He acted throughout his career with uniform fairness and during his brief period of active service sought to bring a degree of civility to war. Pérignon descended from a prominent landowning family from southwestern France. He was commissioned into the Royal Army in 1780, became a lieutenant colonel in the National Guard in July 1789, and was elected deputy to the Legislative Assembly in September 1791. He resigned this post in May 1792 and joined the Legion of the Pyrenees, rising to lieutenant colonel within four months. He then played an active part in operations against the Spanish in the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, in which he was promoted to *général de brigade* on 18 September 1793, the day he received a bayonet wound to his

thigh during the fighting around Truillas. Even in a period of rapid promotion for those who showed exceptional merit—and often the guillotine for those perceived to have failed—Pérignon's rise within three months to the rank of *général de division* was nothing less than extraordinary.

On 30 April 1794, at the Battle of Le Boulou, Pérignon's division seized the fieldworks before the town of Bellegarde, and the Spanish were soon driven from French soil. Pérignon then laid siege to the 20,000 Spanish in Bellegarde itself, where the garrison eventually surrendered, together with large quantities of artillery and ammunition. Pérignon also served in an independent capacity on 7 June at La Junquera, where he drove back the Spanish center. When his superior, General Jacques Dugommier, was killed at Muga on 17 November, command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees immediately devolved to Pérignon. He reorganized the army, drove the Spanish before him, and invested the formidable fortress at Figueras, which, after laying down siege works, he managed to take without a shot on 27 November through bluff, intimidation, and promises of good treatment for the prisoners.

The fall of Figueras proved a considerable success for Pérignon, for the garrison still possessed six months' supplies, and might have drawn out the campaign accordingly, with Pérignon forced to conduct full-scale siege operations amid appalling freezing conditions. Instead, he moved on to the fortified city of Rosas, capturing its outer defenses on 31 January 1795, creating a breach in its walls, and finally occupying the place after the garrison evacuated it on the night of 2–3 February. Pérignon proceeded to fight various actions along the Fluvià, but having failed to cross that river, he was replaced by General Barthélemy Schérer on 30 May, though the Pyrenean front soon became inactive when the belligerents concluded peace at Basle on 22 July.

Promoted to commander in chief of the Army of Brittany on 15 September, Pérignon nevertheless turned to politics after his election on 16 October to the Council of Five Hundred as deputy for Haute-Garonne, the region from which his family hailed. On 23 October his responsibility for coastal forces expanded further, though he did not assume formal command, instead becoming ambassador to Spain on 26 November. He played a prominent part in the negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of San Ildefonso (19 April 1796) by which Spain and France became allies and thus partners in the latter's war against Britain, which was obliged to evacuate Corsica and withdraw its fleet from the Mediterranean. At the Court of Madrid, Pérignon's position as a former successful commander on the Pyrenean front lent him a degree of prestige, and this, combined with his aristocratic background and refined ed-

ucation, made him well liked by Charles IV and his minister, Manuel de Godoy.

Pérignon was replaced in December 1797 and went into quiet retirement until 4 October 1798, when he was sent to the (French) Army of Italy. The following year he was placed in command of starving and ill-equipped French troops in Liguria. In 1799 he commanded the left wing of General Barthélemy Joubert's army facing a greatly numerically superior Russo-Austrian force led by the distinguished Allied commander, Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov. At Novi, on 15 August, the French were severely defeated and Joubert killed, leaving Pérignon and his subordinates to cover the retreat, in the course of which Pérignon was captured after receiving multiple wounds.

After his release from captivity in 1800, Pérignon was made commander of the 10th Military Division in Toulouse on 5 January 1801. He turned again to politics, however, being elected a senator on 12 April. He retired again on 18 November, though he took up the diplomatic post, from 11 September 1802, of commissioner-extraordinary, responsible for establishing the definitive boundary between France and Spain in the Pyrenees. On 27 October he became vice president of the Senate.

On the establishment of the marshalate by Napoleon on 19 May 1804, Pérignon was chosen in recognition for the important part he had played in the Pyrenean campaigns of 1793–1795, and for his subsequent diplomatic services. Yet, unusual among the marshalate, Pérignon would perform no further active service in the army. Instead, he was destined to continue a career in politics and diplomacy. On 18 September 1806 he was made governor-general of the minor Italian states of Parma and Placentia. On 23 July 1808, after being created a Count of the Empire, he moved south to take up the appointment of governor of Naples, where he succeeded General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan as commander of the French troops in the Kingdom of Naples, whose sovereign, Joachim Murat, was a distinguished fellow marshal. After disagreements with Murat in 1811, Pérignon was dismissed, though he was soon returned to his post at Napoleon's behest. Pérignon retired on 27 March 1813 and returned to France, where he remained loyal to the Emperor until Napoleon abdicated in April 1814. Nevertheless, since his retirement, Pérignon's royalist sympathies had become increasingly apparent.

On the Bourbon Restoration, Pérignon readily consented to serve the new regime, and was made commissioner-extraordinary in the 1st Military Division on 22 April 1814. He became a peer of France later that year and briefly served as commander of the 10th Military Division in Toulouse in 1815. When Napoleon returned from Elba in the spring of that year, Pérignon refused to serve under him, as a result of which his name was struck

from the list of marshals. After the return of Louis XVIII in the wake of Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, Pérignon served on the Court of Peers that tried and condemned Michel Ney, his former fellow Napoleonic marshal. Pérignon was restored to the (newly created Bourbon) marshalate on 14 July 1816. Created a marquis on 31 August, Pérignon served as governor of the 1st Military Division and died in Paris on 25 December 1818.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Charles IV, King; Council of Five Hundred; Elba; Figueras, Battles of; Fluvia, Battles of the; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Le Boulou, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Marshalate; Murat, Joachim; Naples; National Guard (French); Ney, Joachim; Novi, Battle of; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Schérer, Bathélemy Louis Joseph; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Truillas, Battle of

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### Perpignan, Battle of (17 July 1793)

The Battle of Perpignan was the first major action in the Pyrenean campaign of 1793–1794. French forces successfully defended the frontier town of Perpignan against a Spanish army, allowing the French to build up their forces and prevent the Spanish from overrunning southern France.

After the French government declared war on Spain on 7 March 1793, the Spanish army in the eastern Pyrenees slowly prepared to cross into France. Its commander was Don Antonio Ramon Ricardós. Ricardós was an able soldier of the old school, moving only when his preparations were complete. He crossed the border on 17 April with approximately 15,000 men and systematically began to clear French garrisons from the Pyrenees. On 20 April he routed a French force at Ceret on the river Tech. The survivors fled to the frontier city of Perpignan. The French Army of the Eastern Pyrenees consisted of about 12,000 men around

Perpignan, but only three-quarters were armed. Most were volunteers and were poorly trained. Ricardós refused to move farther until he received 8,000 reinforcements and additional artillery. Finally, on 19 May, the Spanish moved on Perpignan from Ceret. A French blocking force at Mas Deu was routed and fled to the safety of the fortifications at Perpignan. Once again, Ricardós spent his time clearing his lines of communications instead of attacking his disorganized enemy.

Bringing reinforcements, General Charles de Flers arrived at Perpignan on 14 May to take command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees. He established the fortified Camp de l'Union and immediately concentrated on drilling and training his raw soldiers. When Ricardós launched probing attacks against Perpignan's outer defenses during 13–16 July, Flers was able to repel them. Ricardós finally opened his assault on Perpignan itself on the seventeenth, deploying 15,000 troops in five separate columns, supported by more than 100 guns. Flers was able to steady his troops by keeping most of them behind fortifications. His own artillery was competently served by former coastal gunners. All but one of the Spanish columns lost their way during the approach to Perpignan. The sole column, which assaulted the defenses, was thrown back by a counterattack against its flank.

By the end of the day, the Spanish had lost approximately 1,000 men. Ricardós decided to establish a series of fortified camps, nearly encircling Perpignan, and await reinforcements before launching any further attacks. Many of the best troops of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees were drawn off for service elsewhere, such as at the French Mediterranean port of Toulon. The war in the eastern Pyrenees thus settled into a stalemate.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795)

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### Pfuel, Karl Ludwig August von (1757–1826)

Pfuel, often spelled “Phull,” was born to a prominent Württemberg noble family. He began service in the Württemberg Army in 1774 and transferred as a lieutenant in the Prussian Army in 1779. Beginning in 1781, Pfuel served on the Prussian general staff and participated in the cam-

paigns against France. After the Prussian debacle in 1806, he entered Russian service on 8 January 1807, receiving the rank of major general.

Promoted to lieutenant general on 11 September 1809, he served at the main Russian headquarters in 1810–1811 and prepared a strategic plan of the defense of Russia in case of French invasion, known as the Drissa Plan. This plan required the 1st Western Army to retreat to a fortified camp and pin down the French forces there, while the 2nd Western Army was to operate against the enemy flanks and rear. Despite major flaws in this strategy, Tsar Alexander, who completely trusted Pfuel, ordered construction of the fortified camp at Drissa, despite opposition from many senior Russian officers. At the start of the campaign in 1812, Alexander realized the potential dangers of deploying his army at Drissa and allowed General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly to withdraw farther into Russia. Pfuel was recalled to St. Petersburg and did not participate in any military decision making during the campaigns of 1813–1814. After the war, he was appointed Russian envoy to Holland, where he served before retiring in May 1821. He died on 25 April 1826.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Russian Campaign

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### Phélypeaux, Antoine le Picard de (1768–1799)

An aristocrat, Antoine le Picard de Phélypeaux tried to start a royalist revolt in 1795 but failed and was captured, managing to escape to England where he was given a commission in the British Army as a colonel fighting in the Levant. He died of the plague there in 1799.

Phélypeaux attended the Ecole Militaire (military academy) in Paris, where Napoleon Bonaparte was one of his classmates, although the two cadets did not get along with each other. Phélypeaux also graduated higher in the class than did Bonaparte. Initially serving with the artillery, Phélypeaux was commissioned a captain in 1789. In 1791 he emigrated and then joined the Armée de Condé, fighting on the Rhine. He returned to France in 1795 to help the comte de Rochecotte and others foment a royalist revolt in the province of Berry. The revolt was crushed in 1796. Phélypeaux eventually left France again in 1797. He was not gone long before he returned to help rescue Sir Sidney Smith, a captain in the Royal Navy, from the Temple prison in Paris. The rescue was successful, and

Smith used his influence to gain Phélypeaux a colonelcy in the British Army.

In 1798 Phélypeaux went to Acre, on the Syrian coast, with Smith. Here Phélypeaux was able to use his training in military engineering to improve the defense of the city and help thwart Bonaparte's attempts to capture it. Phélypeaux's triumph over his old classmate was short lived; shortly after the siege ended Phélypeaux died from the plague.

*Dallace W. Unger Jr.*

*See also* Acre, Siege of; Emigrés; Middle East Campaign; Smith, Sir William Sidney

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### Pichegru, Jean-Charles (1761–1804)

In an era in which battlefield failure often qualified as treason, Pichegru was both a skilled commander and a genuine traitor, who went from peasant farm to the pinnacle of military and political power to prison. First patronized by Robespierrists and then paid by royalists, the man who had tutored Bonaparte at Brienne committed suicide after failing to overthrow his former student.

Like most Revolutionary generals, he was a commoner with military experience, though younger and of humbler origin than most. The former gunner in the American Revolutionary War became a lieutenant colonel of volunteers and captain in the regular army (1793), rising to *général de division* in half a year. Following the debacle at Weissenburg, the Committee of Public Safety turned to Pichegru and General Louis Lazare Hoche, who reconquered Alsace by the end of 1793. Pichegru attained the height of his success in 1794–1795, when in collaboration with General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan his Armée du Nord (Army of the North) drove the Allies from the Low Countries.

The “Savior of the Fatherland” demonstrated his devotion to order, if not the Republic, by crushing the Germinal uprising (April 1795). The autumn campaign, in which Pichegru commanded the Armée de Rhin-et-Moselle (Army of the Rhine and Moselle), was disastrous, for, having lost Mannheim and all strategic advantage, he concluded an armistice. Debate continues over the military consequences as well as motivations of his treason (beginning in early 1794), generally ascribed to a desire for advancement and wealth as much as political change. Indecisive and cautious by nature, Pichegru has been called dilatory even as a traitor, though he deliberately sinned by



General Jean-Charles Pichegru. A distinguished French general of the Revolutionary Wars, he overran Belgium and Holland before fighting on the Rhine front. His subsequent involvement in a royalist conspiracy to remove Napoleon from power led to his arrest and death. (Engraving by H. B. Hall after John Hoppner from *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* by Archibald Alison. Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood, 1860, vol. 4)

omission. Enough of a patriot or politician to favor a restoration of the monarchy based on public opinion rather than Austrian bayonets, he apparently sought, by eroding preparedness and morale, to undermine faith in the new republican regime.

Although aware of Pichegru's indiscretions, the Directory hesitated to challenge the popular figure and accepted his resignation in 1796, after which he worked with British and émigré agents to advance the royalist cause in the 1797 elections. As president of the Council of Five Hundred, he failed to vanquish the left and was caught unawares when the coup of Fructidor (September) purged the conservative directors and legislators. Evidence of Pichegru's treason, revealed belatedly by his successor, General Jean Victor Moreau, led to his deportation to Guiana (Guyane). In 1798 Pichegru escaped to England. In January 1804 he joined Chouan leader Georges Cadoudal in France in a plot against Bonaparte—who had seized power as First Consul in November 1799—but they were arrested along

with Moreau, whom they had failed to recruit. Persistent rumors of Bonapartist foul play notwithstanding, Pichegru evidently committed suicide in detention.

*James Wald*

*See also* Chouans; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Emigrés; Espionage; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Mannheim Offensive; Moreau, Jean Victor; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Weissenburg, Battle of

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### Picton, Sir Thomas (1758–1815)

This lifelong soldier, considered rough and uncouth, was known as the Duke of Wellington's "Welsh General." Although never entrusted by Wellington with independent command, he was considered by many to be one of the best senior British officers to serve in the Peninsular War.

Picton was born in Pembrokeshire, Wales, to a family with a strong military tradition. He joined his uncle's regiment as an ensign at age thirteen, but he spent his first two years of service at a military academy. Picton's early years of military service were uneventful, and at the end of the American War of Independence (1775–1783), his regiment was disbanded. He retired a captain and spent the next eleven years at home on half pay.

In 1794, a year after the war broke out with France, Picton sailed to the West Indies to serve as deputy quartermaster general. He acquitted himself well at the capture of St. Lucia (after which he was promoted to lieutenant colonel), St. Vincent, and Trinidad. Picton was appointed governor of Trinidad, and owing to his efficient administration, local inhabitants petitioned against returning the island to Spanish rule.

In 1809 Picton, now a major general, took part in the attack on Walcheren Island off the Dutch coast. The "Grand Expedition" into the Low Countries to assist the Austrians was one of Britain's biggest debacles during the Napoleonic Wars. Picton served honorably but was one of thousands of British soldiers to contract malaria (known to contemporaries as Walcheren fever).

After the British withdrawal, Wellington, who was campaigning in the Iberian Peninsula against the French,



Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton. He commanded the 3rd Division of Wellington's army in the Peninsula, where he was wounded at the storming of Badajoz. He was later killed at Waterloo. (Library of Congress)

summoned Picton to serve there. Picton was placed in charge of the 3rd Division and played an important role at the battles of the Coa (July 1810) and Busaco (September 1810). After earning admiration for his courage and leadership at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro (5 May 1811) and the third siege of Badajoz (16 March–6 April 1812), Picton returned to Wales to spend the summer recuperating from a recurrence of malaria. While back home Picton was elected as a Member of Parliament for Pembroke, in Wales, taking his seat in November 1813. While in Britain, Picton was knighted and promoted to lieutenant general. He continued to serve effectively in the Peninsular War, fighting at Vitoria, in engagements in the Pyrenees, and at Toulouse. Upon Napoleon's abdication in April 1814, Picton's division was disbanded, and he returned home.

When Napoleon escaped from Elba, Wellington recalled his Peninsular veteran and gave Picton a senior command in the Anglo-Allied army. On 16 June, during the Battle of Quatre Bras, Picton was severely wounded in the chest (a wound that would have killed him regardless of subsequent events) while playing a decisive role in the battle. He went to great lengths to conceal his injury in order to retain command of his troops. Two days later, at Waterloo, Picton led his men in a counterattack late in the day against superior numbers of French troops, in the course

of which action he was shot through the head with a musket ball and killed.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Badajoz, Second Siege of; Busaco, Battle of; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; St. Lucia; Toulouse, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Piedmont

*See* Sardinia

## Pillnitz, Declaration of (27 August 1791)

A document representing the first international attempt at condemning the French Revolution, issued by the emperor of Austria (and Holy Roman Emperor) Leopold II and the king of Prussia, Frederick William II.

Individuals opposed to the French Revolution continued to stream out of France as late as 1791. The comte d'Artois, the youngest brother of King Louis XVI, proved to be the most vocal of the émigrés and sought international assistance to restore the French royal family to the throne. Most European monarchs, however, were reluctant to become actively involved in military intervention in France. Artois met with Leopold in May 1791 in an effort to persuade him to intervene in France, though the emperor refused to act, citing the danger it could pose to the lives of the French royal family.

Artois left Italy and settled near Coblenz in the Rhineland. Within days Louis attempted to flee France but was caught at Varennes, near Verdun. However, the king's other brother, the comte de Provence, did manage to escape. Continued pressure from the émigrés as well as other European nobility finally prompted Leopold to dispatch a circular letter in July to the governments of Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Spain, asking each leader to develop a common policy calling for the release of the French royal family. However, Leopold still wished to avoid military intervention.

In August, Leopold met with Frederick William II in the city of Pillnitz, the product of which was a declaration stating

that the safety of the French royal family was the mutual concern of all European leaders. More ominously, it asserted that they should be united in their support for Louis's attempts to reestablish full monarchical rule in France. The two sovereigns also announced that they were placing their armies in a condition of readiness for action. This last expression proved to be vague and open to interpretation.

Leopold intended for the Declaration of Pillnitz to be vague and counted upon the reluctance of the other European leaders to intervene in France. For Leopold, the declaration offered a formal sign of support for the French royal family without requiring him to become entangled directly in French political troubles. At the same time the declaration was meant to send a message to the new French government and to help placate the demands for action of the comte d'Artois and other émigrés. Above all, although vague, the declaration did represent the first formal European position on the French Revolution.

The Declaration of Pillnitz produced unintended results. The émigrés viewed the document as a serious declaration of the intention of the principal European courts to support the French royal family and, as such, expressed their glee at what they believed would be a war to restore the *ancien régime*. The French Revolutionaries noted the excitement of the émigrés and perceived the declaration as a general European threat to their existence. Enlistments in the French Army soared, and the country prepared itself for the war it believed was inevitable as a consequence of the statement. The Pillnitz Declaration can be seen as partially responsible for the French declaration of war against Austria and Prussia on 20 April 1792.

Terry M. Mays

*See also* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, comte d'; Emigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Frederick William II, King; Louis XVI, King

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### Pirna, Battle of (26 August 1813)

Fought near a small Saxon town, located just over 6 miles southeast of Dresden, between French forces under the command of General Dominique Vandamme and Allied forces under the command of Prince Eugen of Württemberg. Vandamme's forces successfully prevented the Allies from reaching Dresden in time to counter a French victory. Indeed, the Battle of Pirna's primary importance to the fall

campaign in Germany was its role in helping ensure Napoleon's victory at Dresden.

On 25 August 1813 Napoleon discovered that the Allies were successfully encroaching on his position at Dresden. He immediately ordered marshals Auguste de Marmont and Claude Victor to redeploy their forces to the city. Napoleon himself arrived in Dresden on the morning of the twenty-sixth, only to discover that *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg's forces had encircled the city.

Fortunately for Napoleon, French forces still held all of Dresden's walls and the north bank bridgeheads. These bridgeheads would enable General Marie-Victor Latour-Maubourg, Marmont, and Victor's forces to successfully reinforce the French forces by almost 50,000 men. Unfortunately for Napoleon, Austrian reinforcements were also on the way from the east.

Russian general Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein's reinforcements might have given him an advantage over the French at Dresden. Indeed, by that time the Allies had almost total control over the outskirts of Pirna, and their advance on Dresden seemed well planned. Unfortunately for the Allies, Schwarzenberg delayed his offensive and gave the French a chance to mount a powerful strike. Meanwhile, Vandamme, one of the heroes of Austerlitz, engaged Wittgenstein's reinforcements near Pirna, the former's force of 40,000 men successfully preventing the reinforcements from joining the Allies via the Pirna gateway and so helping to secure Napoleon's last major victory of the campaign in Germany.

Vandamme's forces pursued the Allies but were defeated on 30 August at the Battle of Kulm, where Vandamme himself was taken prisoner. The Battle of Pirna thus represents a link in the chain chronicling the course from initial French victory to ultimate defeat at Leipzig.

Gordon Stienburg

*See also* Dresden, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Kulm, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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### Pitt, William (1759–1806)

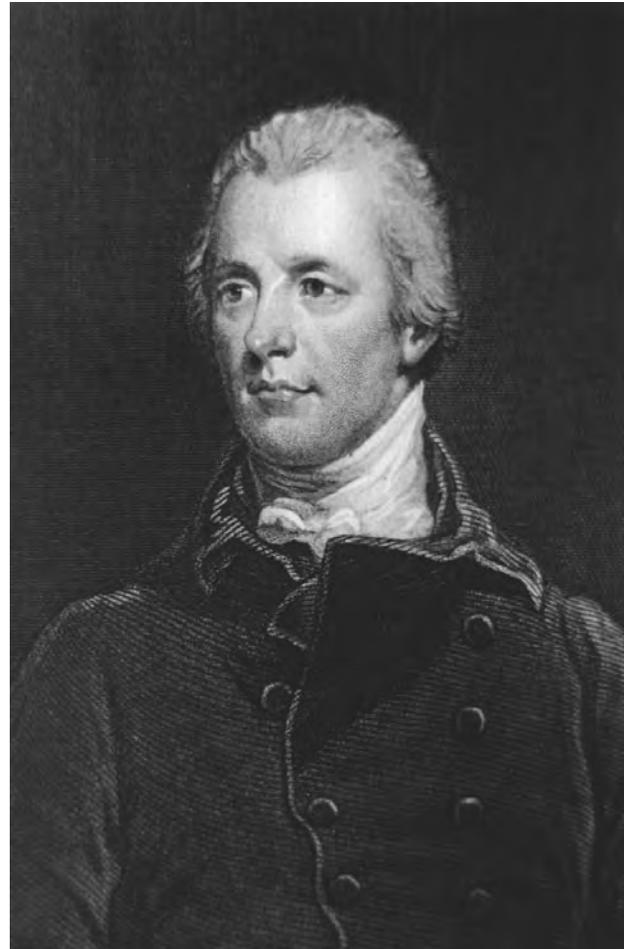
Prime minister of the United Kingdom from 1783 to 1801 and from 1804 to 1806. The fourth child of William Pitt

(the Elder), later first Earl of Chatham, who had served as prime minister during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Pitt was commonly referred to as “the Younger,” so as to distinguish him from his august father. His mother, Lady Hester Grenville, was the sister of George Grenville, prime minister between 1763 and 1765. Pitt became the youngest prime minister in British history and presided over a critical period during the long reign of George III. Six years into Pitt's premiership France was engulfed by revolution; the war that resulted was to occupy Britain for more than twenty years, much of that period during Pitt's tenure in office.

Born on 28 May 1759 in Hayes, Kent, Pitt was a sickly and weak child who, instead of being sent to boarding school like most sons of the elite, was tutored at home, by the Reverend Edward Wilson. Pitt was intelligent and possessed a fine grasp of Latin and Greek, and freely translated between those languages and English with great facility. In 1773, at the age of fourteen, he attended Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College), at Cambridge University, where, under his tutor, George Pretyman, he studied history, political philosophy, and the classics, at all of which he proved adept. He was also particularly skilled at mathematics. At Cambridge he befriended several fellow students, who in later years were to number among his political allies in Parliament and would serve in his cabinet. When his father died in 1778, Pitt, being a younger son, received only a small inheritance. Thus, after leaving Cambridge, he went to London to study law at Lincoln's Inn and was called to the bar in 1780.

In September of that year he contested but failed to gain one of the two parliamentary seats for Cambridge University. He did not despair, however, and through his friendship with the Duke of Rutland secured the patronage of Sir James Lowther, who controlled the pocket borough of Appleby, to which constituency Pitt was elected in a by-election at the age of only twenty-one in January 1781. His maiden speech in the House of Commons, delivered the following month, demonstrated his exceptional mastery of language and his skills as a debater. Pitt initially aligned himself with prominent Whigs, including Charles James Fox, with whom he opposed Lord North's policy of pursuing the war against the rebellious American colonists. He also argued forcefully for reductions in government spending and on what he regarded as the Crown's excessive powers of patronage. Finally, Pitt advocated the introduction of parliamentary reforms meant to sweep away the very corrupt practices that, ironically, had so recently secured his own seat in Parliament.

When Lord North resigned in March 1782, Lord Rockingham, his successor, offered Pitt the minor post of vice treasurer of Ireland, yet with a breathtaking sense of self-assurance—some thought arrogance—he declined it,



William Pitt. Prime Minister of Great Britain (1783–1801, 1804–1806), he was one of Napoleon's most implacable enemies. (Engraving by H. B. Hall after John Hoppner from *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* by Archibald Alison. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1860, vol. 4)

refusing to join the government without a seat in the cabinet. In Parliament he proceeded to denounce the system of rotten boroughs—marked by such abuses, among others, as bribing the electorate for their support—and called for reforms to establish a more equitable system of constituency representation.

After only three months in power, Rockingham died in July 1782 and was succeeded by Shelburne, who appointed Pitt, at the age of twenty-three, chancellor of the exchequer. When Fox refused to serve in the new government and joined a coalition with North, Fox and Pitt fell out, beginning a lifelong political rivalry that was to play itself out on the floor of the House of Commons for the next twenty-three years. When the Opposition brought down Shelburne's ministry in February 1783, King George III—who strongly opposed, but did not prevent, the inclusion of Fox in government—offered Pitt the opportunity

to become prime minister. Pitt, however, declined it, aware that his youth and inexperience were unlikely to secure for him the parliamentary support needed to make his administration viable. Fox and North duly formed a coalition, while Pitt, stepping down as chancellor of the exchequer, joined the Opposition.

As before, he made several appeals for parliamentary reform, particularly on the questions of bribery and rotten boroughs. While he failed to achieve his aims, he did manage to attract a following of reformers from the Foxite camp, increasing his personal standing in Parliament. After the Fox-North coalition collapsed in December 1783 over the question of the reform of the (British) East India Company, the king appointed Pitt, still only twenty-four, prime minister. Despite being criticized for his youth, he was to serve as premier for the next seventeen years.

Pitt came under immediate and regular attack from the Opposition, and notwithstanding a vote of no confidence in January 1784, he refused to resign, retaining as he did the support of both the king and the House of Lords. Not only did he survive in office, but in forthcoming years he gradually increased his majority in Parliament. Although he would never enjoy substantial public popularity, Pitt came to be regarded as an honest figure not subject to the corruption and dishonesty associated with his predecessors. This image, after Parliament was dissolved in March 1784 and a general election called, helped return him to Parliament, this time in possession of one of the two seats representing his coveted Cambridge University.

Armed with a substantial majority in the House of Commons, Pitt now sought to pursue his long-held aims. By his India Act in 1784, Pitt reorganized the East India Company, created a new Board of Control to manage it from London, and limited the powers of the governors of Bombay and Madras in favor of the governor-general of India, who thereafter was to exercise supreme control over British affairs on the subcontinent. On the domestic scene, Pitt pursued his interest in parliamentary reform, introducing in 1785 a bill to abolish representation in thirty-six rotten boroughs, and to extend the franchise to a larger proportion of property owners already enjoying the vote. He, however, failed to gain the requisite parliamentary support required to carry these measures, and this was to become, owing to a profound change in attitude about reform in consequence of the Revolution in France a few years later, the last occasion on which he would publicly raise the question.

Pitt also sought to tackle the nation's massive debt, which had accumulated rapidly as a result of the American Revolutionary War to £250 million—an extraordinary amount for its time. He sought to reduce this debt using

various means: the imposition of new taxes, cracking down on fraud by improving the system of auditing, tackling smuggling by reducing the high duties on imported goods that allowed smuggling to flourish, and simplifying customs and excise duties. Most notably, his Sinking Fund, introduced in 1786, constituted an original scheme to reduce the national debt by setting aside each year £1 million from the surplus revenue derived from new taxes. This sum would be allowed to accumulate compound interest over twenty-eight years, by which time the income so derived would have reached £4 million a year. In the prosperous years of peace that followed, when an annual surplus of revenue was indeed created, this method was found to function fairly well, and by this imaginative method the national debt might eventually—albeit over a long period—have been paid off. However, after war began with France in February 1793 the government was inevitably forced to redeem some of the debt through new borrowing at a higher rate of interest than that fixed to the loans arranged during the war in America.

Pitt faced a severe challenge to his administration when in 1788 the king became mentally ill and the nation found itself without laws to provide for such a contingency. Parliament spent months debating how a regency, barring the king's recovery, could be established, but since it was clear to all that the only realistic candidate for regent was the Prince of Wales—a man openly and staunchly supportive of Fox—it was universally assumed that his appointment as regent would inevitably lead to Pitt's dismissal. Pitt and his adherents in the Commons therefore worked feverishly to oppose measures that were certain to spell political suicide. Crisis was averted for Pitt when the king recovered in February 1789, just as the House of Commons passed the Regency Bill.

On the international scene, even before the French Revolution transformed France into a greater threat to British interests than ever before, Pitt sought to restrict French power by establishing alliances on the Continent. After forming the Triple Alliance with Prussia and the Netherlands in 1788, he made use of Prussia's diplomatic support during the Nootka Sound crisis in 1790 to force Spain to abandon its claim of a monopoly on trade and settlement along the western coastline of North America. But if war had thus been averted in the Pacific Northwest, in the Ochakov crisis Pitt nearly embroiled his country in a conflict with Catherine the Great over his attempts to check the expansion of Russian power in the Black Sea. In March 1791 the prime minister demanded that the tsarina restore to Turkey all recent Russian conquests, apart from the Crimean peninsula. Yet without sufficient backing from the cabinet, and with virtually no public support for the prosecution of hostilities in so distant a place and for

so little apparent gain, Pitt was forced to back down when Catherine refused to comply.

Pitt, like many of his contemporaries, did not initially view the French Revolution with dismay; indeed, in a speech delivered to Parliament in February 1792 he quite misguidedly predicted fifteen years of peace between Britain and France, owing to his perception that internal political and social turmoil would paralyze France, thus enabling Britain to pursue unhindered her commercial and colonial interests. In time, however, he came to share the opinion of such contemporaries as Edmund Burke, who looked with increasing horror on the excesses of the Revolution, even before the Reign of Terror convulsed France in 1793–1794. A crisis in Anglo-French relations did not in fact develop until the closing months of 1792—after the Revolution had already been years in the making—and after war had already broken out between France on the one hand, and Austria and Prussia on the other.

Yet Anglo-French relations deteriorated rapidly from that point. Most significantly for Pitt, the French had invaded the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium and Luxembourg), violated the internationally agreed neutral status of the Scheldt, and issued a decree that invited Europeans to overthrow their own monarchs and allow French troops to “liberate” them. In the face of such overt threats to the social and political order of Europe, including Britain, the prime minister viewed confrontation with Revolutionary France as inevitable. The execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 did not in itself precipitate war, but it confirmed in Pitt’s mind what he regarded as the ruthlessness and volatility of the Revolutionary government in Paris. Nor could he have escaped confrontation if he had been so inclined; on 1 February, France declared war on Britain.

The conflict had immediate domestic implications for Pitt. Many reformers, encouraged by the outpouring of democratic ideas and writings from France—by no means all of which could be considered radical or preaching violence against monarchy—renewed the call for parliamentary reform, the issue that Pitt had himself championed up until 1785 when his reform bill had been defeated. Moderate British reformers, failing to appreciate the tense political atmosphere and the prevailing fear of revolution, found themselves, often unjustifiably, cast as revolutionary sympathizers or, worse, traitors, their ideas discredited by the increasing violence within France and the triumphant march of its armies across the Low Countries, the Rhineland, and northern Italy.

Pitt had grave reservations about rising Revolutionary opinion. Fearing the influence of what he regarded as seditious publications, Pitt enacted repressive legislation in May 1792 to prevent the dissemination of such writings and to prosecute and imprison their authors. Two years

later he suspended habeas corpus. Pitt later placed restrictions on the right of individuals to assemble in public and on the establishment of societies or organizations seeking to introduce political reforms. These were no mere temporary measures but remained in force until 1801. At the same time, in an effort to quash internal dissent and to deny radicals a platform from which to espouse revolutionary ideas, Pitt ceased to raise in Parliament the issue of political reform.

Throughout the 1790s the mainstays of his cabinet included his cousin William Grenville, as foreign secretary, and Henry Dundas, as home secretary (1791–1794) and later as secretary of state for war and the colonies (1794–1801). With such men at his disposal, Pitt led a competent government, though as he himself lacked the strategic vision necessary to confront Revolutionary France with much prospect of success, he was in consequence singularly unsuccessful in his prosecution of the war against it.

Pitt proved instrumental in expanding the First Coalition (1792–1797, Britain joining in 1793), including Austria, Britain, Prussia, Sardinia, Spain, and the United Provinces (Holland); yet Britain’s contribution was limited to naval efforts and minor amphibious operations on the Continent, which, apart from in Flanders, did little but divert small enemy forces from the main theaters of operations in the Rhineland and Italy. Indeed, these series of minor, far-flung expeditions, although eventually resulting in the capture of most of the French possessions in the West Indies, failed to prevent France from making substantial territorial conquests on the European continent and appeared to Britain’s allies as merely a means to acquire more colonies while leaving the bulk of the heavy fighting on land to others. The First Coalition, from which in 1795 Prussia and Spain withdrew, was duly defeated in 1797 when Austria was knocked out of the war, leaving Britain the only principal power still opposed to France.

Pitt was instrumental, through a concerted diplomatic offensive, in raising the Second Coalition (1798–1802), consisting of Britain, Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire (Turkey); but this alliance, too, owing largely to poor Allied coordination and mutual suspicion, crumbled in defeat, as its forces, though initially successful, eventually succumbed to French Revolutionary armies in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Again Pitt dissipated British resources, though his provision of substantial financial payments to Austria, Russia, and various other continental allies played an important role in maintaining resistance. Nor can one dismiss the significance of Britain’s several notable victories at sea, or its triumph over the French in Egypt. At the same time, Pitt was successful in financing the war by means of the country’s first income tax, an innovation not only meant to generate additional funds to

pay for military and naval operations and the expansion of the armed forces, but also to offset the loss of funds collected through indirect taxation, now reduced by the decline in trade. Although he also introduced property tax schemes, the enormous cost of the war obliged Pitt to have recourse to heavy borrowing.

Pitt not only regarded France as a barrier to imperial expansion and a menace to British markets overseas, but also as a genuine and immediate threat to his country's national existence. Although French invasion plans were thwarted in 1797, in the same year a financial crisis at home and the mutinies of the British fleets off Spithead and the Nore cast an air of gloom over Pitt's administration. Reluctantly prepared to negotiate peace with France, he failed to appreciate the overwhelming desire of the public for an end to the war and all its painful consequences—the heavy burden of taxation, the loss of markets on the Continent, the military failures, and the toll in human terms. Yet, in spite of all of these misfortunes and setbacks, Pitt continued his unassailable hold over the premiership, a hold maintained almost entirely as a consequence of the continuing loyalty of the king, who cast Pitt not only as the defender of conservative principles and the institution of monarchy but as the nation's implacable enemy of Revolutionary France. In 1794 Pitt bolstered this enviable position by inviting leading members of the opposition to join his government, which they did with the Duke of Portland. The various arguments offered by those still opposed to him—most notably Charles James Fox—consistently failed to put the Foxite Whigs back in office.

Personally, Pitt struck most contemporaries as austere, hostile to his critics, and extremely dedicated to his responsibilities as prime minister. He worked exceptionally long hours at Downing Street, seldom entertained, and rarely traveled much beyond London. He never visited Scotland or Ireland and went abroad only once—to France for a few months. His loyal followers in the House of Commons were great in number, but he had few close friends and never married, reluctantly declining to do so on one occasion owing to his woeful financial circumstances. Indeed, personal debt, which had begun to mount soon after Pitt left Cambridge, was to plague him for the rest of his life, a situation less the consequence of extravagance than of the dishonesty of his household staff, of his complete indifference to personal financial matters, and of his extreme—perhaps obsessive—devotion to work at the expense of every other matter. Ironically, the financial welfare of the nation was paramount to him; his own was of no consequence.

By the end of 1800, after seventeen years in office, Pitt was worn out and low. The Austrians were decisively defeated at Marengo and Hohenlinden in June and December,

respectively, while at home, matters in Ireland had been worsened by the rising demands of Irish nationalists, who two years before had staged a rebellion with the forlorn hope of receiving substantial French military assistance. The revolt had been suppressed, but Pitt believed that he could only assuage Irish demands for independence by creating a union between Great Britain and Ireland. This he accomplished in 1800, partly through the bribery of Irish MPs and other corrupt practices. By the Act of Union the Irish Parliament in Dublin was closed and all power centralized in Westminster, effective 1 January 1801.

Pitt also wished to present supplementary proposals before the House of Commons in order to ease existing restrictions on Roman Catholics. Various concessions were to be offered such as the right to hold a seat in Parliament, a government post, or a commission in the army or in the civil or diplomatic service. Pitt also wished to bring forward state provision for Catholic and Dissenting (non-Anglican) clergy. The king violently opposed Catholic emancipation on the basis that his coronation oath, by which he had promised to protect the established Church of England, forbade him as sovereign from granting the extension of additional rights to Catholics. On failing to persuade the king to reconsider, Pitt resigned from office, together with most of his principal political adherents, on 3 February 1801, to be succeeded by Henry Addington. During the crisis the king suffered from another bout of insanity—now thought to have been induced by porphyria. When within a month the king recovered, he attributed his illness to Pitt's plans for Catholic emancipation, whereupon Pitt promised never again to propose such legislation in the king's lifetime.

From February 1801 to May 1804 Pitt lived quietly at Walmer Castle in Kent, gardening, trying to recover his health—which had seriously declined as a combination of overwork and heavy drinking—and drilling the local militia in anticipation of a much-feared French landing. He continued to attend sessions of Parliament on an irregular basis; he was absent altogether for a period of several months. When by the terms of the Treaty of Amiens Britain made peace with France in March 1802, Pitt supported the government, albeit unenthusiastically; and although Addington invited him to join the cabinet, Pitt declined. When after a brief hiatus war resumed with France in May 1803, Pitt stepped up his opposition to the government, denouncing in particular its conduct of the war, its measures for the defense of the nation against invasion, and its financial policies.

In time he joined with his Whig opponents to topple Addington's government and put himself back in Downing Street. His second ministry, however, was marred from the beginning, for when Grenville refused to join the cabinet

without Fox—and the king refused to have Fox in any government capacity—Pitt was obliged to do without the services of both, not to mention other talented politicians, including many former supporters. Indeed, many MPs who had once stood in support of Pitt, but now sat in Addington's camp, joined the Opposition. Pitt's government therefore began office on a weak footing, with much of the available talent absent. Nevertheless, such was the prime minister's standing as a paragon of resistance to French aggrandizement and the defender of conservative ideas that, despite his reduced majority in Parliament, Pitt continued to secure much of the legislation he brought forward and regained much of the public popularity that he had lost by the time he had left office in 1801.

Through intense diplomatic activity and the drafting of a lengthy state paper (19 January 1805) outlining plans for the political reconstruction of Europe after the defeat of France, Pitt was instrumental in inspiring and eventually establishing the Third Coalition, which consisted of Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Notwithstanding Britain's very substantial naval commitment to the war against Napoleon, Pitt clearly recognized that the fate of the Continent largely rested on the fortunes of the Allied armies then receiving large subsidies from his government. Although the Allies were crushed at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, the decisive British victory at Trafalgar six weeks earlier owed something to Pitt's appointment of Lord Barham (Sir Charles Middleton) as First Lord of the Admiralty, whose formulation of naval strategy, together with Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson's tactics and leadership on the day, secured Britain's protection from invasion for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars.

News of Trafalgar and his almost-unquenchable optimism led Pitt to spend much of November and December 1805 persuaded that his diplomatic efforts to woo Prussia into the Allied camp would bear fruit and thus bring into the field forces sufficient to turn the tide of the campaign. However, tidings of an Austrian armistice, the withdrawal of the Russian army eastward, news that Prussia had decided to remain neutral, and a combination of physical exhaustion and the cumulative effects of many years' heavy consumption of port, finally overcame him; Pitt died despondently on 23 January 1806.

He left behind debts amounting to £40,000, all of which were paid off by a grant unanimously voted by a grateful Parliament, which also provided a public funeral and a place for his remains in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried on 22 February.

Pitt left a political vacuum behind, which his colleagues, mostly Tories, could not immediately fill. His loss to the nation was felt even by his staunchest political opponents, but Pitt's allies, unable to sustain themselves in the

face of the collapse of yet another coalition formed against France, had no choice but to leave office. In their wake, Grenville formed a government representing a broad political spectrum, which now included the talented Fox but lasted little more than a year. Pitt's legacy had clearly not been eclipsed; subsequent British governments during the Napoleonic Wars—those of the Duke of Portland, Spencer Perceval, and the Earl of Liverpool—were all largely Pittite in character, and when Viscount Castlereagh, as foreign secretary, went to the Continent in 1813–1814 to negotiate a new anti-French coalition to include all the Great Powers, he used Pitt's plan of January 1805 as the basis for Britain's immediate war aims as well as for the postwar political settlement reached by the victorious Allies at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815.

During his long tenure Pitt had shown himself astute in the management of government affairs. In sharp contrast to the utter disregard he paid to his personal finances, he pursued sound fiscal policies that helped the nation recover from the economic hardship resulting from the war in America. This achievement was somewhat blighted by the subsequent struggle with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, which was to force Pitt to adopt new measures to generate revenue on a scale hitherto unknown, particularly through his system of income tax. Pitt's legacy is evident in other realms of his public life. He took a wide view of Britain's role in the world, regarding it as an imperial, as well as a European, power. He maintained the support of the king in consequence of the conservative principles he embraced and for the particular measures in domestic and foreign policy that he pursued, but he was not a reactionary and showed himself ready to accept new ideas and to reach compromises with members of his own, and opposing, factions when necessity dictated it.

Pitt was not successful as a war leader like his father; the three coalitions that Britain helped to form, and which the Treasury generously funded with unprecedented levels of subsidies, all failed to check French expansion. Yet Pitt never wavered in the struggle against France, remaining an inveterate opponent of radicalism and, later, Napoleonic imperialism. In later years he came to symbolize not only resistance to foreign tyranny but also economic prosperity, sound financial policy, and internal political stability, in an era when revolutionary principles and armies threatened to jeopardize the traditional social and political structure of a nation embracing broad (for its time) democratic values and the principle of constitutional monarchy. On the other hand, he never managed to put into being some of the important measures he had advocated over the years, including parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, or the abolition of the slave trade.

After a total of nineteen years in office, Pitt established the premiership as one in which the prime minister played a greater role than ever in overseeing and coordinating the work of the various departments of government. In so doing he set a precedent for future prime ministers, whose overall authority to manage state affairs came to be the unquestioned norm in government.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Catholic Emancipation; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; Fox, Charles James; French Revolution; George III, King; Great Britain; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Louis XVI, King; Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nore, Mutiny at the; Perceval, Spencer; Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Second Coalition, War of the; Slave Trade; Spithead, Mutiny at; Terror, The; Third Coalition, War of the; Trafalgar, Battle of; Union, Act of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Pius VI, Pope (1717–1799)

Pope between 15 February 1775 and 29 August 1799. Born 17 December 1717 at Cesena, Giovanni Angelico Braschi was the scion of an ennobled but penurious family from the northern area of the Papal States. He was educated by

Jesuits at Cesena and attended the University of Ferrara for legal training before becoming a favorite of Pope Benedict XIV, who supplied him with a steady stream of appointments, including papal secretary. Although not as popular with the next two pontiffs, Clement XIII and Clement XIV, he was created a cardinal in 1773 and was serving as the abbot of Subiaco in 1775 when Clement XIV died. In the papal election, the monarchies of France, Spain, Austria, and Portugal intervened to attempt to achieve the selection of another pope opposed to the Jesuit order, which Clement XIV had dissolved. Instead, after five acrimonious months, Braschi was elected as Pope Pius VI.

Pius VI proved an able administrator in the Papal States, adding a sacristy to St. Peter’s, draining the Pontine Marshes, building a substantial scholarly library, and patronizing archeological digs as part of his fascination with antiquity. Unable to reverse the bull against the Jesuits, he nonetheless gave many of them refuge and freed their governor-general from imprisonment. In an ironic diplomatic situation, he halfheartedly insisted the Jesuits in Prussia and Russia be banned, but was refused by Frederick II and Catherine II, respectively, both non-Catholic rulers who wanted to retain Jesuit institutions of learning. In 1784, challenged by the Emperor Joseph II of Austria who was dissolving monasteries and usurping papal authority, Pius VI bought a fragile truce with the emperor by allowing him to name bishops in Milan and Mantua.

Although embarrassed by the participation of Cardinal de Rohan in the “affair of the necklace,” Pius VI was a supporter and longtime correspondent of Louis XVI of France. The pope did not excommunicate supporters of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, but he did rebuke church officials who took the oath under it and refused to recognize the French Republic in 1792. As a result, the Revolutionary government seized Avignon. Pius said public masses for Louis XVI after his execution and attempted to save the life of Marie Antoinette through the intervention of the Spanish.

On 19 February 1797 Pius, who had not committed papal troops to the coalition armies, was forced to accept French hegemony through the Treaty of Tolentino after Bologna surrendered to the French. The Vatican was plundered of its reserves and art collection to pay a 21-million-lire indemnity, but Pius VI refused to retract his condemnation of the Reign of Terror or the French Republic. With the French acting provocatively in Rome, Pius was unable to control an incident in which papal dragoons killed General Mathurin-Léonard Duphot in the street during a violent confrontation outside the Corsini Palace. In reprisal, the French kidnapped the pope while declaring Rome a republic on 10 February 1798.

In ill health, Pius was taken under guard through northern Italy to Valence, where he outlined a method by

which the cardinals were to select a new pope without a formal conclave upon his death. Pius died under French house arrest on 29 August 1799, and was returned for burial in St. Peter's in 1802.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Art Treasures (Plundered by the French); Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Louis XVI, King; Papal States; Pius VII, Pope; Terror, The  
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### **Pius VII, Pope (1740–1823)**

Pope between 14 March 1800 and 20 August 1823. He was born Giorgio Barnaba Luigi Chiaramonti on 14 August 1740 to an Italian noble family at Cesena. He received his early education in the college for nobles at Ravenna. At the age of sixteen he entered the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria del Monte, near Cesena, and after the completion of his studies served as professor of various colleges in Parma and Rome. Pope Pius VI was a close friend of his family and helped Chiaramonti move through the ranks: first appointed abbot of San Callisto monastery in 1776, then conferred the bishoprics of Tivoli and Imola, and finally made cardinal in February 1785. After the death of Pius VI in August 1799, the conclave was convened in Venice and considered several candidates for the papacy. Following several months of stalemate, Chiaramonti was elected as a compromise candidate and proclaimed Pope Pius VII on 21 March 1800. One of his first appointments was the elevation of Ercole Consalvi to the College of Cardinals and the office of secretary of state in August 1800. Consalvi, a prominent figure at the Vatican, opposed French policies in Italy between 1796 and 1798, and played an important role in Pius's election. He later negotiated the concordat with Bonaparte, was instrumental in reforming the Vatican administration, and convinced the Allies at the Congress of Vienna to reestablish the Papal States in their entirety.

In 1801 Pius overcame opposition in the church to open negotiations with First Consul Bonaparte and was able to conclude the historic Concordat of 1801, which restored the Catholic Church in France and governed the relations of the French church with Rome for more than a century. However, relations between the pope and Bonaparte soon deteriorated. In 1802–1803, Pius opposed Bonaparte's plans to compensate German princes with land belonging to the Catholic Church and the subsequent

ecclesiastical reorganization of Germany, known as the Imperial Recess. Despite tense relations, Pius traveled to Paris in order to crown Bonaparte as Emperor Napoleon I. As it happened, during the investiture on 2 December 1804, Bonaparte took the crown from Pius's hands and crowned himself. The pope opposed the Organic Articles, which effectively established Napoleon's control over the Catholic Church; he also rebuffed Napoleon's demands to annul the marriage of Joseph Bonaparte. In 1806 Pius refused to apply the restrictions of the Continental System to his domains. In response, Napoleon occupied Rome and the Papal States in 1808–1809. Although he excommunicated Napoleon, Pius was arrested and confined first in Genoa, then at Savona, before final captivity at Fontainebleau. He was forced to concede a new concordat in January 1813 but later disavowed it. After Napoleon's downfall, Pius succeeded in securing the restoration of the Papal States at the Congress of Vienna. He advocated the restoration of the ecclesiastical system of organization that had previously existed in Germany and negotiated with each German state separately, beginning with the first concordat with Bavaria in 1817. He revived the Society of Jesus (Jesuit order) in 1814, promoted educational reform, and helped the establishment of Rome as a cultural center. In 1820–1821, he opposed the revolutions in Italy and Spain and cooperated with the counterrevolutionaries. Despite mistreatment by Napoleon, Pius treated the fallen emperor's family with benevolence, gave them haven at Rome, and even interceded with the British to alleviate Napoleon's treatment on St. Helena. He died on 20 August 1823.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Concordat; Continental System; Imperial Recess; Papal States; Pius VI, Pope; St. Helena; Vienna, Congress of

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### **Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman (1753–1818)**

Prominent Russian commander and Cossack leader. He was born on 19 August 1753 to a Don Cossack family at

the village of Pribilyanskoe, near the Cossack capital of Cherkassk. He began service in the Don Cossack Chancellery in 1766, becoming *uriadnik* (noncommissioned officer) in April 1769 and *esaul* (captain) in December 1770. Platov fought against the Crimean Tatars at the Perekop Line and Kinburn in 1771; in 1772 he became a Cossack colonel and commander of a Cossack regiment. In 1774–1784, he served in the Kuban Valley, Chechnya, and Daghestan. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792 he became a colonel (June 1787) and fought at Ochakov, Akkerman, Bender, Kaushani (promoted to brigadier, October 1789), and Ismail. For his conduct, he was appointed ataman of the Ekaterinoslavl and Chuguev Cossacks, and in January 1793 he received promotion to major general. In 1796 he participated in the Persian campaign along the Caspian Sea.

However, misled by his courtiers, Tsar Paul I disgraced Platov in May 1797 and exiled him to Kostroma province. After establishing Platov's innocence, the tsar pardoned him and awarded the Commander Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In 1800–1801, Platov took part in the expedition to India, though his Cossacks got only as far as Orenburg. Platov became the campaign ataman (*pokhodnii ataman*) of the Don Cossacks in September 1801 and was promoted to lieutenant general the same month. He began the reorganization of the Don Host and transferred the Cossack capital to Novocherkask, near Rostov-on-Don, about 60 kilometers from the Sea of Azov.

During the 1806–1807 campaigns in Poland, Platov commanded a Cossack corps, fighting in numerous rear-guard actions and in the battles at Eylau, Guttstadt, and Friedland. In 1808–1809, he fought the Turks in the Danube Valley, distinguishing himself at Girsov, Rassevat, Tataritsa, and Silistra, for which he was promoted to the rank of general of cavalry in October 1809. In 1812 he commanded the Cossack Corps and supported General Peter Bagration's 2nd Western Army, defeating the French at Korelich, Mir, and Romanovo and covering Bagration's flanking movement at Mogilev. During the Russian offensive at Smolensk, Platov fought at Molevo Boloto (Inkovo). At Borodino he led the famous cavalry attack on the French left flank but failed to accomplish the assigned mission and was not rewarded after the battle. Later that year, Platov distinguished himself commanding the Cossack troops during the French retreat and was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire.

In 1813–1814, he led the Cossack forces in Germany and France, respectively, and took part in all the major battles of these campaigns. After the war, Platov accompanied Tsar Alexander to London, where he was received with great honors. The City of London presented him



Matvei Platov, leader of the Don Cossacks and senior Russian cavalry commander during the French invasion of Russia in 1812. His irregular mounted units were much feared by the civilian populace of the foreign territories through which they passed during the campaigns of 1813–1814. (George Dawe/Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia)

with a golden sword, and the University of Oxford conferred on him an honorary doctoral degree. Returning to Russia, Platov spent the next few years at Novocherkask, governing the Don Host. He died on 15 January 1818 at Epachinskoe, near Taganrog, and was buried in the Ascension Cathedral in Novocherkask. His remains were transferred to the Cossack Host Cathedral in Novocherkask in October 1911, but his grave was desecrated during the Russian Civil War (1918–1922). His remains were reinterred in the Cossack Host Cathedral in Novocherkask in May 1993.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Borodino, Battle of; Cossacks; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Inkovo, Battle of; Mogilev, Action at; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Turkish War

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## Pleischwitz, Armistice of

See Armistice of 1813

## Poland

In the mid-eighteenth century Poland-Lithuania (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) was one of the largest European states. It consisted of Polish territories (referred to as the Crown) and Lithuanian ones. The commonwealth had one monarch and a common parliament (*Sejm*); most ministries and the armies were separate for each part. At the end of the century it disappeared from the map of Europe as a result of the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, carried out by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The state disappeared, but the Polish people did not. The Polish nobility, in particular politicians, soldiers, and leaders of local societies, were involved in activities that were to bring Poland to life again. Poles actively backed Napoleon, seeing in him a possible rebuild of the Polish state. The Duchy of Warsaw, created under Napoleon's patronage, gave Poles a feeling of having their own political entity. Polish soldiers and politicians stood by Napoleon until the very end, following his route to Moscow and shedding blood as late as the Battle of Leipzig. Following the Congress of Vienna, Polish lands were again divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. This time a semi-independent so-called Congress Kingdom of Poland was established within the borders of the Russian Empire.

In 1789, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, Poland-Lithuania was an elective monarchy ruled by Stanislaw August Poniatowski. Although territorially a relatively large state, Poland-Lithuania was weak because of its political system, developed over the previous three centuries. Legislative power lay in the hands of an elective parliament (*Sejm*), which limited royal executive power, often preventing effective governing of the state. A single deputy to the *Sejm* could end its proceedings, declaring *liberum veto* (I am free to say no) and dissolving it. A dissolved *Sejm* could not issue new laws, while the already-voted ones became void.

Poland's regular army was small compared to the armies of its neighbors. Historians describe this period of Polish history as anarchical and stress the huge influence Poland's neighbors had on its political life and its domestic and foreign affairs. The weakness of the state led to foreign interventions and finally to the detaching of large territories from Poland-Lithuania in the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. In the First Partition of 1772 Poland-Lithuania was compelled to give up nearly one-third of its 283,000-square-mile territory, half of its natural resources, and half of its

8.75 million population to Russia, Prussia, and Austria. All proceedings of the Polish government and the *Sejm* became subject to review by the three occupying powers. Weak Poland-Lithuania, subject to foreign control, appeared a better solution than war between the partitioning powers.

The First Partition and its effects spurred the Poles to try to reform their state. On 22 October 1788 a parliament was summoned, which worked for the next four years. Known as the Four Years' Parliament (*Sejm Czteroletni*, or Great Parliament, *Sejm Wielki*), it introduced a series of reforms that culminated in its most important act: the Constitution of 3 May 1791. The constitution converted Poland into a hereditary monarchy, with a cabinet of ministers responsible to the parliament, and introduced the principle of majority rule. Serfdom was limited, and cities became self-governing as townsmen were enfranchised. The constitution reformed state finances and modernized and enlarged the royal army. A modern educational system was also introduced.

The possibility of an emergent Poland, strengthened and modernized, threatened its neighbors, Russia in particular. The tsarina, Catherine II, found an opportunity to strike at Poland and its reforms when a group of magnates opposed to the reforms organized the Confederation (a type of legal, self-acclaimed political faction opposed to the monarch and other state institutions) in Targowica and petitioned for Russian aid in restoring the old order. Using this semblance of legality, Catherine ordered her troops to march into Poland in May 1792. Prussia, bound by treaty to come to Poland's aid, deserted it and joined Russia.

The Poles, outnumbered both to east and west, sued for peace. Following this defeat Poland was partitioned for a second time in 1793. As a state it was mutilated and crippled. One year later, in 1794, the combined armies of Russia and Prussia crushed a popular uprising against the partitioning powers led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko). The failure of the insurrection was followed by the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, which erased Poland from the map of Europe. The Polish king, Stanislaw II August Poniatowski, abdicated a year later.

Four years after the Third Partition of Poland, Bonaparte became First Consul in France. From the very beginning, and since his Italian campaign several years earlier, Polish exiles were among his staunchest supporters. The Polish Legions, formed in Italy, participated in French campaigns in Italy, Spain, Egypt, and Haiti—as well as in Polish territories, into which Napoleon's army entered in 1806 during the war against Russia and Prussia. After the defeat of the Russo-Prussian coalition in 1807 the Treaty of Tilsit was signed. The French and Russian emperors agreed to the creation of an independent Polish state, known as the Duchy of Warsaw.

The Duchy of Warsaw had its own constitution, modeled on the French one, as well as its own troops and government. The title of the Duke of Warsaw was bestowed on Napoleon's ally Frederick Augustus I, King of Saxony, whose family was to govern the Duchy of Warsaw as hereditary rulers. In 1809 Galicia (the Austrian portion of Poland) was ceded to the duchy by the terms of the Treaty of Schönbrunn following Austria's defeat by Napoleon.

Polish patriots believed they were taking part in the genuine restoration of an independent Polish state. However, it was the French resident minister in Warsaw who was the *de facto* ruler. His main task was to requisition men and matériel for Napoleon's war effort. In the end the Duchy of Warsaw, a relatively small state, organized an army of 100,000 Poles for Napoleon's Russian campaign, during which about three-quarters of them perished. The Duchy of Warsaw stood by Napoleon until the end of the Russian campaign, after which the duchy was occupied mainly by Russian troops. General Józef Poniąkowski raised the last troops in the Duchy of Warsaw before his country was overrun. These raw Polish units took part in the Battle of Leipzig, with remnants following the Grande Armée back to France after Napoleon's ejection from Germany.

After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna liquidated the Duchy of Warsaw. In this manner the Partitions of Poland were confirmed, though with different borders than those of 1795. The Russian Empire benefited most: Out of the remnants of the Duchy of Warsaw (without Galicia), Tsar Alexander I created a small Kingdom of Poland. Known as the Congress Kingdom of Poland, it remained semi-autonomous within the borders of Russia, losing autonomy after the 1830 November Rising.

*Jakub Basista*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austria; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Leipzig, Battle of; Poland, Partitions of; Polish Forces; Poniąkowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Prussia; Russia; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Saxony; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Poland, Partitions of (1772, 1793, 1795)

Three successive divisions of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, which led to the elimination of the Polish state by 1795.

Once a powerful state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was but a shadow of its former glory by the late eighteenth century. Internal religious and political bickering significantly weakened the Polish state and allowed its powerful neighbors to effectively intervene and manipulate domestic affairs. Under Tsarina Catherine II "the Great" (reigned 1762–1796), Russia was particularly involved in Poland. In 1764, Catherine succeeded in having her former favorite, Prince Stanislaw August Poniąkowski, elected as the King of Poland-Lithuania. However, Poniąkowski soon defied Catherine and encouraged reforms and modernization in Poland. The prospects of reviving the Polish kingdom raised concerns in Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

Catherine encouraged religious dissent in Poland-Lithuania's minority Eastern Orthodox population and in 1767 forced the *Sejm* (parliament) to restore the Orthodox equality enjoyed during the Jagiellon dynasty (1386–1572), provoking a Catholic uprising by the Confederation of Bar, a political group of Polish nobles (*szlachta*) that was established at the fortress of Bar, in the Podolia region, in 1768. The goal was to preserve the sovereignty of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against Russia as well as to prevent the Polish reformers supporting King Stanislaw Poniąkowski from introducing reforms that might undermine the nobles' rights. The defeat of the Confederation of Bar left Poland weakened and exposed. In 1772 the Prussian king, Frederick II "the Great," proposed to divide Polish territory between the three major powers under the pretext of restoring order. Under the partition, Poland lost about 30 percent of her territory. Russia received part of Byelorussia (present-day Belarus) embracing the regions of Vitebsk, Polotsk, and Mscislaw. Prussia took Warmia and West Prussia as far as the Netze, without the city of Danzig (Gdansk), and some lands in Greater Poland. Austria gained Galicia, except for Kraków.

The First Partition demonstrated the dangers a weak Polish state was facing and helped nurture public opinion favorable to reform. Ideas of the Enlightenment were widely discussed, as were concepts of democratic institutions and reforms. In May 1791 the Sejm produced Europe's first modern codified constitution, which abolished the notorious *liberum veto* (I am free to say no), provided a separation of powers, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people. The *liberum veto* was a right of any member of the Sejm to block and nullify any legislation discussed or approved by the Sejm. In practice, it was virtually impossible to reach a unanimous consensus among so many nobles,

each with his own agenda, and so no reforms could be introduced. As a result, the Polish state stagnated and declined. The adoption of a constitution prompted aggressive action on the part of Poland's neighbors, who felt threatened by the new ideals of the Polish constitution and the prospects of a reviving Polish state. In the so-called War in Defense of the Constitution, better known as the Russo-Polish War of 1792–1794, the pro-Russian Confederation of Targowica (a faction of pro-Russian Polish nobles who felt threatened by the new constitution and reforms it promised to introduce) fought against the Polish forces supporting the constitution. In 1792 the Russian regular army invaded Poland under the pretext of defending Poland's ancient liberties, followed by the Prussians in 1793.

The Second Partition further reduced Polish territory. Russia gained a vast area of Byelorussia and Volhynia, including Minsk, Zytomier, and Kamieniec, while Prussia received an area nearly twice the size of its First Partition gains. Austria, occupied with its war with France, was excluded from this partition. Thus, Poland was reduced to a rump state dominated by its neighbors.

Following the Second Partition of Poland, Russo-Polish relations rapidly deteriorated, culminating on 12 March 1794 when General Antoni Madalinski rejected Russian demands to disband the Polish-Lithuanian army. This sparked a general outbreak of anti-Russian riots throughout the country. The uprising quickly spread through the Polish lands, and Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko), a veteran of the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), was invited to lead the insurrection. Kościuszko returned to Poland in late March 1794 and called the Poles to arms. The Polish army achieved a surprising victory over the numerically and technically superior Russian detachment at Raclawice on 4 April 1794 but suffered a crucial defeat at Maciejowice on 10 October. In early November, the Russian army captured Warsaw and suppressed the rebellion. In the wake of the insurrection, Russia, Prussia, and Austria agreed to carry out the third and final partition, which eliminated the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795. Poland remained partitioned until it was reestablished by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

*Alexander Mikaberdize*

*See also* Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Maciejowice, Battle of; Poland; Russo-Polish War

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## Polish Forces

When the French Revolution began, Poles and Lithuanians were trying to reform their state. The armed forces were practically nonexistent, especially when compared with the armies of neighboring states. Great efforts by the Polish parliament and society resulted in the raising of Polish troops, yet they were not sufficient to prevent Russia, Prussia, and Austria from partitioning Poland. Polish emigrants established Polish units abroad, in Italy, under Napoleon's command. Paradoxically, Polish troops fighting first for the Revolution, and then for Napoleon, believed they were paving the way to an independent Poland. This belief grew even stronger when the Duchy of Warsaw was created. Yet even the huge war effort of the duchy did not help, and the sizable Polish contingent within Napoleon's army moving against Russia suffered the same defeat as the others. This does not change the fact that Polish troops played an important role in Napoleon's campaigns and ranked among his best and most faithful soldiers.

The First Partition of Poland in 1772 was ratified by the Polish parliament (*Sejm*), which was in session for two years, 1773 to 1775. The same parliament established a new governmental body, the Permanent Council (*Rada Nieustająca*), which acquired part of the former royal prerogative as an executive governmental body. One of the five departments that constituted the council was the department responsible for military affairs, and the parliament took important military and financial decisions, increasing the number of troops to 30,000. The army was to be split into five divisions stationed in various parts of the state: three Crown (that is, Polish, as opposed to Lithuanian) armies to be based in Great Poland, Little Poland, and Ukraine-Podolie, and two others in Lithuania.

The outdated and obsolete cuirassier and hussar squadrons were disbanded and efforts made to organize light cavalry in their place. New regulations concerning military discipline were introduced as well, together with new fiscal resolutions designed to maintain the newly formed armed forces. Unfortunately, the planned financial projects were not realized, and two years later the number of troops was lowered to 24,000. In reality even this number was not reached: In 1788 the Crown army numbered 14,000 troops, the Lithuanian one barely 4,500.

It is significant to note that the structure of the army, albeit changed, remained antiquated. Infantry constituted 52.3 percent of total forces, cavalry 42.3 percent, and artillery 5.4 percent, while the most modern European armies consisted of approximately 75 percent infantry, with a much bigger share of artillery and technical support.

On 22 October 1788 the Four Years' Parliament (*Sejm Czteroletni*, or Great Parliament, *Sejm Wielki*) made a decision at the beginning of its session to increase the army to 100,000 men. This reform was accompanied by plans to open military schools in Warsaw and Kamieniec. These plans, however, were never realized, for in January 1790 it was decided to lower the number to 65,000: 45,000 for Poland and 20,000 for Lithuania. Even this level was not reached, however, and in 1791 the army numbered 57,500 men, almost 50 percent of whom were cavalry. It was this army that faced the invading Russian troops during the Russo-Polish War that began in 1792. During the war the number of troops rose to almost 70,000, yet only about 65 percent of them were trained and equipped well enough to fight. Following the defeat in the war and the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, it was decided to reduce the 36,000-man army down to just 17,800 soldiers.

The following year saw an uprising against the Partitions of Poland, foreign interference into Polish affairs, and—among other complaints—limitations imposed on the Polish army. Yet the national rising, led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko), which generated an immense military effort and called up to 150,000 men to arms, simply could not match the well-trained and well-armed Russian and Prussian armies. In spite of several victories and a considerable effort on the part of the civilians, the rising was overcome, and the Third Partition divided the rest of the Polish territories between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The Polish army ceased to exist; Polish politicians and soldiers either had to join one of the occupying powers and work within their administrative, political, and military structures, or emigrate and seek a new life outside their homeland.

In 1796 one of the heroes of the 1794 rising, Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, arrived in Paris with a project to create a Polish Legion in France. He was sent to propose the idea to General Bonaparte, who at that moment was establishing the Republic of Lombardy in northern Italy. On 9 January 1797, after long negotiations, an agreement was reached to form a Polish Legion. A large number of Polish “émigrés” responded to Dąbrowski’s appeal. The legions numbered 3,600 in April and almost 7,000 in May. The Legion was divided into three battalions and supplemented with three artillery companies. These legions fought within the framework of the forces of the new Republic of Lombardy (a French satellite state) for ten months before serving with

the forces of the Cisalpine Republic, another French satellite state. In 1798–1799 they took part in the French campaign against Naples and also in that against the Austrians in northern Italy, fighting in March 1799 at Legnano and Magnano, and in June at the Trebbia. The Polish legions lost many soldiers in these campaigns, including those who surrendered with the French at Mantua in July 1799.

In the first half of 1800 the legions were reconstructed and strengthened to take part in the Peschiera and Mantua campaign of January–February 1801. These legions were reorganized into a demi-brigade in September 1803 (about 4,000 men) and took part in a further campaign against the Kingdom of Naples in 1805–1806. Simultaneously, on 8 September 1799 Polish émigrés reached an agreement with France by which four battalions of infantry and as many cavalry squadrons were formed (just fewer than 6,000 men) under French command. These took part in the campaign of 1800, playing a prominent role in the fighting at the Battle of Hohenlinden on 3 December.

All these efforts by Polish troops were undertaken with a view to serving in the future under Napoleon, whom they hoped would reconstitute the Polish state. Instead, Polish legions were reorganized at the end of 1801, with a large proportion of them sent to St. Domingue to suppress the local slave rebellion. In the end, Polish legions formed in Italy and in other parts of western Europe did not fulfill the expectations of Polish officers and Polish public opinion. It became increasingly difficult to justify their existence without the reestablishment of some kind of Polish political entity.

Following the victories at Austerlitz (1805) and later Jena and Auerstädt (1806), Napoleon called on Poles to establish a “Northern Legion” (also known as the Vistula Legion and, originally, the *Légion Polacco-Italienne* of the newly created Westphalian Army), yet without mentioning “Poland” in the name of the unit. In December 1806 three divisions numbering more than 13,000 troops were ready. They were formed in the former Polish territories annexed following Napoleon’s recent victories against Prussia and equipped with Prussian arms manufactured in Potsdam. These divisions, reorganized and enlarged in the following months, took part in the campaigns against the Russians and Prussians in East Prussia in 1806–1807. In so doing they played their part in the victory at Friedland (14 June 1807), which led to the Peace of Tilsit (7 July) and to the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw.

The Duchy of Warsaw was a weak state, yet Polish politicians and officers made a huge effort to organize a sizable army to support it. This was not easy, considering the limited finances of the duchy. Nevertheless an attempt was made to organize a force about 30,000 strong. Part of these forces—the Polish Division and the Polish-Italian Le-

gion—were financed by Napoleon himself, who sent the former formation to serve in Spain in 1809.

In April of the same year hostilities broke out yet again between France and Austria in what became known as the War of the Fifth Coalition. Notwithstanding that the troops of the Duchy of Warsaw present on home soil numbered just 15,500, they were made responsible for the task of tying down in battle more than 30,000 Austrians under Archduke Ferdinand. At Raszyn on 19 April Polish forces tried to halt an Austrian advance toward Warsaw. The Poles managed to slow the enemy's progress but they failed to prevent the Austrians from entering Warsaw. Polish forces (about 11,000) then undertook a new operation on the right bank of the river Vistula, capturing Lwów and Kraków. Even with these successes the position of Polish forces remained weak, and an armistice reached on 12 July was welcomed.

Napoleon's victory over the Austrians in the campaign of 1809 left the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw considerably enlarged. At the same time, the army was increased to more than 60,000 men, consisting of 42,000 infantry and 12,800 cavalry, artillery, and technical troops. Approximately 52,000 troops were based in the duchy itself, with another 10,000 elsewhere, of whom 8,000 were serving in Spain.

In January 1812 Napoleon issued an order to prepare the Grande Armée for operations against Russia. The Polish contingent constituted about 20 percent of the half-million-strong army. On top of this the Duchy of Warsaw had to cope with the impossible logistical task of coordinating the army's supplies once it passed over the border into Russia.

One Polish corps (V Corps) was organized within the Grande Armée under the command of General Józef Poniatowski. His corps comprised the 16th Infantry Division (two infantry brigades, one cavalry brigade, and artillery: 11,000 troops in total); the 17th Infantry Division (two infantry brigades, a cavalry brigade, and artillery: 12,000); and the 18th Infantry Division (two infantry brigades, one cavalry brigade, and artillery); plus supplementary artillery units and technical-engineering units, comprising about 14,000 more troops. In all, at the outset of the Russian campaign, V Corps numbered about 37,000 troops. Additional large Polish formations were incorporated into Marshal Joachim Murat's IV Corps, Marshal Jacques Macdonald's X Corps, and IX Corps, with smaller contingents in I, II, and III Corps. It is estimated that at the beginning of the campaign Polish forces in the Grande Armée numbered 74,700 troops, later to rise to 91,400 (including the National Guard).

The campaign began on 22 June. Polish forces played a prominent part in the operations, capturing Grodno,

struggling to defeat the Russians at Smolensk and Borodino, and occupying Moscow. From November 1812 Polish troops took part in the retreat of Napoleon's army from Moscow. In several cases Polish forces formed the rear guard of the retreating army. Polish troops reached Vilnius in December 1812. Barely 15,000 men in the all-Polish formations and 3,000 of those in the Franco-Polish formations survived. Thus, about 70,000 Polish soldiers of the army of the Duchy of Warsaw were lost during the Russian campaign.

In spite of these catastrophic losses, Poniatowski undertook yet another attempt to organize a new army of the Duchy of Warsaw. In February 1813 he left Warsaw with about 6,000 men. This force was to reach 16,000 three months later (while an additional 18,000 troops manned various fortresses in the duchy), organized to form two infantry and two cavalry divisions, in all constituting VIII Corps. On 17 May these troops left Kraków for Saxony. About 10,800 men took part in the Battle of Leipzig on 16–19 October. Poniatowski drowned at the close of the battle as he attempted to cross the river Elster with retreating troops. About 10,000 men from VIII Corps were either killed or taken prisoner in the battle.

Several smaller units continued to take part in various battles fought by Napoleon's forces, even as late as Waterloo, yet the 100,000-man army of the Duchy of Warsaw was lost. As the Russians advanced west in 1813 the duchy's fortresses successively fell to their troops. The future of Poland and the Poles was to be decided at the Congress of Vienna.

*Jakub Basista*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Cisalpine Republic; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Haiti; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Magnano, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Murat, Joachim; Neapolitan Campaign; Peninsular War; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Somosierra, Action at; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trebbia, Battle of the; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo, Battle of; Westphalia

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### Polotsk, Battle of (17–18 August 1812)

An engagement that took place in the early phase of Napoleon's invasion of Russia when a Russian army commanded by General Peter Graf Wittgenstein attacked a French force defending the town of Polotsk. After the first day the Russians were in a strong position and Marshal Nicolas Oudinot had been wounded. However on the second day of the fighting General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr (generally known as St. Cyr) took command of the French and launched a vigorous counterattack driving the Russians back.

In early August Oudinot had been given the task of forcing Wittgenstein back toward St. Petersburg, thus securing the left flank of the Grande Armée. However, after crossing the river Drissa, Oudinot was pushed back by Wittgenstein's army, and he chose to withdraw to the town of Polotsk. On 15 August Oudinot's troops were reinforced by the arrival of St. Cyr's Bavarian corps. Wittgenstein was unaware of these reinforcements and advanced to attack the Franco-Bavarians. On the sixteenth his advance guard clashed with enemy outposts to the north of Polotsk. Oudinot still believed that he was heavily outnumbered and, concerned about his line of retreat, decided to place the bulk of his forces on the far bank of the river Dvina and defend against the Russian attack with only St. Cyr's corps and another division. The defense was based around a convent about 2 miles to the north of Polotsk.

The initial Russian attack on the convent was beaten back by the Bavarians, but the Russians regrouped and launched a further assault that resulted in the capture of some of the outlying buildings. Oudinot now brought forward some reinforcements over the Dvina and personally led them in an attack on the enemy center. Oudinot was wounded and handed over command to St. Cyr. By now General Friedrich Wilhelm von Berg had taken the convent

for the Russians and the French center fell back onto the outskirts of Polotsk. Fortunately for them night intervened, and this allowed St. Cyr to withdraw his wounded and baggage train over the Dvina, while bringing up fresh reserves. He ordered that a second bridge should be built to help in bringing troops forward or to act as a second line of retreat in case of defeat.

The following day Oudinot awaited a fresh Russian attack, but none was forthcoming as Wittgenstein was awaiting further reinforcements. St. Cyr decided to launch an attack late in the afternoon. His troops quickly advanced on the Russians, and with the support of his guns in the center, St. Cyr pushed the Russian first line back. The Russians, however, rallied and General Erasmus Deroy, commanding a Bavarian division, was killed. General Karl Freiherr von Wrede steadied the Bavarians, and the attack was resumed. St. Cyr's cavalry had defeated the enemy to their front and were now threatening the rear of the Russian position. Wittgenstein now prepared to withdraw, having around 4,000 casualties. St. Cyr had snatched victory from defeat and as a result was rewarded with a marshal's baton.

A second battle at Polotsk, near Smoliani, took place in October when Wittgenstein attacked St. Cyr in his entrenched camp at Polotsk. The Russian attacks were beaten off, and Wittgenstein for a short time was a prisoner. However, the French knew their position to be untenable and withdrew, leading to a third engagement at Smoliani, near Polotsk, on 14 November, involving Marshal Claude Victor and Wittgenstein.

Ralph Baker

See also Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Russian Campaign; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von

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### Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince (1763–1813)

Prince Józef Poniatowski was a nephew of the last king of Poland-Lithuania. Born into an affluent family, he was raised to be a soldier. He spent a large part of his life fighting for Poland: first against the Russians in the war of 1792–1794, then as one of Napoleon's generals, and finally as a Marshal of the French Empire. As the head of the Polish force of the Duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski served throughout the campaign in Russia in 1812 and stood by Napoleon until his death at the Battle of Leipzig the following year.

Poniatowski was born on 7 May 1763 in Vienna to Andrzej Poniatowski, a general in the Austrian Army, and Teresa Kinsky, a descendant of an old Czech family. On the election to the Polish-Lithuanian throne of Józef's uncle Stanisław August, Józef and the other members of his family received a princely title. A year later his father received the hereditary title of a Czech prince from the Austrian empress, Maria Theresa. After the loss of his father, young Józef enjoyed the patronage and assistance of his crowned uncle in Poland, who wished to raise his nephew to be a true Pole.

In February 1780 Józef joined the Austrian Army with the rank of second lieutenant of the 2nd Regiment of Carabiniers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. His exceptional talents for military service and his hard work led to rapid advancement. In 1784, already holding the rank of major, he was sent to Galicia to organize a Polish uhlán (lancer) regiment, of which he served as commander for the next two years. In 1786 Poniatowski transferred to the elite light cavalry regiment at Moravia that bore the name of the Emperor Joseph II, and of which Poniatowski was appointed lieutenant colonel.

In January 1788 the Emperor appointed Poniatowski as his personal aide-de-camp during the war against Turkey; at this time Poniatowski was wounded. By year's end Poniatowski was asked to come to Poland to join the newly formed units of the enlarged Polish army. He arrived in Warsaw in August 1789 and on 3 October was nominated a major general. In January 1790 he was appointed commander of the Royal Foot Guard, though he served only briefly in this capacity, for in the spring he took over command of the Braclaw and Kijew divisions based in Tulczyn, which constituted a quarter of the Polish Army.

On 3 May 1791 the Polish parliament adopted the first Polish Constitution, a circumstance which resulted in the Russo-Polish War the following year, when Russian forces crossed the Polish border seeking to back the Targowica Confederation (a legal, self-proclaimed political faction opposed to the monarch and other state institutions), established by a group of Polish magnates opposing the new constitution. The Polish army was no match for the Russian forces and therefore could do little more than simply slow their advance. Poniatowski suffered a defeat at the Battle of Boruszkowce, only to win the next one at Zieleńce, for which he became the first recipient of the Polish Order Virtuti Militari. When the king of Poland joined the Targowica Confederation in July 1792, Poniatowski resigned and left the army for Warsaw. In August of the same year Poniatowski left Poland for Saxony and Vienna. In July 1793 he left Vienna under pressure from the Russian ambassador and went to Brussels.



Prince Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, loyally served Napoleon, particularly during the campaign in Russia, where his corps fought with distinction at Smolensk and Borodino. (Engraving by Vauchelet, 19th c. The David Markham Collection)

The following year, in May, he returned to Poland to join the Polish insurgent troops, under the command of Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko), who were fighting against Russian forces. While the fortunes of each side shifted throughout the war, the ultimate outcome of the insurrection could be but one, given the disproportionate strength of the Russian army as compared to the numbers fielded by the Polish insurgents. After the collapse of the uprising and the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, Poniatowski once more went to Vienna.

His biographers refer to the ensuing twelve years as a lost time. After the defeat of the Prussian army at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt (14 October 1806), the Prussian king Frederick William III asked Poniatowski, after the departure of Prussian troops from the king's Polish territories, to organize a citizens' militia in Warsaw (part of Prussian Poland). Poniatowski willingly accepted, stressing

that the formation would serve the people of Warsaw, not the Prussian authorities. On 28 November 1806 Poniatowski welcomed the Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg, Marshal Joachim Murat, on his entering Warsaw with a French corps. On 6 December Poniatowski decided to serve Poland on the side of the French emperor. Ten days later he was ordered to begin recruiting men for a Warsaw Legion.

On 5 January 1807 Poniatowski presented Napoleon with a “memorandum” suggesting that Napoleon form a Polish state consisting of the Prussian and Russian occupied territories. Just before the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw as a result of the Treaty of Tilsit of 7 July, Poniatowski was honored with the French Legion of Honor by Napoleon; he was then nominated the minister of war on 7 October. After the departure of Marshal Louis Davout from the duchy in September 1808, Poniatowski became head of the newly formed Polish forces there.

As a commander in chief and organizer of the duchy’s army, Poniatowski ensured that the newly raised troops were well equipped and respected in society. He paid special attention to the soldiers’ uniforms, which became some of the most colorful in Europe. According to the constitution of the duchy, the army was to number 30,000 men, a figure that was attained very rapidly. Shortly thereafter, however, because of financial problems arising out of the considerable sums expended in feeding, arming, and equipping the army, some regiments were sent for service in Danzig (Gdansk), Silesia, Prussian forts in Pomerania, and even as far as Spain. There were 15,500 soldiers stationed in the duchy itself.

It was this army, which in 1809, as a French ally in the War of the Fifth Coalition, fought against the 30,000-strong Austrian army of Archduke Ferdinand, who crossed the border of the duchy in April. Poniatowski, whose troops were not strong enough to directly face Ferdinand’s army, decided to leave Warsaw undefended and march south toward Austrian Galicia, which fell under his control. Meanwhile the outcome of the war was decided on other battlefields. As a result of the Battle of Wagram, the Austrians sued for peace and concluded the Treaty of Schönbrunn (14 October), which applied to the Duchy of Warsaw as well. By its terms the Duchy of Warsaw gained the old capital of Poland—Kraków—and enlarged its territory by 50 percent. Poniatowski himself was praised for his part in the campaign.

From 1810 Poniatowski worked toward the enlargement of the army of the duchy and the strengthening of the country’s fortifications. In the end the duchy’s military forces exceeded 60,000 men. For Napoleon’s Russian campaign in 1812, the Duchy of Warsaw supplied almost 100,000 men. These constituted the regular regiments of

the Duchy of Warsaw and the National Guard. Most of these troops were scattered in various multinational regiments of the Grande Armée. Poniatowski himself commanded the 36,000-strong all-Polish V Corps, which formed the right wing of the army.

On 17 August Poniatowski’s troops took part in the Battle of Smolensk (by which time only about 15,000 of his men remained), on 4–5 September in the action at Szewrdin, and two days later at the Battle of Borodino. By the time V Corps reached Moscow, Poniatowski’s command had been reduced to a mere 5,500 men. During the retreat Poniatowski served in the rear guard, protecting the remnants of the Grande Armée. Wounded on 29 October, however, he did not take part in the end of the campaign.

On 13 December Poniatowski returned to Warsaw and started to rebuild his corps. He faced a daunting task, for only 380 Polish soldiers returned from the campaign. With the Russian army approaching Warsaw, Poniatowski left for Kraków, where he continued to raise new recruits. Concerned that the Austrians would join the Russians and Prussians, Poniatowski left Kraków on 7 May 1813 and with barely 17,000 men marched toward Silesia. Three months later, on 10 August, he stopped an Austrian army from marching toward Saxony—the main theater of operations during the campaign of 1813 in Germany.

Poniatowski and his troops fought at the decisive Battle of Leipzig on 16–19 October. After the first day of the action Napoleon created him a Marshal of the Empire for deeds performed on the battlefield. Three days later, covering the retreat of Napoleon’s army, Poniatowski drowned when attempting to cross the Elster. Five days later his body was recovered from the muddy river, and in 1814 he was buried in Warsaw. Three years later his body was transferred to the Royal Cathedral on Wawel Hill in Kraków.

*Jakub Basista*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Ferdinand d’Este, Archduke; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Jena, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Marshalate; Murat, Joachim; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Polish Forces; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Smolensk, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Wagram, Battle of

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## Portugal

Portugal became a major theater of war between 1807 and 1811, during which period it was invaded three times by French armies. It was subjected to British military occupation from 1808 to 1814, and its army, reorganized by Sir William Beresford, played a major role in the expulsion of the French from the Iberian Peninsula.

Attached closely through its alliance with England since 1654, Portugal joined the War of the First Coalition and sent a small force to fight alongside the Spanish on the Pyrenean frontier. When Spain switched sides to ally itself with France in July 1795, the Portuguese had to make a precarious retreat, but not before a number of officers had come to embrace French Revolutionary ideas. Although under pressure from France, Portugal adhered to its alliance with Britain and its ships joined Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson in the Mediterranean campaign of 1798. In 1801, at the instigation of France, the Spanish invaded Portugal. Britain sent no effective military aid but did briefly occupy Madeira to prevent it falling into Franco-Spanish hands. Defeated in this so-called War of the Oranges, the Portuguese lost the frontier town of Olivença but were saved from further losses by the Peace of Amiens (25 March 1802) and by paying a massive indemnity to France.

When the war recommenced, pressure was once again put on Portugal to close its ports to British trade and to the Royal Navy. Dom João (John), the prince regent of Portugal, tried to remain neutral, and under pressure from the French ambassadors in Lisbon, Marshal Jean Lannes and General Jean Junot, agreed to pay an annual indemnity to France for his neutrality to be respected. With the publication of Napoleon's Berlin Decrees (November 1806) Portugal came under renewed pressure to close its ports, and after the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807), pressure became an ultimatum. Portugal was to join the Continental System or be partitioned between France and Spain. Britain, meanwhile, urged the prince regent to leave Portugal and take refuge in Brazil, where the Royal Navy could protect his dynasty, an idea already widely discussed at the Portuguese court.

Junot's Army of Portugal was formed in France in August and began its march to Lisbon on 18 October 1807. The prince regent hesitated to the last moment but finally agreed to leave for Brazil on 28 November, escorted by

Rear Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. Junot occupied Lisbon the next day, and Portugal was garrisoned by French and Spanish troops. Junot disbanded the Portuguese Army and formed a Portuguese Legion, which was sent to fight with Napoleon's Grande Armée. He was welcomed by many Francophile Portuguese but delayed implementing any major changes in Portugal and refrained from carrying out the partition that had been agreed upon with Spain.

When the Spanish revolt broke out in May (known as the Dos de Mayo), Junot successfully disarmed the Spanish troops in Portugal but was faced with popular revolt in the north, led by the bishop of Oporto. Having fought two inconclusive engagements with the invading army of Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley at Roliça and Vimeiro, Junot sent General François Kellermann to negotiate the Convention of Cintra, a diplomatic triumph for the French by which the French army was evacuated with all its arms and accumulated plunder on board British ships.

Portugal was now ruled by a council of regency, answerable to the prince regent in Rio de Janeiro, and was occupied by a British army commanded by Sir John Craddock and, later, Sir John Moore. In October 1808 Moore denounced the British garrison in Portugal for his rash, and ultimately disastrous, invasion of Spain, leaving the country virtually defenseless to face a second French invasion under Marshal Nicolas Soult in March 1809, this time from the north. Like Junot, Soult was well received by Francophile elements in the northern Portuguese city of Oporto, which were thought to have offered him the crown, but in May he was surprised by the Anglo-Portuguese army under Wellesley and forced to evacuate Portugal.

General Beresford had been appointed in March 1809 to command the newly raised Portuguese army and by 1810 had 30,000 men under arms, trained, and supplied. Beresford, given the rank of marshal, organized the new Portuguese army along British lines and placed it under a corps of seconded British officers. The army was supplied throughout the war with arms and uniforms from Britain and was paid by British subsidies.

Notwithstanding Wellesley's victory at Talavera on 27–28 July 1809 (for which he became Viscount Wellington), Portugal was left open to invasion for a third time by Marshal André Masséna's army, which entered Portugal in September 1810 and which the Allied forces failed to stop on the battlefield of Busaco outside Coimbra. Wellington had planned a line of defenses—the Lines of Torres Vedras—to protect Lisbon, and clashed bitterly with the Council of Regents, who wanted the army instead to defend Portugal on the frontiers. However, Miguel Pereira Forjas, the influential secretary to the regents, supported Wellington, and together they enforced a scorched-earth policy on the central regions of Portugal, the population

being evacuated to Lisbon, their crops burned and their livestock slaughtered or removed beyond the reach of the enemy. Masséna failed to cross the Tagus to attack Lisbon from the south and eventually abandoned his encampment before the Lines in March 1811, leaving devastation throughout central Portugal. Beresford, now commanding a mixed Portuguese, Spanish, and British force, laid siege to Badajoz early in May 1811, and on 16 May defeated Soult at Albuera.

Portugal was not threatened again by a French invasion but served as a base for the Allied armies until 1813. The Portuguese army, now numbering 55,000 men, played a major role in the Salamanca, Vitoria, and Pyrenees campaigns and in the invasion of France. In 1815 (the now Duke of) Wellington requested the help of Beresford's army for the Waterloo campaign, but the Council of Regents refused permission for the army to sail.

After the Spanish revolt of May 1808 the queen of Portugal, Carlota Joaquina, tried to have herself declared regent of all the Spanish dominions as the only member of the Spanish royal family not imprisoned by Napoleon. This was rejected by both the Junta Central in Spain and the Spanish authorities in America. The prince regent meanwhile occupied French Guiana (Guyane) and planned to support the rebels in Montevideo, a Spanish possession. In 1814 George Canning was sent to Lisbon as ambassador in anticipation of the return of the Portuguese royal family, but the prince regent remained in Brazil, hoping to pursue his expansionist policies in the Rio de la Plata region.

Portugal was represented at the Congress of Vienna by Pedro de Sousa Holstein, the future Duke of Palmela. Portugal pressed for the return of Olivença but, although this was agreed to in principle, the town was never handed back.

*Malyn Newitt*

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Badajoz, Second Battle of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Berlin Decrees; Busaco, Battle of; Canning, George; Cintra, Convention of; Continental System; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Junta Central; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Lannes, Jean; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Oporto, Battle of; Oranges, War of the; Peninsular War; Portugal, Invasions of; Portuguese Army; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Roliça, Battle of; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; South America; Spain; Talavera, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Vienna, Congress of; Vimeiro, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Portugal, Invasions of (1807–1808)

During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars there were five armed invasions of Portugal: the first in 1801 by a Spanish army, the second in 1807 by a combined French and Spanish force under General Jean Junot, the third in 1808 by a British army under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington), the fourth in 1809 by the French under Marshal Nicolas Soult, and the final by the French under Marshal André Masséna in 1810–1811. Two occupations of Madeira, the largest of Portugal's Atlantic islands, also occurred during this period, by units of the British army.

The Franco-Spanish invasion of November 1807—the best-known of the various invasions of Portugal during this period—followed six months of intense diplomatic pressure by Napoleon to try to force Portugal to close its ports to British trade as part of the Continental System. The prince regent of Portugal tried to remain neutral, but Napoleon finally lost patience and formed the (French) Army of Portugal under Junot, the former French ambassador in Lisbon. Manuel Godoy, the Spanish first minister, agreed to take part in the invasion on Napoleon's promise that Portugal would be partitioned and part given to Spain. The advance guard of Junot's force, numbering fewer than 2,000 men, occupied Lisbon on 30 November, just a day after the Portuguese royal family sailed for Brazil escorted by Vice Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. On 24 December a British army under Sir William Beresford occupied Madeira and annexed it as a British colony, though it was restored to Portugal three months later. Junot meanwhile occupied the remaining cities of Portugal without opposition.

At first the French were well received by many elements among the bourgeoisie and the nobility, and Junot was petitioned to introduce a liberal constitution, but none was forthcoming. Junot disbanded the Portuguese Army in December and formed a Portuguese Legion under the command of the Marques de Alorna and Gomes Freire de

Andrade, which was sent to join Napoleon's Grande Armée. After the Spanish revolt of May 1808 a popular uprising broke out in the north of Portugal caused in part by the unpopularity of General Louis Henri Loison, the French commander in the area. The uprising was led by the Bishop of Oporto (now Porto) who formed a *junta provisória*, which in June proclaimed the restoration of the prince regent. This revolt forced Junot to concentrate his forces in Lisbon and to disarm his erstwhile Spanish allies.

Up to this time the British had contented themselves with blockading the port of Lisbon, hoping to starve the French into withdrawal and to force the surrender of the Russian fleet, under the command of Admiral Dmitry Senyavin, which was anchored in the Tagus. However, the uprising provided the British with an opportunity to invade Portugal in their turn. On 2 August 1808 a British army under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley landed near Coimbra and fought two indecisive engagements against Junot's forces at Roliça and Vimeiro. Outmaneuvered by General François Kellermann in the negotiations that followed, the British agreed to the Convention of Cintra (31 August) by which Junot's army, together with its arms and plunder, was able to return to France on board British ships.

*Malyn Newitt*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Cintra, Convention of; Continental System; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Masséna, André; Oranges, War of the; Peninsular War; Portuguese Army; Roliça, Battle of; Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Vimeiro, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Portuguese Army

Disbanded in the wake of the French invasion by General Jean Andoche Junot in December 1807, the armed forces of Portugal were re-formed under the command of Sir William

Beresford, a British general created a marshal in the Portuguese Army, and fought with the British in all the major campaigns of the Peninsular War, forming between a third and a half of the Allied forces that defeated the French.

Since 1640 the Portuguese army had been composed of regular troops, militia (known as troops of the Second Line), and the Ordenança, a form of home guard based in the areas from which the recruits were drawn. Junot disbanded this army in December 1807 after his occupation of Portugal. Some units, numbering 8,000 men, were reformed into the Portuguese Legion, which fought for Napoleon under the Marques de Alorna and General Gomes Freire de Andrade at Wagram in 1809 and in the Russian campaign of 1812. An uprising took place in northern Portugal in June 1808 that was followed by a partial return of disbanded Portuguese soldiers to their colors, and in July the British encouraged the formation of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion, which was placed under the command of Sir Robert Wilson and operated in conjunction with the leaders of the northern rebellion. After the withdrawal of the French army from Portugal following the Convention of Cintra (signed 31 August 1808), the new British commander, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, marched out of Lisbon en route for Spain at the end of October 1808, leaving Portugal virtually defenseless.

Meanwhile the Regency Council began recruiting a new army, raising six battalions of light infantry (*caçadores*) and some cavalry regiments. After the evacuation of Moore's army from Corunna in January 1809, and with the prospect of an imminent French invasion from the north, the regency asked for the appointment of a British officer to train the new Portuguese Army. In February 1809 Beresford, who had commanded British forces in Madeira and had been instrumental in reorganizing the island's defense forces, was appointed. He reached Lisbon in March and was appointed marshal to give him seniority over all existing Portuguese officers.

Ably assisted by Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz, who became secretary to the Regency Council, a new Portuguese army was rapidly raised and trained. By May Beresford had 19,000 men ready to take part in the campaign against Marshal Nicolas Soult in the north where, after the murder of General Bernardim Freire de Andrade (brother of Gomes who had joined Napoleon), they were commanded by General Francisco Silveira. In 1810 the Loyal Lusitanian Legion was incorporated into the new army, and in September 1810 Portuguese forces made up half the Allied army that defeated Marshal André Masséna's forces at Busaco. Under the overall command of Arthur Wellesley, Viscount Wellington, with Beresford as his second in command, Portuguese forces fought at Albuera (1811), the storming of Badajoz (1812), Salamanca (1812), and Vitoria

(1813), where they made up a third of the Allied forces. Led by Beresford the Portuguese fought at the final battle of Toulouse and entered Bordeaux to receive the future Louis XVIII in 1814. After the flight of Napoleon the army marched back to Portugal through northern Spain.

Beresford reorganized the Portuguese Army along British lines. A new officer corps, appointed and promoted on merit, was recruited, and British regimental officers were appointed to work alongside the Portuguese. A total of thirteen of the fifty-six general officers were also British. Beresford himself became marshal and commander in chief, with Wellington assuming overall control of all the Allied armies as marshal general. The regiments were armed with British weapons and were provided with accoutrements and uniforms from Britain. During most of the campaigns Portuguese regiments were brigaded with British, and to create an effective unified army the soldiers were taught to answer to commands in English, to practice British arms drills, and to deploy in two lines rather than in columns. Beresford communicated with his army through Orders of the Day (*Ordens do Dia*), which he had published.

The army, initially recruited from volunteers, maintained its manpower by conscripting all men between eighteen and thirty-five. The Second Line militia and Ordenança were also re-formed and played a key role during the French invasions. Beresford brought the numbers of the regular army from an initial figure of around 20,000 up to 55,000 men, 30,000 of whom were paid for by a British subsidy. The Portuguese Army was largely made up of infantry and artillery. A shortage of horses prevented the formation of a strong cavalry. A Quartermaster General's department was established under Benjamin D'Urban in 1809, and Beresford provided for the army by developing a training depot for recruits, a central commissariat, hospitals, magazines, and cavalry studs. A Corps of Mounted Guides was formed for intelligence gathering.

Although the Portuguese Army had played a major role in the defeat of the French in 1813–1814, the regents refused to allow the army to be sent to the Netherlands for the Waterloo campaign in 1815. Beresford remained commander in chief of the army until the Revolution of 1820. Units of the army were deployed in Brazil in 1815 and 1816 and took part in the campaigns in the Rio de la Plata region in the south under General Carlos Lecor, a veteran of Busaco.

*Malyn Newitt*

*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Busaco, Battle; Cintra, Convention of; Corunna, Battle of; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Louis XVIII, King; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Portugal; Portugal, Invasions of

(1807–1808); Russian Campaign; Salamanca, Battle of; Sout, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Toulouse, Battle of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of

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### **Poserna, Action at (1 May 1813)**

This engagement during the campaign in Germany took place as a result of Napoleon's advance toward Lützen, in Saxony, and one day before the main battle fought there. While crossing the Rippach stream close to Poserna, Marshal Michel Ney's corps was engaged with Russian cavalry under General Ferdinand Winzgorode. Although the French were able to make the crossing, they suffered a serious loss with the death of Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières, commander of the Imperial Guard.

When Napoleon put into operation his spring offensive in 1813, he ordered marshals Ney and Auguste Marmont to move through Weissenfels toward Lützen. In support of these two corps were the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, a division of the Young Guard, and two battalions of the Old Guard, with Bessières commanding the Guard. The troops of Russian generals Winzgorode and Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein opposed this advance. The intention was for them to gain time to allow the main Allied army to march into action. On 1 May, as the majority of the French troops marched through Weissenfels, fighting began around the villages of Poserna and Rippach. Ney ordered his troops to cross a stream close to Rippach. This stream was situated in a small ravine, but the rest of the battlefield was ideal for the numerically superior Allied cavalry. Directly facing Ney were the cavalry of General Sergey Lanskoi, supported by some infantry and cavalry on the right

bank of the Rippach stream. Many of Ney's troops were conscripts, and the marshal was unsure as to how well they would conduct themselves in combat. In the face of the Allied cavalry Ney was forced to advance in a massed formation, which rendered his troops a good target for the Russian guns.

General Joseph, comte Souham began the attack, and the Russian cavalry quickly fell back on the Russian main line. Then Russian artillery fire began to slow the French advance. Napoleon had arrived at the village of Rippach by noon and could see the problems facing the troops attempting to cross the ravine under Russian fire. The Emperor ordered the cavalry of the Guard to advance in support, with the intention of forcing the enemy batteries to withdraw. Bessières moved forward to reconnoiter the ground close to the ravine and came within range of the Russian guns. While Bessières was conferring with Ney, one of his orderly officers was killed. While returning to his formation to bring his cavalry forward, Bessières was hit by a round shot (cannonball) that ricocheted off a wall, killing him instantly. His body was taken back to the village of Rippach.

Bessières seemed to have had a premonition of his death, because the night before he had burned his wife's letters. Napoleon appointed Marshal Nicolas Soult to succeed to the command of the Imperial Guard. After Bessières's death, the French resumed their attack and by the end of the day were in positions around Lützen. On the following day they would be attacked by the Allied army of generals Wittgenstein and Gebhard von Blücher.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Bessières, Jean-Baptiste, comte; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Lützen, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Ney, Michel; Souham, Joseph, comte; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wittgenstein, Ludwig Adolph Peter Christianovich Graf zu (Sayn-); Winzgorode (Wintzingerode), Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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### **Pozzo di Borgo, Charles-André (1764–1842)**

Prominent Corsican political figure and, later, Russian diplomat, statesman, and ambassador to France.

Pozzo di Borgo was born on 8 March 1764 to a petty noble family on Corsica. After studying law in Pisa, he actively participated in Corsican politics during the French Revolution. He allied himself politically with Napoleon Bonaparte early in his life and was one of the two Corsican

delegates to the French National Assembly, facilitating the incorporation of Corsica into France. Pozzo sat with the Girondins until August 1792, when a Parisian mob stormed the Tuileries and massacred the Swiss Guard, after which the king's powers were suspended.

When he returned to Corsica, Pozzo di Borgo gradually distanced himself from the Bonaparte family, who were beginning to align themselves with the Jacobins. While in Corsica, Pozzo became the *procureur-général-syndic* (chief of the civil government) and refused to obey the summons to the Jacobin-dominated Convention, which would have undoubtedly resulted in his arrest. To shield themselves from French Revolutionary radicalism, Pozzo di Borgo and famous Corsican leader Pascal Paoli turned to the British, who established a protectorate over Corsica from 1794 to 1796.

When the French restored their authority over the island in 1796, Pozzo di Borgo accompanied Sir Gilbert Elliot, the former British viceroy in Corsica, to Vienna, where the former entered Russian service on 10 October 1805. During the campaign of 1805, he served as the Russian commissioner with the Anglo-Neapolitan forces in Italy, and in 1806 he served in a similar capacity with the Prussians. In 1807 Pozzo di Borgo was sent on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople. When Alexander I and Napoleon concluded the Treaty of Tilsit in July 1807, Pozzo di Borgo's diplomatic career in Russia ended, and he moved to Vienna. Napoleon demanded his extradition, but Klemens Graf Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, allowed him to leave for England. Pozzo di Borgo remained there until 1812, when he was recalled to Russia. He negotiated with officials in Sweden in early 1813, ensuring its alliance against the French. He then served with the Army of the North at Grossbeeren, Dennewitz, and Leipzig, receiving promotion to major general on 15 September 1813.

After the Allies had entered Paris in 1814, Pozzo di Borgo served as commissary general to the French provisional government, rising to adjutant general in April. During the First Restoration he became the Russian ambassador to France and sought to arrange a marriage between Charles Ferdinand, duc de Berry, prospective heir to the French throne, and the Grand Duchess Anna, Alexander's sister. He was present at the Congress of Vienna, and during the Hundred Days he accompanied Louis XVIII to Belgium. After the Second Restoration, Pozzo di Borgo remained as Russian ambassador to Paris for the next fifteen years. He received promotion to lieutenant general in the Russian Army in March 1817 and was made a count and peer of France in 1818. In September 1826 he was conferred the title of Count of the Russian Empire and in May 1829 received the rank of general of infantry. Pozzo di

Borgo was appointed Russian ambassador to Britain in January 1835. He retired in January 1840 as his health declined, and he died in Paris on 27 February 1842.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Corsica; Dennewitz, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Girondins; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Jacobins; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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### Pressburg, Treaty of (26 December 1805)

A peace treaty signed between Austria and France following the 1805 campaign. An initial truce was signed on 4 December after the Battle of Austerlitz and, following three weeks of negotiations, the treaty was signed in Pressburg (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia). French gains made as a result of the previous Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville were reaffirmed, while Napoleon imposed harsh terms on Austria for its participation in the Third Coalition. Austria not only had to pay a war indemnity of 40 million gold francs but also was forced to surrender large amounts of territory to Napoleon’s German allies.

Bavaria received the Margravate of Burgau; the Principality of Eichstadt; the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Hohenems, Königsegg-Rothenfels, Tettwang, and Argen; and the City of Lindau. Württemberg gained the cities of Ehingen, Munderkingen, Riedlingen, Mengen, and Sulgen; the County of Hohenberg; the Landgravate of Nellenbourg; and the Prefecture of Altorf. The Electorate of Baden, elevated to a Grand Duchy, received part of the Brisgau, the Ortenau, the City of Constance, and the Commandery of Meinau. As a small form of compensation, Napoleon allowed Austria to annex Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and the Estates of the Teutonic Order.

Austria was also forced to recognize Napoleon as the King of Italy and to admit the electors of Bavaria and Württemberg to the rank of kings, releasing them, as well as the elector of Baden, from all feudal ties. Thus the treaty reduced Austrian influence in Germany and completely excluded Austria from Italy, marking the effective end of the Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Francis II became in

turn Emperor Francis I of Austria in 1806, and a new political entity—the Confederation of the Rhine—was in July 1806 created by Napoleon in Germany.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Bavaria; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Confederation of the Rhine; Francis I, Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Lunéville, Treaty of; Third Coalition, War of the; Württemberg

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### Prince Regent (1762–1830) and the Regency Period (1811–1820)

**Early Life of George IV.** George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, Prince Regent, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and King of Hanover, was born on 12 August 1762 at St. James’s Palace, London. The first child of George III and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, he became the Prince of Wales and heir to the throne. The eldest of his parents’ nine sons and six daughters, he lived in isolation with his younger brother Frederick, Duke of York, at Dutch House (Kew, in west London) excessively sheltered from the outside world. He endured an extraordinarily strict upbringing. George III also kept his daughters isolated from society and prevented them from marrying.

Educated by excellent tutors, George’s curriculum included classics; German, Italian, and French; mathematics, history, literature, natural philosophy, morals, government, law, and music. Capricious, good natured, witty, warm-hearted, naturally intelligent, versatile, and innately aesthetic, George enjoyed learning but chafed at the rigid sixteen-hour daily schedule imposed by his father. Sundays were spent conducting royal duties. George cultivated refined tastes and by age sixteen far exceeded his father’s knowledge at a similar age. His musical performances on the cello were masterful.

George III and his son experienced a profound clash of personalities, resulting in a tumultuous, irreconcilable struggle that affected both adversely. The dull, dutiful, pious, and morally upright king expected his son to be a clone of himself, opposed his dissolute actions, and derided him for the slightest infraction. Politically the king favored the Tories, while his son favored the Whigs and befriended Charles James Fox, whom George III considered a corrupting influence on his son.

In 1783, at his coming of age, George was granted a considerable annual income. With this financial freedom he determined to become a dashing figure, and he rebelled against his upbringing. Always a Francophile, George refurbished the long-neglected Carlton House with excellent French furnishing, exquisite wallpaper, and paintings, making the residence worthy of a monarch. The parsimonious George III considered it all too extravagant, and the animosity between father and son exacerbated.

In the bloom of youth, George had numerous affairs. His youthful love letters to his first mistress, the free-spirited, feminist actress Mary “Perdita” Robinson were potentially damaging to the monarchy. George III was forced to pay Robinson £5,000 for their recovery. George then fell passionately in love with the charming, wealthy, twice-widowed but devout Roman Catholic, Maria Anne Fitzherbert. The Royal Marriages Act of 1772 required any lineal descendants of George II under twenty-five years of age to obtain the monarch’s consent to marry. Realizing permission would be withheld, George secretly married Fitzherbert on 15 December 1785. The marriage was not publicly disclosed for state reasons, and it was not recognized by the Church of England. The couple split in 1794 for financial reasons.

George’s uncontrolled, extravagant lifestyle thrust him into massive debt. To resolve the problem, in 1794 he received a financial settlement contingent on an arranged marriage to his cousin, the poorly educated, uncouth, but good-natured Caroline Amalia Louise of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel. They met for the first time on 5 April and were married on 8 April 1795. The mismatched couple consummated the marriage but it was an unmitigated disaster, and they permanently split up a few months after the birth of their only child, Charlotte Augusta, on 7 January 1796. George began an affair with Lady Elizabeth Jersey, Caroline’s lady-in-waiting. The royal couple separated, Caroline moved to Blackheath (now part of southeast London) in February 1796, and Charlotte became a pawn between her parents and George III. George was ceaselessly lampooned by the press and became very unpopular.

**Political Transition to Regency.** In late 1788 George III was afflicted by porphyria, a hereditary disease causing insanity. No procedures for the establishment of a regency were extant; therefore, both houses of Parliament and the political parties worked on guidelines that would make George the Prince Regent. George and Parliament agreed to a compromise, which included numerous restrictions: George had to make decisions with Parliament’s support and could neither sell any of his father’s property nor grant peerages to his friends. A further impediment was that only Parliament could approve the Regency. As Parliament could not resume without a Speech to the Throne, the

Lords Commissioners’ royal representatives were deemed empowered to read the speech. Parliament was convened on 3 February 1789 when the Regency Bill was read. George III recovered and approved all of the procedures that were followed.

By this time George had accumulated a debt of £660,000. Parliament granted him an increase of £65,000 annually and in 1803, the year his debts were fully cleared, increased it by £60,000. He also reconciled with Fitzherbert in 1800.

The only obstacle left in George’s life was the slow deterioration of George III’s mental and physical health. In November 1810 the king’s youngest and favorite daughter, Amelia, died after having suffered from erysipelas and consumption since 1795. Whether a connection can be established is unclear, but henceforth George III suffered from permanent insanity and numerous physical infirmities.

George became Prince Regent on 5 February 1811 under the restrictions proposed by the government in 1788; however, these expired in February 1812, effectively passing full royal powers to the Prince Regent. Everyone expected George, on becoming regent, to favor the Whigs, but he changed allegiance to the Tories when the former would not merge with the latter and form a government representing a variety of talent and political perspectives.

Although technically the Regency extended from 1811 to 1820, its cultural impact can be extended to at least the 1830s. The Regency era engendered both unprecedented planned and reactionary change to the crowded, economically troubled, industrializing country. The Corn Laws of 1815 drove prices up by excluding less expensive foreign grain. The Enclosure Acts, which had begun in 1801 and continued to be legislated on an annual basis, enriched the wealthy landowners and forced agricultural workers to move to overcrowded urban areas. The merchant class expanded numerically. The gap between rich and poor became noticeably wider. Typically, George commenced the era with a splendid fete, almost like a miniature coronation celebration.

The Regency was politically affected by several wars. The Anglo-American War, or War of 1812 (1812–1815), caused by unresolved issues dating from the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), and other issues connected with the contemporaneous war in Europe, such as neutral rights at sea and free trade, ended in an impasse. The Treaty of Ghent was signed on 24 December 1814, with the British believing that they had won.

During the Regency, the Tories resolved to maintain their struggle—particularly in the Iberian Peninsula—against Napoleon, whom George considered his rival, especially in the arts. The war-weary British resented their social isolation from the Continent. In 1814 Napoleon was

exiled to Elba after having been defeated by a coalition of Austria, Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814, Hanover was elevated into a kingdom with George III as its first monarch. The Allied victory at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815 finally ended the Napoleonic era. In the subsequent peace treaties Britain gained Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad.

Domestically, a struggle against full Catholic emancipation was fought between George, Parliament, the Tories, and the Whigs. Since the Test Act of 1673 Catholics had been lawfully excluded from many aspects of British society. The Tories under Spencer Perceval, the prime minister from 1809 to 1812, opposed Catholic emancipation, but the Whigs, under Lord Grenville, supported it. George did not replace the Tories with his Whig friends as was expected, citing that it would have a deleterious effect on George III. Neither side agreed to work with the other, so Perceval remained prime minister. Both the Whigs and the Tories rejected the political agreement meant to satisfy both factions that George advocated. Consequently George retained the Tories and was deemed to have betrayed his loyal Whig friends, who had been waiting to assume power for decades. After Perceval's assassination on 12 May 1812, Robert Banks Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool, became prime minister. The issue of Catholic emancipation remained unresolved.

**Political and Social Discontent.** Political and social discontent stemmed from the cessation of hostilities. Britain had to revert to a peacetime economy and absorb half a million demobilized men into a labor force already oversupplied with workers. The country subsequently endured a severe economic decline that seriously affected the laboring classes as a result of job losses. The artisan cottage industry was largely replaced at this time by industrialization on a scale that would make Britain a world power.

Between 1811 and 1819 numerous political protests were quelled because Parliament and Lord Liverpool genuinely feared revolutionary fervor. High prices and food shortages caused food riots in 1810 and 1813 and from 1816 to 1818. Luddites protested against technological change and were active from 1811 to 1816. They feared the loss of their livelihoods and thus opposed industrialization. They sabotaged machinery and attacked mills. After murdering a mill owner, Luddite leaders were executed. On 2 December 1816 a mob led by Arthur Thistlewood, with plans to seize the Tower of London and create a Committee of Public Safety, was dispersed at Spa Field. George's carriage was attacked when leaving Parliament on 28 January 1817. Consequently the "Gag Acts" were passed, suspending habeas corpus on 4 March. The Seditious Meetings Act was enforced until 26 July 1818, and

those printing anything considered seditious or libelous were arrested.

In March 1817 the leaders of the March of the Blanketeers (marchers covered with blankets) wanted George to provide economic relief. They reached Stockport, and many were arrested. The protest sputtered out near Macclesfield. The Derbyshire Insurrection or Pentrich Rising in June 1817 was a riot engendered by government spies hoping to trap insurrectionary leaders. The provocateurs were paid to agitate the disaffected lower working classes. They infiltrated a group, dressed as workers, and when a meeting was arranged they informed the local militia. By claiming that an uprising was afoot they received payment.

The Peterloo Massacre on 16 August 1819—in which yeomanry cavalry in Manchester charged a crowd of peaceful demonstrators seeking political reform—stemmed from worsening economic conditions and resulted in eleven deaths and hundreds of injuries. All such agitation led to the passage of the Six Acts of 1819. Yet only the Cato Street Conspiracy in February 1820 proved dangerous. Thistlewood, among others, schemed to invite the entire cabinet to a dinner hosted by the lord president of the council. The conspirators would then murder all the guests and the Prince Regent, seize the Tower and the Bank of England, and then establish a provisional government. However, unbeknownst to Thistlewood, the conspiracy was in fact set up by government agents to ensnare possible insurgents. Thistlewood and four other leaders were executed, and five others were transported (taken as convicts to Australia). By the 1820s prices stabilized and efforts were made to make food readily available, especially in the cities.

**Regency Era Culture and Society.** George symbolized the Regency style, an era of unsurpassed elegance, and impressive, long-lasting cultural achievements, which represented the high-water mark of British culture. He had exquisite taste and very generously patronized all the arts. George founded the Royal Institutions in 1815. He founded the National Gallery and the Philharmonic Orchestra. His father's book collection became the nucleus of the British Library. He also aimed to eclipse and surpass the artistic achievements of Napoleonic France. Simultaneously, the Regency was an era of uncontrolled personal indulgences and moral carelessness, a period of shallow superficiality that never reached the lower classes.

In 1806 Lord Thomas Elgin had taken Greek pieces from the Parthenon back to London. Soon every interior was decorated in Greek style. George thrived on the classics and was inspired by the pure structure and ornamental styles of Greek and some aspects of Roman classical antiquity. The Neoclassical Regency Style also accentuated Egyptian and Chinese motifs that synthesized into a

unique new approach. French furniture was prized, decorated with the finest silks, carved with ornamentation, and finished with unusual veneers instantly pleasing to the eye.

After 1816 fashion was rejuvenated. The aristocracy and upper middle class made significant fashion changes modeled on the French Empire Style. Men wore full formal velvet dress suits in public. At home they wore quilted housecoats and comfortable Cossack trousers. They also began to wear Wellington (knee-high leather) boots. During the Regency women wore various styles of morning, afternoon, and evening dresses. For daytime many ladies wore a pelisse, a layered coat suited to the Empire Style. Afternoon dresses were often embroidered with Chinoiserie motifs. Evening gowns were usually lavishly beaded. Scarves for evening gowns were detailed with woven paisley designs, while others were supplemented by exquisitely handmade lace.

The Regency was shown at its finest with elaborately staged state visits from Allied monarchs, soldiers, and statesmen—Tsar Alexander of Russia, King Frederick William III of Prussia, Prince Metternich of Austria, and Field Marshal Blücher from Prussia. George organized splendid feasts at various levels, including one for common subjects. Two-hour fireworks displays, of great artistic flair, were an impressive triumph for George.

George had a discerning eye for the developing, innovative literature of the times. From 1811 to 1819, Jane Austen wrote the popular *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma*, and other novels. The acclaimed Waverley Series by Sir Walter Scott introduced historical novels that romanticized Scottish history. George had much of Scott's *The Lay of the Minstrels* memorized. William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey enjoyed George's interest in their work. Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats produced exceptional poetry still studied and read today. George Gordon, Lord Byron, was impressed with George's genuine interest in literature. George was especially enthusiastic for the mysticism of William Blake and Joseph Turner. Periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* were founded, resulting in improved standards of criticism.

George left his strongest legacy with his ambitious building schemes. Most of London's classical buildings were erected during the Regency. George commissioned John Nash to transform London into a city worthy of comparison to any on the Continent. Nash created the London Zoo, Hyde Park Corner, Trafalgar Square, St. James's Park, Regent Street and Regent's Park, the Quadrant, and Park Crescent.

George's favorite project was the architecturally inspiring Brighton Pavilion. Nash transformed the former farmhouse into an amazingly eclectic mixture of Indian exteriors with minarets, domes, and Chinese-inspired inte-

riors, using inventive colors and exquisite attention to detail. The Music Room and the Banqueting Room at Brighton are the epitome of Regency Style. George also gave the thousand-year-old, dilapidated Windsor Castle an impressive makeover. The refurbished castle received the magnificently lavish State Rooms that are still in use today.

The Regency was also an age of general social improvement, discovery, and technical advancement. Access to formal education expanded significantly during the Regency. George founded two university readerships at Oxford. At least two-thirds of working-class children attended the fast-growing number of Sunday schools. The National Society's monitorial schools evolved into the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales, which was established in 1811 and had evolved from Reverend Andrew Bell's system of education. The monitorial schools founded by Joseph Lancaster became the British and Foreign Schools Society. Charity schools accepted those who could scarcely pay fees. Robert Owen established a factory school for the children of his employees. With all the increased literacy, reading in the evenings soon became a favorite pastime.

Road building was a strong component of the Regency. John Loudon Macadam revolutionized road building with his wear-resistant methodology. This facilitated a reduction in travel times and a more rapid delivery of goods. The number of carrying firms increased significantly creating the need for more transportation routes. Thomas Telford built more than 1,600 kilometers of roads, canals, and harbors and 200 bridges. Humphry Davy created the coal miners' safety lamp. Interior gas lighting became the rage. Water closets appeared in upper-class homes.

**Accession and Reign of George IV.** On a personal level, George's daughter, Charlotte, had grown into a temperamental replica of her parents. Charlotte decided to marry for love; on 2 May 1816 she married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfield and settled at Claremont on a £50,000 annuity. Her first full-term pregnancy was promising. However, the baby was in a traverse position and quite large. After a fifty-hour labor, Charlotte delivered a still-born son on 5 November 1817. She died the next day of postpartum complications; she had bled too much and suffered from malnutrition, owing to her strict diet. Her attending physician committed suicide three months later. The country was devastated. Charlotte and her son were buried together. Moreover, George III died on 29 January 1820. The power structure between the new king and Parliament remained the same as when he was Regent.

Caroline returned to England to take her place as queen. She had left England in 1814 and lived successively

in Brunswick, Switzerland, and Italy, where she lived with Baron Bartolomeo Pergami for years. Caroline decided to claim her right to be crowned queen and received a rapturous welcome everywhere. Despite her illicit behavior, she was deemed the wronged party by the public. George, however, would not permit Caroline to be crowned and barred her from entering Westminster Abbey during the magnificent coronation ceremony held on 19 July 1821. He had personally planned the events to the finest detail and did not want to share his glory. Caroline tried but was refused entry three times.

Thereafter George insisted on procuring a divorce from Caroline. He failed to have government use the Bill of Pains and Penalties to ensure a favorable hearing. Caroline was put on trial for adultery. This charge was proven, but Caroline was perceived as the wronged party, a conclusion that infuriated George. Caroline received a £50,000 annuity. However, her exposure as a wanton woman cost her the popularity she had long enjoyed. Caroline died of an intestinal obstruction on 7 August 1821.

During his reign George had Nash complete Carlton House Terrace, Cumberland Terrace, the Royal Mews, Haymarket Theatre, All Souls' Church, St. James's Park, and Trafalgar Square. Buckingham House was also refurbished.

George made several state visits during his reign. Reviled by many at home, he was admired outside of Britain. He was warmly received in Ireland where he was unofficially crowned with a laurel wreath. George was affectionately welcomed in Hanover.

In 1828 the Corn Laws were relaxed. Catholic emancipation was finally granted in 1829. George had given a six-hour speech against it, but fifteen minutes later he agreed to its passage. Now Catholics had the right to vote, sit as members of Parliament, and hold most public offices—all rights denied them for the previous century and a half.

During his reign George lived at Windsor Castle, largely in the company of yet another mistress. He was enveloped in his own world of delusions, likely because of a combination of an early onset of porphyria, gross obesity, and excessive alcoholic consumption. George died on 26 June 1830. He was buried at Windsor with a locket including a picture of Fitzherbert placed above his heart, in accordance with his will of 1794. Fitzherbert received an annual pension until her death in 1837.

George was succeeded by his brother William IV, who left no heirs. He was succeeded in 1837 by Victoria, daughter of their brother, the Duke of Kent. In 1830 Charlotte's husband, Leopold, became the first king of the Belgians.

George's character had many faults, including his numerous affairs. While George seemingly wasted his innate gifts, he nevertheless made important contributions to the

monarchy and his country. His patronage of the arts and the creation of royal pageantry and ceremony still influence Britain today. Although his artistic personality simply was not conducive to kingship, he nevertheless served as an effective Prince Regent.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Austen, Jane; Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Catholic Emancipation; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Corn Laws; Davy, Humphry; Enclosure Act; Fox, Charles James; George III, King; Great Britain; Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Hanover; Keats, John; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Luddites; Neoclassicism; Owen, Robert; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Romanticism; Scott, Sir Walter; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Southey, Robert; Turner, Joseph; Vienna, Congress of; War of 1812; Waterloo, Battle of; Wordsworth, William

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## Prisoners of War

A significant matter in wars throughout history, the situation of prisoners of war during this period was of special concern, especially between Britain and France.

The status and treatment of prisoners of war were markedly different during the Napoleonic era than they are today. The more rigid class system of the time, combined with the remnants of an attitude that war was between nations rather than peoples, created for some, at least, a less restricted period of detention. While some languished in prison cells, others had significantly more liberty and were, in fact, free to live a reasonably good life.

There were several different classes of prisoners during this period, and membership in a particular class had major implications for the treatment that might be anticipated. The amount of freedom given on the way to one's final area of incarceration, the amount of freedom granted once there, and the place of incarceration itself were all largely determined by the class of the prisoner. The amount of documentation available on the experiences of prisoners is also largely determined by their class. Those who were more educated, and thus higher ranking, were more likely to write about their experiences and thus leave us a record of their treatment.

Some prisoners of war were not military men at all. This category includes those British subjects who found themselves in France when the Peace of Amiens collapsed in May 1803. Those who found themselves "caught" by the outbreak of hostilities, referred to as *détenus* (detainees), were mostly upper-class British subjects who were in France either on business or vacation when the peace broke down. Often referred to as "traveling gentlemen," or "TGs," they came from politics, law, clergy, medicine, or academia and often had their families with them. These people were not captured, as such, but rather were refused passports to depart from France, based on a decree by

Bonaparte, the First Consul, on 23 May 1803, which prohibited the departure of any British subject who was enrolled in the militia or held a military commission. The decree also forbade all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty from leaving, on the supposition that they might be liable for such service if they were to return to Britain.

After being informed that they were now prisoners, they were usually assigned to stay in a town other than Paris. Once established in their new cities, these British "guests" were free to make their own lodging arrangements and were considered on *parole d'honneur*. As was the case with military officers, these people were considered gentlemen, and it was assumed that if they gave their word that they would not try to escape; their word could be trusted. And, at least for the well-to-do *détenus*, who could afford reasonably comfortable apartments, life often continued much as it had before. Indeed, it might well be that Bonaparte wanted these wealthy British subjects in France for the money that they would bring in more than for the security risk they posed if released.

The second major category of prisoners of war consists of those who were taken in military or quasi-military action. Of these, there were three subcategories. First, there were the nonmilitary men, usually merchant seamen, who were taken either by the French navy or, more usually, by privateers working under commission from the French government. Merchant seamen were truly in the middle. They did not qualify either as officers or military men, and they were not "traveling gentlemen." While they might not have been taken in military action per se, they were usually captured at gunpoint.

Next were the military officers captured in ordinary action. These, of course, ranged from general officers down to the lowest ranks. While there were certainly significant differences in the treatment of persons among these various ranks, they were all entitled to a civilized level of treatment by their captors. All officers were considered to be "gentlemen" unless their conduct proved otherwise. As such, their word of honor was assumed to be beyond reproach—an assumption that was generally justified. High-ranking military officers were often treated about as well as the well-to-do *détenus*. The few general officers who were captured were given treatment that reflected their rank. For example, Major General Andrew Thomas, Lord Blayney, dined with General Horace Sébastiani, traveled with an entourage, and attended dinners along the way to his city of "detention," and was entertained by Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières, who gave him letters of reference and a large personal loan.

Finally, there were the enlisted men. In civilian society and within the military hierarchy of the day these men were at the bottom, and their treatment as prisoners of war

reflected their status at home. They were accorded little in the way of freedom or other benefits and were usually kept in poor conditions under lock and key. The enlisted men had it much worse than the détenus, merchant seamen, or officers. They were usually not allowed to live in towns on parole. They were kept in prison depots, most often at Verdun or Bitché, where their ability to move about was much more severely restricted. These depots were often severely overcrowded and filthy. Yet even under these conditions these men showed an ability to make the best with what they had. They often made creative works of art, such as pipes and snuffboxes, which they were able to arrange to have sold to people in the local villages.

J. David Markham

*See also* Cabrera

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## Privateering

Privateers were the commerce raiders of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, privately owned and armed vessels whose role was to prey upon enemy merchantmen. The earlier wars of the eighteenth century had seen the use of privateers by many European nations, particularly France, but the conflict from 1793 to 1815 saw the zenith of privateering activity (or *guerre de course*).

Fast-sailing ships with sufficient armament and crews to overpower enemy vessels, privateers were issued with a letter of marque, or licence, to attack specific enemy shipping. If they deviated from the constraints of this licence and attacked other shipping, they were regarded as pirates.

The privateering war was a response to the loss of commercial outlets in many parts of the world and was conducted in the main by France, but also by Britain, Denmark, Spain, and the United States.

As British forces captured French colonies in the West Indies and the naval blockade of Europe seriously hindered French overseas trade, continental businessmen financed privateers as a means of maintaining their commerce. It was hoped that such vessels, cruising the sea-lanes in search of British merchant shipping, would bring in a profit from the prizes captured. The vast volume of British trade plying the seas meant that there were rich pickings to be had.

The blockade of the coastlines of France and Holland restricted the activities of their navies and provided ample manpower for privateer crews. The large complement on a privateer meant that it could place prize crews on board any captured vessel. It also meant that the continuous campaign against these commerce raiders generated many thousands of prisoners of war for the prison depots and hulks of Britain, one estimate putting this figure at 20,000 for the period 1793–1814.

French privateering activity peaked in 1797–1798 and again in 1807–1808. The former was a result of the naval mutinies of Spithead and the Nore giving continental merchants the impression that the naval blockade of their ports would be seriously impaired long term, which was not the case. The latter, during the Napoleonic Wars, resulted from Napoleon's Berlin Decrees having closed European ports to British commerce, and the resulting British countermeasure of close blockade and the searching of all neutral vessels on the oceans for any merchandise going to Europe. Much of the French privateering activity was centered on the seafaring communities of St. Malo, Dunkirk, Bordeaux, Nantes, La Rochelle, and Bayonne.

The actual vessels used as privateers varied; some were simply conversions of available ships, while others were purpose-built. The main requirement was speed of sailing, as the *guerre de course* was a strategy employed by the weaker naval power. Privateers would therefore search for victims in waters dominated by the enemy. A successful privateer captain was one who captured enemy merchant vessels at minimal risk to his own ship and crew. Brave and heroic actions against enemy warships were to be avoided at all costs. Many French privateers were of 100 to 200 tons, with brigs being popular and small ships such as the *chasse-marée* often being used in the English Channel, as they were very similar in appearance to harmless fishing or coastal craft—a ruse that allowed them to get close to unescorted merchantmen sailing along the English coastline. Most privateers had armaments of ten to twenty guns with which to overawe unarmed merchant vessels.

Privateers had mixed fortunes in their search for prizes. The forty-five-ton *Sorcière* from St. Malo took seven prizes valued at 437,969 francs before she was herself captured west of Jersey by the British privateer *Mayflower* in April 1806. During the winter of 1806–1807, the *Confiance* took prizes worth 25,881 francs. In 1808 this vessel sailed to Martinique with a letter of marque that allowed her commander to make war and engage in trade (*en guerre et merchandise*). Such a voyage allowed the owner to attack a potential prize if one appeared, and to take on board freight in an “armed trading voyage”: a potentially greater return on the investment for the shipowner. The West Indies was a rich source of prizes for French privateers, which were assisted in their hunting by the numerous tiny islands and narrow passages into which large warships found it hazardous to enter. So troublesome were these privateers that the Royal Navy attacked their refuges whenever possible. In March 1808 the French privateering strongholds of Désirade and Marie Galante in the West Indies were attacked and captured.

Robert Surcouf was one of the most enterprising of French privateer owners, operating from Ile de France (part of Mauritius) and attacking British shipping in the Indian Ocean. He had a successful career from 1796 until 1801, during which he became wealthy from his ventures. He was as successful throughout the Napoleonic Wars, although a stronger Royal Navy presence in the Indian Ocean toward the latter years, plus the capture of Mauritius in 1810, reduced his impact upon the East India Company’s merchant shipping.

After 1812 many American privateers cruised the West Indies attacking British trade. However, much of the American privateering effort was conducted in British coastal waters, often in instances in which merchant ships had left the protection of convoys. The brig USS *Argus* captured nineteen merchant ships in the Western Approaches (between the mouth of the Channel and southern Ireland) in the summer of 1813.

Privateers were a constant menace to British merchant ships throughout the war with France, and it required considerable effort by the Royal Navy to combat them. This effort had mixed success, resulting in the war on trade being an important and continuous aspect of the conflict not only with France and its allies, but with the United States during the War of 1812.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Berlin Decrees; Blockade; Continental System; Naval Warfare; Nore, Mutiny at the; Prisoners of War; Privateers (French); Royal Navy; Spithead, Mutiny at; War of 1812; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Privateers (French)

As a weapon of the weak against the powerful, privateering has never won a war. Privateering, however, forces the more powerful navy to allocate substantial resources to the protection of its maritime commerce. It also permits the less dominant economy to participate in the global maritime economy by means of reducing the enemy’s level of trade. The maritime war between Britain and France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a prime example of this.

On 31 January 1793, after first having forbidden the outfitting of privateers in order to provide crews for the French Navy, the Convention issued a decree authorizing citizens to provision and arm privateers. It thus reinstated the tradition previously practiced by successive French kings, and to a great extent, the legislation governing the practice of privateering under the reign of Louis XVI. The Convention, aware that it could not compete on an equal basis with Britain through the employment of powerful fleets of warships, chose to ravage the enemy’s commerce and to disrupt its colonies in an attempt to drive it into bankruptcy, so obliging Britain to sue for peace.

The activity of French privateers, however, was severely curtailed as a consequence of several embargoes imposed in 1794 and 1795 designed to allow the navy to man its ships. On 15 August 1795 privateers were again authorized to operate. The French Navy itself also adopted a strategy of attacking enemy commerce. Admirals Zacharie Jacques Allemand, Corentin-Urbain Leyssègues, Honoré Ganteaume, Joseph de Richery, and Pierre-César Sercey left to take up various stations: the African coast, the Antilles, the eastern Mediterranean, the waters off Newfoundland, and the Indian Ocean, respectively. Their squadrons were given the task of attacking and destroying British commerce and possessions. These forces could also take prizes if the occasion presented itself. The effectiveness of these operations is still the subject of debate concerning the extent to which these prizes benefited the coffers of the Republic compared with the expense of maintaining these disparate forces.

French privateers captured 2,213 vessels between 1793 and 1801, though this does not take into account the prizes taken in the Antilles and in the Indian Ocean. Such prizes were sold in the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon, themselves centers for privateering, and later at Nantes, Bordeaux, and Marseille. It is estimated that, on all seas, more than 5,000 British ships were captured by the French from 1793 and 1801, by privateers as well as by naval vessels. In the face of this privateering menace, Britain established convoys and organized operations against these predators: 557 French privateers were captured between 1793 and 1801, including 41,497 sailors; conversely, at the same time, 41,487 British seamen were also taken prisoner. Privateering fostered small business enterprises run by shipowners in various ports, including Bordeaux, Nantes, and Bayonne. It especially fostered the continued financial existence of the islands of Guadeloupe, Ile de France (present-day Mauritius), and Réunion. The French also attacked neutrals regarded as too friendly with Britain, a policy that led to the Quasi-War with the United States from 1798 to 1800. In order to reestablish amicable relations with the United States, Bonaparte signed the Treaty of Mortefontaine on 30 September 1800, then sold Louisiana on 2 May 1803.

After the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens in 1803, Bonaparte resumed the privateer war, especially after the decisive French defeat at Trafalgar. The government under the Empire issued 1,542 letters of marque—authorizing a ship captain to seize enemy commercial vessels and to conduct trade—from 1803 to 1814, each valid for six months, though many were extended for a year or longer. Thanks to the fitting-out works ordered by Napoleon, Boulogne became the principal privateer port along the English Channel (known to the French as La Manche), ahead of St. Malo and Dunkirk, both of which subsequently declined in importance. St. Malo outfitted 167 privateers that took 170 prizes worth a total 23.5 million francs; conversely, 77 privateers from St. Malo were captured, and at least 31 percent of the naval outfitting resulted in a financial loss. Dunkirk outfitted only 55 privateers, most of them of only 50 tons each. The Mediterranean saw a good deal of privateer activity—often overlooked by historians—with 258 letters of marque issued. Marseilles outfitted 81 privateers; Ajaccio and Bastia (in Corsica), 13 each; Livorno, 25; and Genoa, 28. The shipowners were French but the crews were from many nations.

The countermeasures employed against Britain during the Napoleonic Wars were as effective as those used during the 1790s. From 1803 to 1814, while 440 French privateers were captured, still they had taken 5,314 British ships. On the other hand, British shipping grew from 22,000 ships in 1805 to 23,703 in 1810. British losses were heaviest in the

Indian Ocean. Robert Surcouf was among the most famous of the privateering captains, capturing 43 ships. From 1793 to 1810, 193 naval sorties took place from Ile de France, of which 122 were privateers and 71 French naval vessels. In the Indian Ocean, close to 500 British ships were captured or destroyed, amounting to losses of more than £5 million. Under the direction of General Charles Dacæen, the island's governor, French frigates under the command of Admiral Guy-Victor Duperré scored a victory at Grand Port on 24 August 1810 and took more than ten merchantmen owned by the East India Company, thus delaying the capture of the island by the British.

Overall, from 1792 to 1814, French privateering resulted in more than 10,000 prizes or ransoms, compared with 1,100 prizes taken by the French Navy. And yet, such results, however outstanding, still did not constitute a serious challenge to the superiority of the British merchant marine and Royal Navy.

*Patrick Villiers*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Convention, The; French Navy; Ganteaume, Honoré Joseph Antoine, comte de; Louisiana Purchase; Naval Warfare; Privateering; Royal Navy; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Prize Money

The capture of an enemy vessel and the awarding of prize money was the hope of all seamen. Such money could provide officers and seamen with considerable fortunes, and the higher the rank, the larger the proportion of prize money allocated. The capture of enemy ships was of great value to the war effort, as the victor would gain a new ship, while at the same time depleting enemy naval strength. Officers and crew in the Royal Navy could gain financial reward for aggressively pursuing the war against enemy shipping.

A captured enemy warship would be taken to a naval port and surveyed, and a value placed upon the hull. The capture of a warship meant that the navy could acquire a ready-built vessel: an important addition to naval strength. An inventory was made of every item on board, such as sails, rigging, cannon, roundshot, copper kettles, and all stores in the hold. If the ship were purchased into the navy,

then such items would be necessary for the ship to function. Even ships declared unseaworthy could be used in harbors as store vessels, prison hulks, or for other purposes. If not, these stores could be sold on the open market. The survey was delivered to the commander in chief of that station, together with a suggested price for the vessel based on her tonnage. In addition to the value of the captured ship, the captors would also receive head money, a specified amount per captured enemy crew member.

After assessment of a captured vessel, head money was shared equally between every man on board the captor. The total prize money was divided into eighths and distributed as shown in Table P.1:

Table P.1. Distribution of Prize Money

Recipient	Share
Admiral commanding the station or fleet	One-eighth
Captain of the ship	Two-eighths
Lieutenants, master, surgeon, marine captain	Shared one-eighth
Principal warrant officers, master's mates, chaplain, admiral's secretary	Shared one-eighth
Midshipmen, inferior warrant officers, mates of principal warrant officers, marine sergeants.*	Shared one-eighth
Ship's company (ordinary seamen)*	Shared two-eighths

Source: Data from Hill 1998, 201–204.

\*After 1808, the system became more complex, as these two groups were combined and allocated one-quarter of the total share, which was then further divided.

The distribution of prize money could be fraught with technicalities that delayed payment. If a second ship had assisted in taking a prize, then her crew shared in the spoils, as did the crew of any friendly vessel that was in sight whether or not she was involved in the capture. Prize money was distributed by prize agents, who often delayed payment so that they could accrue interest on the capital. Merchant vessels and privateers would yield lesser amounts of prize money.

The sums awarded could be substantial. In 1799 the capture of some Spanish treasure ships yielded £182 for each seaman and £719 for the petty officers. Sir Hyde Parker was reputed to have made £200,000 in prize money as commander in chief in Jamaica, but this was the exception. However, many officers and men indeed made small fortunes, which aided them financially upon retirement.

*Paul Chamberlain*

See also Privateering; Royal Navy

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## Propaganda (French)

Propaganda played a crucial role in the conduct of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars both because these conflicts involved the mass mobilization of the population and, unlike for a hereditary monarchy, successive French governments had to seek popular legitimation for their actions. The army the Revolutionaries inherited from the Bourbons disintegrated through desertion and with the defection of more than a third of its officers. Between 1792 and 1815 France conducted a draining and seemingly eternal war that mobilized several million young Frenchmen in a cause with which all did not automatically identify. Propaganda, directed at both soldiers and civilians, was seen to be necessary if morale and social cohesion were to be ensured.

Under the Revolution propaganda took many forms. Political speeches, pamphlets, and the press all preached the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and of a sovereignty that lay in the people rather than in the person of the king. The French were now free, and in fighting the armies of kings and emperors they were both defending their homeland (*la patrie*) and fighting for the survival of the Revolution itself. As early as 1792 the Austrians had threatened to restore the Bourbon monarchy, and after the trial and execution of Louis XVI they threatened to put on trial all those held responsible for the regicide. Until 1794 and the army reforms of Jean-Baptiste Bouchotte and Lazare Carnot, the possibility of defeat was real; the Republic was fighting for its very existence.

In these circumstances the French turned their propaganda against the enemy, demonizing their opponents in words and visual images, using art, caricature, and popular festivals to celebrate French victories, praise the martial prowess of French soldiers, and glory in the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, and the Republic. They stressed the spirit of sacrifice, presenting the soldiers in the mold of classical heroes. In the regiments themselves, the troops were subjected to a barrage of propaganda—in badges and uniforms, in political clubs, in the pages of the military press, in the political message brought by representatives on mission and *commissaires de guerre*. Military justice,

too, was a means of imposing republican values and punishing those officers who were cowardly, ill prepared, or treasonable; the men in the ranks were encouraged during the months of the Terror to denounce the treachery of their superiors; and generals convicted by military courts risked being guillotined in full view of their troops. Under the Jacobins (1793–1794), indeed, the armies became highly politicized institutions, where soldiers—both officers and men—were expected to proclaim the ideals of the Revolution.

The ideological imperative was largely removed after the coup of Thermidor (27 July 1794), when the patrie was finally secure and the armies were engaged in a war of conquest across Europe. The public was assuaged with news of victories and of the feats of Revolutionary generals—Louis Lazare Hoche in the West, Bonaparte in Italy—while festivals celebrated the heroism of the armies in the field. It was a more traditional form of celebration, which focused on the daring and bravery of the commander more than on the exploits of the common soldier, and generals published military bulletins and newspapers to maintain themselves in the political spotlight. Bonaparte was especially good at this sort of propaganda, appointing men with a proven political record and experience in journalism to edit his papers from the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, and thus ensuring that his own heroic version of events was given due publicity back in mainland France. This proved of critical importance in preparing the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) that overthrew the Directory and brought Bonaparte to political power as First Consul.

Once in power, Napoleon showed himself to be a master of propaganda. He imposed strict censorship and police controls not only on the press and the printed word—whose force he fully understood—but on other media, too. But his skills as a propagandist extended far beyond stifling the voice of opposition, however ruthlessly he did so (and the fate of the duc d'Enghien was to be a timely reminder to those tempted by opposition). Through a wide variety of different media he sought to construct his identity in the eyes of the people. The *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* supplied exaggerated (and often wholly misleading) reports of the progress of the armies in the field.

The leading artists of the day—like Jacques-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Jacques-Louis David, and Antoine Gros—were commissioned to create memorable images of Napoleon: his daring in battle, his compassion for the sick and wounded, his dignity and splendor as Emperor, his devotion to the law and the public good. The theater stressed the heroism of the armies and the glory of the Emperor; it was a medium made to play to the heroic, and Napoleon was the perfect hero. Plays and caricatures poured scorn on

France's enemies, especially the British, for whom he retained a particular contempt. Public festivals celebrated his victories abroad, while the coronation ceremony in 1804 suggested parallels with Charlemagne.

With the concordat in 1801, Napoleon also gained unprecedented political influence over the Catholic Church. The new bishops were his appointees, and they showed their gratitude by writing pastoral letters to their clergy, praising the Emperor and urging obedience to the law, especially the widely contested law on conscription.

Propaganda of this kind was most effective when the armies were victorious and the glory of the imperial image was untarnished. The attrition of the Peninsular War and the losses sustained during the Russian campaign were more difficult to conceal, and by then war-weariness was sapping civilian as well as military morale. Napoleon responded by changing the emphasis of his propaganda, underlining his statesmanlike qualities and his work on behalf of the French people.

Later still, during the Hundred Days, he appealed once again to his former soldiers, but as a democrat, a man of the people, rather than as the emperor he had been. And from his final exile on St. Helena, through the good offices of Emmanuel, comte de Las Cases, Henri-Gatien, comte Bertrand, Charles, comte de Montholon, and others, he narrated his exploits one final time, for posterity, in what was arguably the greatest propaganda campaign of them all.

Alan Forrest

*See also* Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Brumaire, Coup of; Brunswick Manifesto; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Concordat; Conscription (French); Convention, The; Desertion; Directory, The; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Jacobins; Louis XVI, King; Marseillaise, La; Moniteur, Le; Montholon, Charles Tristan, comte de; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; St. Helena; Terror, The

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## Prussia

The Kingdom of Brandenburg-Prussia, with its capital at Berlin, was a central European state, part of whose territories were included in the Holy Roman Empire. The ruler of Brandenburg was a prince elector of the empire. As well as the core provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, East Prussia, and Silesia, the king of Prussia also ruled over enclaves in western Germany and acquired substantial gains during the Partitions of Poland toward the end of the eighteenth century. Ruled by the House of Hohenzollern, Prussia had risen from relative obscurity in the early eighteenth century to become a great power, thanks largely to the wars of conquest undertaken by Frederick the Great. This increase in status put Prussia in the position of being a rival to Austria for hegemony in Germany.

Prussia's population in 1795 was around 8.5 million inhabitants, including 2.5 million Poles. Following the Treaty of Tilsit in July 1807, Prussia was left with around 5 million inhabitants. Territorial gains after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 increased this to about 10.3 million. The population was largely rural; the capital and principal city, Berlin, had about 172,000 inhabitants. The economy was largely agrarian based; some three-quarters of the population were farmers. Prussia was devastated by the costs of the war and the indemnity demanded by the French after the defeat in 1806. The national debt increased from 55 million taler in 1806 to 206 million taler in 1816.

The territorial gains made in western Germany in 1815 changed Prussia's strategic position in Europe, taking it from being a central European power with an eye toward the East to one leaning more to the West. As well as sharing a border with Russia and Austria, Prussia now had a common frontier with France. The new territories in the Rhineland were economically more advanced and rich in natural resources but did not enjoy a territorial link with the main part of Prussia to the east. The settlement made in Vienna in 1815 determined the pattern of European politics for the coming hundred years.

Although Prussia enjoyed considerably fewer resources than its larger neighbors, it was nevertheless one of Europe's great powers and able to raise substantial military forces when required. The Prussian Army had a good reputation for its effectiveness on the field of battle, its professionalism, especially of its officer corps, and its aggressive spirit. Other armies copied its methods. Despite that, the Prussian Army suffered the most devastating defeat of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in the campaign of 1806.

Prussia committed substantial forces to the earlier campaigns of the Revolutionary Wars. An army under the Duke of Brunswick invaded France in the fall of 1792. It

took the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun before being halted at Valmy on 20 September. Prussian forces fought in the Rhineland for the next three years, acquitting themselves well against the invading French, with their light forces performing particularly well. The costs of this war drained the Prussian economy, and because there were easier pickings in the East, the Prussians withdrew from the war with the Treaty of Basle in 1795. This separate peace with France began a decade of Prussian isolation that ended with the catastrophe of 1806.

The Prussian Army did mobilize its forces toward the end of 1805, but the planned intervention in the War of the Third Coalition did not come to fruition because Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz on 2 December preempted this. Having conquered Austria and thrown Russia's army out of central Europe, Napoleon next turned his attention to Prussia. He goaded Prussia into a war in unfavorable circumstances in the fall of 1806, the Prussian army suffered a severe defeat at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt on 14 October, and any chance of continuing the war vanished in the wake of the highly effective pursuit undertaken by Napoleon's forces and the capitulation of several important fortresses. The Treaty of Tilsit concluded the following summer reduced Prussia to a second-rate power subservient to Napoleon's wishes.

The years that followed were marked by economic devastation caused by the reparations demanded by Napoleon and the costs of supplying an army of occupation. Patriots such as Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg, Heinrich Freiherr vom Stein, Gebhard von Blücher, Gerhard von Scharnhorst, and August von Gneisenau plotted and conspired against the French. Secret societies prepared the country's intellectuals both mentally and physically for an uprising.

The unrest became apparent in 1809, with a regiment of hussars commanded by Ferdinand von Schill staging an uprising in support of the Austrians, who were now at war with France. Frederick William III considered it untimely to risk all for a confrontation with Napoleon and did what was necessary to suppress the discontent. A group of dissatisfied officers, including Karl von Clausewitz, left the army in protest in 1812, when a contingent of 20,000 Prussians marched under the command of General Johann von Yorck with Napoleon into Russia. Fortunately for the Prussians, they were allocated to the left wing of the Grande Armée, so they did not suffer the fate of the main body on its retreat from Moscow. Yorck allowed his corps to become separated from the French at the end of 1812 and withdrew it from the war with Russia with the Convention of Tauroggen (28 December 1812). This act of rebellion sparked the uprising in northern Germany that developed into what became known as the War of Liberation.

Having signed an alliance with Russia at Kalisch on 28 February 1813, Prussia went to war with France a month later. Although outnumbered by Napoleon's forces, the Prusso-Russian army acquitted itself well in the spring campaign of 1813, fighting the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. Joined by Austria that fall, the Allies were overwhelmingly victorious at Leipzig in October. With Napoleon now driven out of Germany, the Allies pressed on to Paris in the spring of 1814. An army of Russians and Prussians under Blücher played a significant part in these events, fighting battles such as Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Craonne, Laon, and Vauchamps.

In 1815 the lion's share of the fighting was to fall on the Prussian Army of the Lower Rhine, which fought three battles in a whirlwind campaign, at Ligny, Wavre, and Waterloo, before blazing its way to Paris, taking a number of French fortresses in its path. Appropriately, it was Blücher's Prussians that first entered Paris in 1815, marking the end of the Napoleonic era.

*Peter Hofschröer*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Austria; Basle, Treaties of; Bautzen, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Craonne, Battle of; Emancipation Edict; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Frederick William II, King; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Holy Roman Empire; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Kalisch, Convention of; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Montmirail, Battle of; Poland, Partitions of; Prussian Army; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russia; Russian Campaign; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tauroggen, Convention of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Tugendbund; Valmy, Battle of; Vauchamps, Battle of; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Prussian Army

One of the key protagonists of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the Prussian Army participated in the first years of the War of the First Coalition (from 1792 to 1795), the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, and the Waterloo campaign (1815), where it contributed more than half of the Allied forces and suffered two-thirds of the Allied casualties. It also fought in the War of the Fourth Coalition (1806–1807) and contributed an auxiliary corps to Napoleon's abortive invasion of Russia (1812). Following the disastrous defeat in the Jena-Auerstädt campaign (1806) and the humiliating Treaty of Tilsit (1807), the army underwent a series of drastic changes, most notably the introduction of universal conscription, which by 1813 enabled it to meet the French armies on more or less equal terms and thus to contribute to the overthrow of the French Empire. These reforms also shaped the new peacetime structure of the Prussian Army that would, with minor modifications, survive until 1918.

By the time of the War of the First Coalition the Prussian Army was still by and large identical with the one of Frederick the Great. Recruitment was based on regimental districts and was confined to the lower classes and the peasantry. Additionally, "foreign" (non-Prussian, though usually German) mercenaries were needed to bring the Prussian Army to the astonishing peacetime strength of nearly 230,000 men (out of a population of 8.7 million). Officers were taken almost exclusively from the nobility and gentry (*Junker*) so that the army replicated and reinforced the social structure of rural Prussia, while the town-dweller stood aside. Far from being a national force that could rely on patriotic feelings for the motivation of its soldiers, the Prussian Army, like many others under the *ancien régime*, had to enforce discipline mainly by threat of brutal corporal punishment, and desertion was a constant problem. Service was for life; in reality that usually meant twenty years, unless invalidated out.

In spite of suggestions primarily of junior officers to implement more progressive concepts, the unreformed army also relied heavily on linear tactics to exploit the massed musketry of its heavy infantry. Innovations like more flexible tactics, light infantry, permanent divisions or corps of mixed arms, and a general staff in the modern sense of the word were known and discussed, but by the 1790s not yet implemented or still in their infancy. In the aftermath of the shockingly unexpected defeats at Jena and Auerstädt (fought simultaneously on 14 October 1806) at the hands of Napoleon's Grande Armée, the Prussian Army collapsed almost completely. Of its sixty regiments of infantry, most of which had seen a continuous existence of up to two centuries, fifty-one dissolved or went into captivity, never again to be rebuilt. That collapse—and the Treaty of Tilsit (9 July 1807), which reduced Prussia's population and territory by half—forced the country to disarm radically, burdened it with crippling indemnities, and triggered the series of so-called Prussian Reforms (*Preussische Reformen*). Taken together, they attempted a complete overhaul of state, economy, army, and society to make Prussia fit for survival in the nineteenth-century struggle of nation-states.

The most pressing need for the humiliated monarchy was the recovery of the army. Accordingly, the military reforms became the core element of the reform process to which all other changes were made subservient. Responsible for discussing the necessary steps toward army reform was the *Militär-Reorganisationskommission* set up immediately after Jena. Headed by Gerhard von Scharnhorst, quartermaster general of the army (1808–1813), it comprised some prominent protagonists of progressive thinking among the junior field officers, most notably August von Gneisenau (chief of staff to Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt in 1815); Hermann von Boyen (minister of war 1814–1819 and 1841–1848); and Karl von Grolman (chief of the general staff 1814–1819). The commission's brief, as outlined by King Frederick William III, involved the revamping of almost all aspects of the military system, but the matter closest to the heart of the reformers was a revision of the recruiting system (*Kantonsystem*) in a way so as to allow Prussia to recover from the almost-complete dissolution of the army after Jena. Beyond this pragmatic aim the reformers also sought to emulate the unity of armed forces and nation that imbued the armies of the French Republic and Empire with their unique fighting spirit.

The obvious means to achieve both ends (apart from the abolition of foreign recruiting in 1807) was universal conscription, yet its implementation collided with both the king's reluctance to tamper with the established social order and with the Convention of Paris of 8 September

1808, which not only limited Prussia's army to 42,000 men but also forbade the raising of militias or any preparations for the augmentation of the army. The latter restriction was circumvented by the de facto introduction of short service in the so-called *Krümpersystem*, by which veterans were discharged so that the regiments could call up raw recruits (*Krümpfer*) in their stead for a brief training period. Frederick William's hesitation, in turn, was slowly overcome throughout the years, especially as the reformers largely found a way to accommodate the existing social order while making recruitment for the army almost universal. The hitherto exempted classes (artisans, merchants, teachers, students, town-dwellers in general) would not be drafted into the regular army but form a parallel militia force.

When Prussia changed sides in 1813 to join the Sixth Coalition against France, the reform plans mothballed during the French occupation were put into effect. On 9 February all exemptions under the *Kantonsystem* were abolished for the duration of the war, thereby making all able-bodied seventeen- to twenty-four-year-old males liable for being drafted. On 17 March the king founded the *Landwehr* (country defense), the aforementioned militia force that enlisted the nation's manpower for the present war above the needs and beyond the organizational capacities of the regular army. Discharged veterans and *Krümpfer* were called up to expand the army to a strength (including *Landwehr*) of 130,000 by March 1813, and 270,000 by August. In the campaigns of 1813–1815, the Prussian Army consisted of almost one-half *Landwehr* and to an even larger degree of short-service recruits. Additionally, on 21 April 1813, the king authorized the *Landsturm* (literally, country storm; figuratively, last call-up, meaning a type of militia), a last line of defense composed of the fifteen- to sixty-year-old males not enlisted in the regular army or *Landwehr*. It was supposed to fight a guerrilla and scorched-earth war against any invader. The concept materialized only briefly and locally before it was largely abandoned, on 17 July 1813, as being too revolutionary.

What makes these reforms of the recruitment system so significant is not that they enabled Prussia to recover from a devastating defeat within just a few years, but that, while originally considered a temporary stopgap, they were not revoked after 1814. While continually reforming its structure to assimilate it into the regular army, Prussia kept the *Landwehr* and with it, alone among all the great powers, the principle of universal compulsory short-term military service.

Universal conscription, by bringing the “educated classes” into the army, necessitated a reform of the military penal code. It was considered unthinkable to treat the citizen-soldier with lash and gauntlet like any common

man. The new national army would be based on patriotic feelings rather than brutal discipline. Accordingly, the *Kriegsartikel* (penal code) of 3 August 1808 abolished all “dishonorable” (corporal) punishment for ordinary soldiers; only punishment drill (extra guard duty or monotonous tasks) for minor misdemeanors, and detention and execution for serious crimes remained. For common crimes the soldier was henceforth to be tried before civilian courts, that is, as a citizen rather than as a soldier. Any officer who continued to use the cane or lash was now considered unsuited for his job. On 19 July 1809 the system whereby military personnel, their families, and servants were under special military jurisdiction rather than subject to trial before civilian courts was abolished, thus tearing down one of the walls that had hitherto separated the old army from society.

The officer corps was radically reformed after 1806. The disastrous defeat in the Jena campaign and its aftermath—where, as a rule, intact bodies of troops and fortresses that had not been besieged had surrendered wholesale to vastly inferior French forces—was widely and rightly attributed to the incompetence of higher officers. The corps itself considered these events a stain on its honor. In order to restore its claim to be the legitimate defender of the monarchy it agreed to conduct a purge that in 1807–1808 rid the army of 102 generals, 600 field officers, and 4,000 subalterns, although only a tiny minority of the discharges was by court-martial and thus considered dishonorable. Most of the subalterns were commissioned again in the War of Liberation (the campaign of 1813 in Germany), but only a few field officers and not a single general.

In order to prevent another Jena, and to make the officer corps fit for leading an army composed partly of citizen-soldiers, all aristocratic privilege was abolished on 6 August 1808. Henceforth only education and knowledge would earn a commission in peacetime; in war, it took proven competence and exemplary courage. By making the officers of a regiment responsible for admitting only cadets they considered capable of meeting these requirements, Scharnhorst, who masterminded the new system, hoped to imbue the Prussian officer corps with a spirit of professional excellence that would overcome aristocratic privilege by itself. In the long run, the opposite happened—the *Würdigkeitszeugnis* (certificate of worthiness) became the instrument by which the officer corps excluded commoners. At the end of the War of Liberation, one officer in two had no handle to his name; by 1850, only one in three did.

The existence of a modern general staff (*Generalquartiermeisterstab*, later *Generalstab*) in Prussia predated the defeat of 1806, but the reforms of 1807–1813 greatly accelerated its growing into a permanent backbone

of the army. In the 1790s only a loosely organized corps of secretaries, adjutants, and surveyors existed to assist the king in leading his army; by 1803 a first reform created a permanent establishment whereby highly qualified officers of all arms were responsible for surveying and analyzing the most likely theaters of war and drafting deployment plans for all eventualities. Furthermore, they had to concern themselves with the fundamental laws of the art of war and all aspects of military science. Each officer served only a limited tour on the general staff, thus turning the latter into something of a military academy that would provide highly educated officers for the entire army. (An actual military academy was created in 1810 with the *Allgemeine Kriegsschule*, supervised by the chief of the general staff.)

The reforms of the military administration in the aftermath of Jena shaped the modern structure of the general staff. It created subdepartments concerned with (1) strategy and tactics, (2) internal affairs, (3) economy and finance, and (4) artillery and ammunition. The structure was replicated in the newly created general staffs in the corps and divisions, the *Truppengeneralstab*. In the War of Liberation, the Prussian general staff operated more or less in the way its modern counterparts still do, even if some corps commanders did not yet see a real need for having a chief of staff.

While the old army had been controlled through a multitude of parallel institutions whose competences more often than not overlapped, to establish the king as the final arbitrator, in 1808, again as a consequence of Jena, the administration of the army was unified in a newly created war ministry with responsibility for all matters concerning operations and the army. This crucial innovation would not survive the War of Liberation for long, but from 1808 to 1813 Scharnhorst, as de facto war minister and chief of the general staff, indeed exerted unified control over the entire army and the reform process, as dominant, if not sole, military adviser to the king, a situation that would not be achieved again before the end of the monarchy in 1918. The most obvious and immediate challenge emanating from the victorious French armies was naturally their organization and tactics. Here the Prussian Army was quick to move after Jena. A series of new regulations issued and implemented between 1807 and 1809 introduced state-of-the-art tactical forms and organization. In 1812 all these changes were consolidated into a new set of comprehensive drill regulations that remained binding, in their essential components, until 1876.

Most striking among the changes was the introduction of light infantry throughout the army so as to counter the French *tirailleurs* (light infantry skirmishers). Where hitherto only a few specialized light battalions had existed

in the entire army, now each regiment of infantry received, in addition to its two *Musketier* (line) battalions, a *Fuesilier* (light) battalion, consisting, in theory, of men who were both physically agile and good shots. Furthermore, the third rank of the line battalions, long considered dispensable in the firing line, was likewise to be composed of men chosen for their skirmishing skills so as to provide the line battalions an integral skirmishing component. General Johann David von Yorck was appointed inspector of the light troops and successfully conducted and supervised the skirmisher training of the infantry. In the War of Liberation, Prussian light infantry was at least comparable in effectiveness to its French counterpart, the major difference being that Prussian skirmishers were kept under closer control by their officers and in tighter formations.

While the general adoption of light infantry tactics was overdue, it is not quite as self-evident that the Prussian Army had to adopt, as its preferred combat formation, the closed-up column on the center, where the eight platoons of the battalion were arrayed in a dense formation two wide by four deep. Yet it did, thus wasting a century of musket drill perfected for speed in order to better emulate the French line infantry that, behind a cloud of skirmishers, charged home with the bayonet in close column. Born out of necessity in the French Revolutionary armies whose poor training made linear formations hardly feasible, these crude tactics were hardly the best choice for the well-drilled Prussian infantry and, by presenting the enemy with a genuine mass target, became a serious liability some decades later in the age of rifles.

Immediately after Jena the king also ordered the reorganization of the army into mixed arms divisions of equal size to divisions as they normally stood on a peacetime footing, and corps of several such divisions, again emulating the French example. Each division would have comprised four regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. The Convention of Paris spoiled that plan; the six divisions raised under its restrictions were so small (two regiments of infantry, three of cavalry) that they became known as brigades instead. In the War of Liberation, four such brigades (now comprising three regiments of infantry, one of which was Landwehr, four squadrons of cavalry, and one battery) together with reserve cavalry and artillery formed a corps.

With the new brigade structure came regulations explaining how to use it to effect—what in modern usage would be called combined arms. In the eighteenth century grand tactics had amounted to not much more than deploying the entire army in one long line so as to maximize the firepower of its infantry; independent subdivisions were not necessary. The post-1807 brigade, on the other hand, was meant to be used for attack or defense in

depth, so making it a suitable counter for the flexible depth tactics introduced by the French. A brigade was to be arrayed in several lines or waves (*Treffen*), with the light infantry in front providing a skirmish screen; a main body of line infantry; and a reserve of line infantry, grenadiers (as each regiment had two grenadier companies, a brigade would have a battalion), and cavalry, with the artillery positioned according to need. This pattern could be varied depending on the specific task. A corps would use one of its four brigades as the advance guard, two as the main body, and one as the reserve, a pattern that was still used in the Wars of German Unification half a century later.

As a consequence of the territorial cessions after Tilsit, the French occupation, indemnities, the continental blockade, and losses in Russia, the Prussian Army had to fight the War of Liberation desperately short of arms and equipment. The Landwehr in particular lacked uniforms, shoes, and muskets. For a while the first rank had to be armed with pikes before British arms shipments remedied that problem in the summer of 1813.

Dierk Walter

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Frederick William II, King; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Jena, Battle of; Ligny, Battle of; Prussia; Russian Campaign; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Tilsit, Treaties of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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### Public Safety, Committee of (1793–1795)

Known in French as the Comité de Salut Public, this provisional committee of the Revolutionary government was set up by the National Convention on 6 April 1793 and became the de facto executive government of France during the Reign of Terror from September 1793 to July 1794. The Committee at first numbered nine members (later increased to twelve) elected for a period of one month and eligible for reelection. Facing war against several European powers and civil disturbances in western and southern regions of France itself, the Committee was intended to direct the defense of the nation and supervise the executive government for a short period.

The First Committee of Public Safety (April–July 1793) was dominated by Georges Danton and his follow-

ers, who supported moderate policies. However, as they failed to address the precarious state of domestic affairs, Dantonists were replaced by more radical members of the Convention, chief among them Maximilien Robespierre, who assumed the leading role in the Committee in July 1793.

The Great Committee of Public Safety (10 July 1793–27 July 1794) became the de facto executive government of France, dominating the National Convention and using harsh and radical measures—not least widespread use of the guillotine—to defend the Revolution. Its members—the youngest was twenty-six, the oldest forty-seven—were industrious men. They distributed tasks among themselves, some specializing in military affairs and diplomacy, others in correspondence with representatives on mission or in relations with the Convention. The Committee acted in the name of the Convention and thus on behalf of the nation as a whole.

The Committee's policies greatly influenced the course of the Revolution. The Laws of Suspects allowed the arrest of anyone suspected of counterrevolutionary activity; the Law of the Maximum placed the economy on a wartime basis; the Law of 22 Floréal (11 May 1794) granted rudimentary social security to the aged, ill, or disabled; and the Decrees of Ventôse (February–March 1794) confiscated the property of counterrevolutionaries and distributed it to "patriots."

Lazare Carnot, a member of the Committee, was instrumental in drafting a law on mass conscription (*levée en masse*), which the Convention passed on 23 August 1793; Jean Bon Saint-André took charge of the reinforcement of the defenses of naval ports and in the administration of the fleet; Prieur de la Côte d'Or (Claude Antoine, comte de Prieur-Duvernais) greatly increased the production of war matériel; and Jean-Baptiste Lindet requisitioned essential materials for the armies. One of the lasting legacies of the Committee was the introduction of the metric-decimal system of weights and measures.

In the spring of 1794 the Committee exercised surveillance over the unity of the nation by persuasion and terror tactics. During the period of the Terror, opponents, among them former comrades such as the Hébertists and Dantonists, were arrested and summarily executed. As the Revolutionary armies crossed the frontiers of France and invaded Belgium, Piedmont, and the Rhineland in early summer 1794, public opinion demanded a relaxation of social and economic controls and an end to the excesses of the Terror. On 27 July (9 Thermidor) 1794, the Committee members were arrested and, following a brief trial, executed two days later.

After 9 Thermidor (28 July 1794–4 November 1795) the Committee of Public Safety waned in importance, as

its powers were strictly limited to the areas of diplomacy and war while governmental authority was divided among other committees. A new Constitution of 1795 further reorganized the government, and the Committee disappeared by November 1795.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Conscription (French); Convention, The; French Revolution; Levée en Masse; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup

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### Pultusk, Battle of (26 December 1806)

A battle between Russian and French forces at Pultusk, in Prussian Poland, on 26 December 1806, fought during the War of the Fourth Coalition after the focus of fighting had shifted from Germany to Poland. Having lost Warsaw in late November, the Russian army appeared to be retreating north for the winter, and Napoleon issued a general order for a forward movement beyond the Vistula River to the line of the river Wkra. Marshal Michel Ney's VI Corps followed Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte's I Corps from Thorn and crossed the Wkra at Biezun. Marshal Nicolas Soult's IV Corps crossed the Vistula near Plock and advanced toward Plonsk, while marshals Jean Lannes (V Corps), Louis Nicolas Davout (III Corps), and Pierre Augereau (VII Corps) crossed the river Bug and moved to the Line of Serock-Nasielsk. Russian field marshal Mikhail Kamenski was sixty-nine years old, in poor health (by the time he reached the army he was blind and unable to move about unaided), and had not commanded an army since the death of Catherine the Great in 1796. Thus, generals Levin Bennigsen and Fedor Buxhöwden were in de facto control of the army. Although Kamenski ordered a general retreat toward Ostrolenka, Bennigsen was resolved to engage the

French and, disobeying orders, he remained near Pultusk. Bennigsen had some 40,000 men deployed, with their left flank anchored at Pultusk.

On the French side, Lannes marched with his two divisions of some 20,000 men toward Pultusk on 26 December. After an exhausting march in thick mud and bad weather, the French approached the town around 10:00 A.M. and launched their first attacks an hour later. Lannes dispatched General Michel Marie Claparede's division against General Karl Baggovut's troops in front of Pultusk, while General Louis Suchet's troops charged the Mostachin (Mosin) wooded heights, from where General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly covered the extreme right flank of the Russian army.

The French made a little progress along the line and succeeded in capturing the extremities of the Russian position. However, the Russians used their superiority in artillery effectively and inflicted heavy casualties on the advancing French formations. Shortly after 3:00 P.M. General Joseph Augustin d'Aultanne's division of Davout's III Corps appeared on the Golymin road, arriving in time to reinforce Lannes's fatigued troops. Barclay de Tolly was forced to fall back, but Bennigsen directed artillery fire against the French and succeeded in creating a gap in the French line. Russian cavalry (twenty squadrons) quickly charged into this opening, engaging the 85th Line, which managed to repulse several Russian charges.

While Bennigsen diverted his artillery to the right flank, General Honoré Gazan managed to drive back Baggovut on the left flank. However, General Alexander Osterman-Tolstoy dispatched cuirassiers and dragoons to halt the French advance and personally led infantry regiments to reinforce Baggovut. After a long and desperate combat, the French fell back, abandoning the Russian guns they had taken earlier. The battle subsided around 7:00 P.M. as both sides stood exhausted. During the night, Bennigsen decided to retreat, fearing Napoleon might outflank him. The French were in no condition to pursue them the following day. Thus, the battle ended indecisively, although both Bennigsen and Lannes claimed victory in their dispatches. The Russians lost around 5,000 killed and wounded, while the French suffered heavier casualties of no fewer than 7,000 men.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich, Count; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Kamenski, Mikhail Fedorovich; Lannes, Jean; Ney, Michel; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Suchet, Louis Gabriel

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**Pyramids, Battle of the (21 July 1798)**

French victory in Egypt that ended Mameluke control of the country and allowed General Napoleon Bonaparte to take Cairo. Disembarking at Marabout Bay (1 July 1798), Bonaparte quickly took Alexandria (2 July) before striking toward Cairo the next day. General Louis Desaix made a demoralizing march across the desert, reaching Damanhour on 6 July, where fresh water was found.

On 13 July the first clash between the French and the Mamelukes occurred at Shubra Khit. Apart from minor attacks against the French divisions formed in squares to protect them from the Mameluke cavalry, the fighting was largely confined to action between the rival armies' flotillas on the Nile.



The Battle of the Pyramids. Employing modern weaponry and tactics against opponents armed and dressed in medieval fashion, Bonaparte defeats the Mamelukes during his campaign in the Middle East. (Library of Congress)

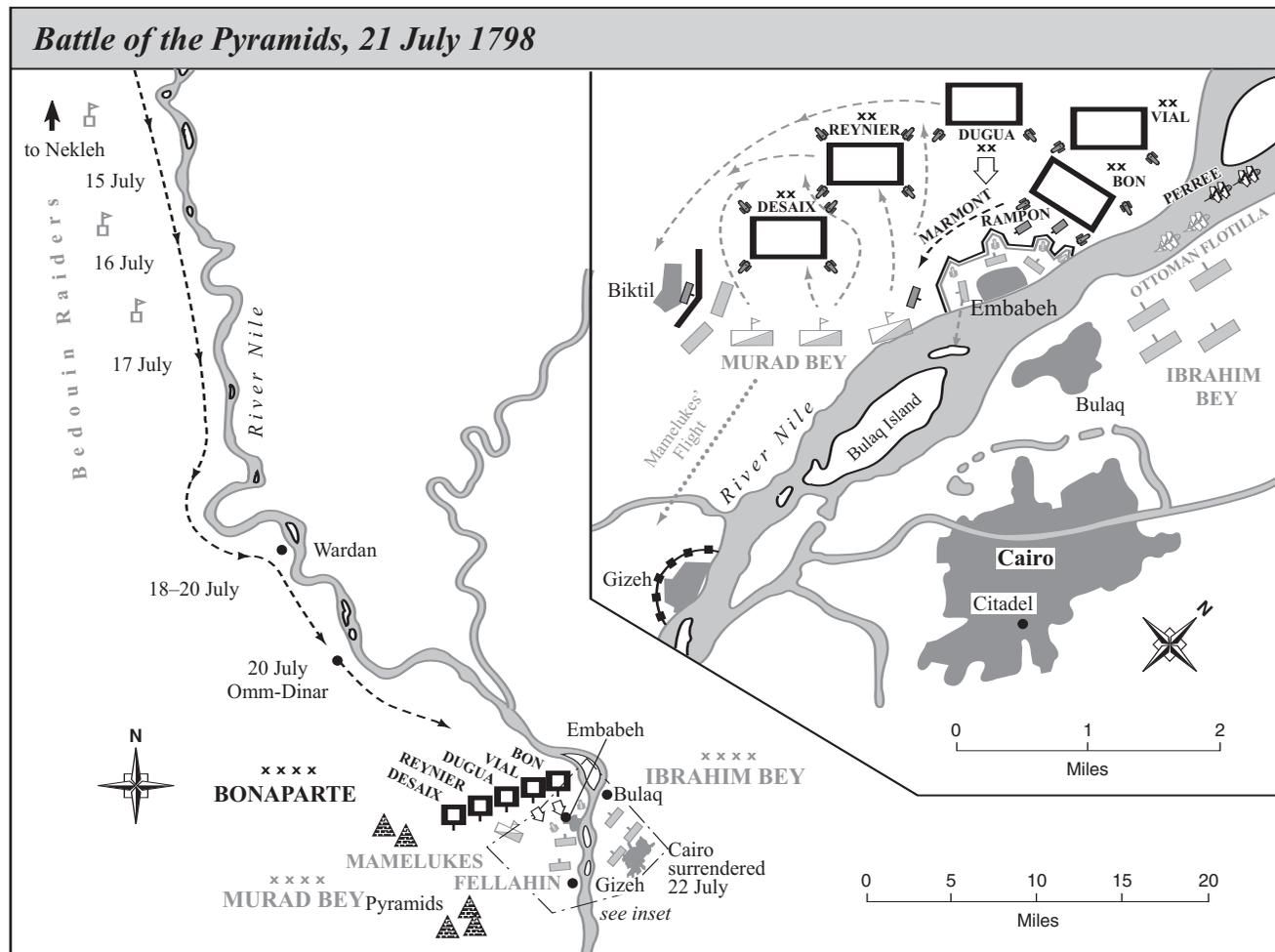
Having gauged the strength of the French army, the Mamelukes decided to offer battle in front of Cairo on the left bank of the Nile. Murad Bey supplemented his 6,000 cavalry with an entrenched line of 40 guns in front of the village of Embabeh, covered by gunboats on the river. On the right bank of the Nile, Ibrahim Bey's *fellahin* (peasant levies) comprised at least 18,000 men. Against this, Bonaparte had 25,000 men in five divisions. Realizing the Mamelukes' superiority in cavalry, Napoleon formed each division into a single square, with the cavalry and baggage train protected inside and with artillery strengthening the angles of each square.

Around 4:00 P.M. on 21 July the Mameluke cavalry, elaborately dressed and armed in medieval fashion with lances, jeweled scimitars, and archaic pistols, charged the squares of Desaix and Jean Reynier on the French right. Although surprised by the swiftness of the attack, the French squares opened up on the horsemen with heavy fire. On the left, the French formed a column and made a frontal attack against Murad Bey's artillery. On the right, Desaix and Reynier's di-

visions began to advance and outflank Embabeh, cutting off the defenders' line of retreat. After two hours of combat, the French troops converged on the entrenchments and drove the remaining defenders into the Nile, where many were drowned. Leaving several thousand casualties on the field against just 300 French losses, Murad Bey made his escape in the direction of Giza, pursued by Desaix. Ibrahim Bey, whose troops took no part in the battle, also fled, this time toward the Syrian frontier, leaving Cairo open.

Bonaparte entered Cairo on 24 July and took control of the city. However spectacular the Battle of the Pyramids might have appeared, it was eclipsed by the disaster that befell the French fleet on 1 August in Aboukir Bay at the Battle of the Nile. Although Bonaparte had seized the Egyptian capital, he was now cut off from France, with two renegade Mameluke warlords still at large. Although the French had unquestionably proved the superiority of European tactics in set battle, they would now have to adapt to meet unpredictable guerrilla tactics and bouts of civil unrest.

Terry Crowdy



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 225.

*See also* Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Ibrahim Bey, Al Kabir Al-Muhammadi; Middle East Campaign; Murad Bey; Nile, Battle of the; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer; Shubra Khit, Battle of

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### Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795)

The operations conducted in the Pyrenees between 1793 and 1795 arguably constituted the most poorly organized and supplied campaigns fought during the French Revolutionary Wars, and ended with no decisive result. The Spanish government hoped to occupy portions of southern France and possibly put it permanently under Spanish control. King Charles IV also hoped to rescue his Bourbon kinsman Louis XVI and prevent the spread of republican ideas that might threaten his own position. The Peace of Basle ended the war in the summer of 1795 and left matters largely as they were in 1792.

Spain had maintained a long-standing alliance with France against Britain during much of the eighteenth century. Spanish military and naval weakness encouraged Spanish monarchs to follow the lead of their French Bourbon cousins. Conservative opinion in Spain was shocked by the Revolutionary events in France from 1789 onward. From this time the spread of radical ideas was restricted in Spain, and chief minister José Moñino, Conde de Floridablanca protested the treatment of Louis XVI, without result. Spanish military preparations for war began, but at a very low level. The Spanish government agreed to join the First Coalition on 24 August 1792, but French victory at the Battle of Valmy put preparations on hold. When Manuel Godoy became chief minister on 15 November, he resumed negotiations with Britain. The execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 cemented public opinion in Spain against the French Revolutionary government (known as the Convention), which on 7 March 1793 declared war on Spain.

Spanish forces along the Pyrenean border with France totaled only around 35,000 men, short on supplies and necessary equipment, when hostilities commenced. French military resources were also stretched thin, as the nation faced invasions from Flanders and the Rhine. Only about

8,000 new recruits were stationed at the western end of the Pyrenees, under General Joseph Servan. A similar number of troops in garrisons and militia units protected the eastern Pyrenees. Geography determined that the campaign would be fought in these two distinct sectors. In the western Pyrenees, the Spanish invasion of France had some successes. The opposing French forces were organized into the Army of the Western Pyrenees. On 6 June 1793 it reached its high-water mark when the town of Château-Pignon was captured. Following that success, the Spanish assumed a defensive posture as a result of insufficient logistical support.

In the eastern Pyrenees, Spanish forces under General Ricardós methodically moved on the fortress city of Perpignan. Ricardós spent his time ousting small French garrisons from his lines of communications, then settled down at the end of April to await reinforcements. He did not reach Perpignan until mid-July. His assault on the city was repulsed, forcing Ricardós to attempt a more formal siege; however, his efforts to outflank the city also being defeated, Ricardós fell back to prepared positions.

General Luc Dagobert attempted to drive the Spanish back across the border but failed at the Battle of Truillas on 22 September. A series of new French commanders followed, undertaking a number of operations against the Spanish, but the commanders failed to achieve much and found themselves hampered by the presence of representatives from Paris. The representatives were intended to ensure proper Revolutionary fervor, but their habitual interference in operations and their tendency to denounce unsuccessful leaders proved divisive and detrimental to morale and combat effectiveness. Several generals from the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees ended their careers by killing themselves or going to the guillotine.

French manpower increased greatly during 1793, thanks to the comprehensive mobilization of the nation under a system known as the *levée en masse* drawn up by Lazare Carnot. Further attacks on the Spanish near Perpignan failed to force them back into Spain, and the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees was crippled by drafts sent to the forces besieging Toulon. By the spring of 1794 Spanish forces in northeastern Spain had grown to 30,000 men, opposed by 35,000.

General Jacques Dugommier opened the French offensive on 27 March, and by the end of April he had captured the Spanish positions around Le Boulou. He continued to advance through the summer, despite Spanish counterattacks. At the Battle of St. Laurent (13 August) Dugommier defeated a Spanish attempt to relieve the garrison at Bellegarde. As a result, the fortress surrendered on 17 September, clearing Dugommier's lines of communications. By that point, the Conde de la Union, the Spanish

commander on the eastern Pyrenees front, was engaged in secret, but fruitless, negotiations to end the war.

Fighting resumed in the western Pyrenees in late July. The French under General Jacques Léonard Muller won a victory at San Marcial on 1 August 1794, driving the Spanish back on Pamplona. General Bon Adrien Jannot de Moncey assumed command in September and was reinforced for an advance into Navarre. After early successes beginning on 15 October, Moncey soon found his advance halted by bad weather in the mountains. The Spanish hung on to Pamplona for the winter.

A further French offensive in the eastern Pyrenees was launched on 17 November. Dugommier was killed on the first day, but the French successfully overran the Spanish fortified lines around Figueras. Conde de la Union was also killed during the battle, and the Spanish fell back on Gerona. The roads to central Spain were open, but the French were unable to take advantage of this. Peace negotiations opened during the winter but military planning continued. In April 1795, General Barthélemy Schérer assumed command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees after being transferred from Italy. He tried unsuccessfully to pierce Spanish lines on the river Fluvia in April and May, but with more than 35,000 Spanish troops dug into strong positions, Schérer could not make any headway. Further operations were put on hold, thanks to the rumors of impending peace.

Moncey was unable to launch an offensive until late June, when he drove the opposing Spanish forces beyond

Pamplona toward Bilbao. Having settled down to besiege Pamplona he received word that the war between France and Spain had ended as a result of the signature of the Treaty of Basle on 22 July.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Charles IV, King; Convention, The; Figueras, Battles of; First Coalition, War of the; Fluvia, Battles of the; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Le Boulou, Battle of; Louis XVI, King; Moncey, Bon Adrien Jannot de; Moñino, José, Conde de Floridablanca; Perpignan, Battle of; San Marcial, First Battle of; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; St. Laurent, Battle of; Toulon, Siege of; Truillas, Battle of; Valmy, Battle of

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**Pyrenees, Battles of the**

*See* Maya, Battle of; Roncesvalles, Battle of; Sorauren, Battle of



# Q

## Quadrilateral, The

Strategic region in northeastern Italy that came to be controlled by four fortified cities: Mantua in Lombardy; and Legnano, Verona, and Peschiera in Venetia. These cities dominated the important Alpine passes connecting Italy to Austria. They also blocked the traditional east-west invasion route across the valuable Po valley. Once the entire area had come under Napoleon's control, all four cities were combined into a strong defensive complex. Following the defeat of Napoleon and the establishment of Austrian control in most of northern Italy, the Quadrilateral became the keystone of Austrian defenses down to the 1860s.

During Bonaparte's 1796–1797 campaign in northern Italy, the young general nearly came to grief as a result of the Austrian defense of Mantua. Surrounded by the river Mincio on three sides, this powerful fortress posed a severe threat to Bonaparte's southern flank. He had to stretch his talents and resources to besiege this dangerous enemy stronghold and simultaneously fend off Austrian armies attacking from the north and east. Only after defeating this series of Austrian assaults could Bonaparte compel Mantua to surrender in February 1797.

Bonaparte's conquest of Lombardy and the Venetian Republic gave him control of the entire Quadrilateral. The French general expected future wars with Austria, and, although the crucial theater of operations was likely to be southern Germany, Bonaparte needed a unified system of fortresses in northern Italy to protect his right flank. Under the direction of Bonaparte's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, the cities' defenses grew considerably stronger. And Eugène benefited directly from his labors shortly thereafter. In April 1809, as part of a new Austrian war against France, a powerful Austrian army under Archduke John invaded northeastern Italy and defeated the French at the Battle of Sacile. Eugène and Marshal Jacques Macdonald, his chief military adviser, used the defensive bastion of the Quadrilateral as the base for a successful French counterattack. In 1811 massive new expenditures went to strength-

ening the defenses of Mantua, Peschiera, and Legnano. In 1813–1814, possession of the Quadrilateral again allowed Eugène to fend off attacks from superior opposing forces.

The construction of the defenses of the Quadrilateral reached a peak under Austrian control after 1815. During the Revolution of 1848 the renowned Austrian general, Joseph Graf Radetzky von Radetz, used the Quadrilateral as a base for suppressing forces challenging Austrian rule in northern Italy. When the French invaded in 1859, Austrian troops again retreated to the shelter of the Quadrilateral and Napoleon III, rather than attempting to attack this enemy stronghold, instead decided to come to the conference table. In 1866, while Austrian armies were being defeated by the Prussians in Bohemia, Austrian troops in the Quadrilateral held steady against their Italian opponents.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1813–1814); John, Archduke; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mantua, Sieges of; Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf; Sacile, Battle of; Venetian Republic

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## Quadruple Alliance (20 November 1815)

Alliance reached among the European powers Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia on 20 November 1815, in which the four nations sought collective security and a balance of

power. The Quadruple Alliance had its antecedent in the Treaty of Chaumont of March 1814, in which the four powers pledged themselves not to seek any separate peace with Napoleon but agreed instead to maintain their military coalition until Napoleon surrendered. Coalition action provided the only means Europe had to defend itself against the overwhelming military superiority of France. When Napoleon left Elba and returned to Paris, the Allied powers declared him an outlaw and renewed the Treaty of Chaumont. With Napoleon defeated at Waterloo and in final exile on St. Helena, and with the Bourbons restored a second time, the coalition wanted full insurance against a resurgent France.

Considering the ease of Napoleon's return from Elba, it was especially clear to Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary, that paper arrangements creating territorial adjustments or limited military establishments would not, by themselves, keep the peace. Guided by Castlereagh's diplomatic search for a more effective guarantee, on the same day of the signing of the second Treaty of Paris (20 November 1815), Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to the Treaty of Alliance and Friendship. Also known as the Treaty of Defensive Alliance but best recognized as the Quadruple Alliance, the powers directed their military precautions solely against France, pledging that they would collectively secure Europe through a formal alliance. The powers pledged themselves to uphold the second Treaty of Paris by force, to prevent the return of any Bonapartist, and to repel any attack by the French against the Allied army of occupation. The alliance members committed an additional 60,000 troops, if necessary, to maintain order. The Quadruple Alliance provided a means whereby the unity of the four powers and the smaller European nations could oppose France and ensure a balance of power.

The Quadruple Alliance went beyond military assurances. Castlereagh's efforts of early 1814 led to Allied diplomatic unity. In Article VI of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance, the Allies pledged to hold "meetings at fixed periods . . . for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests." By agreeing to periodic conferences, the Allies could also use joint diplomacy, in concert with combined military measures, to ensure order and the execution of the second Treaty of Paris.

Each of the powers seemed to have its own interpretation of the primary role of the Quadruple Alliance. National self-interests guided each of the alliance members. Britain saw the alliance as a bulwark directed against renewed French aggression. The British were committed to the maintenance of frontiers and the exclusion of the Bonapartists from the French throne, but they were unwilling to consider the Quadruple Alliance as a means to

ensure Bourbon rule or as a license to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. The Russian tsar, Alexander I, was committed to Bourbon rule and saw the alliance as a means of suppressing all revolutionary movements that might arise on the Continent. Klemens Fürst Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, believed Allied unity was a means of keeping all four powers involved in European affairs to deal collectively with revolutionary threats that if ignored, could provoke Russian troops to march unilaterally across the Continent.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 9 October 1818 ended the military occupation of France. France was invited to enter the mainstream of European diplomacy and became an important part of the balance of power in Europe. The French acceptance of this offer has led historians to see France as the fifth member of the so-called Quintuple Alliance. However, the original four powers remained suspicious of a French resurgence and secretly renewed the Quadruple Alliance on 1 November 1818. The French never gave cause for use of the renewed treaty and later played an active role in alliance matters.

In the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna, the principal members of the Allied coalition of 1813–1814 held several congresses to deal with perceived threats to peace, but the powers failed to act in concert. The revolutionary outbreaks in Spain and Naples of 1820 led to calls for an Allied conference at Troppau in 1820. Castlereagh restated Britain's commitment to the balance of power but rejected the alliance's role in intervening in the domestic affairs of other nations. Alexander hoped that the alliance would check these revolutions before they engulfed all of Europe. Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to Metternich's proposal, known as the Troppau Protocol, that political changes caused by revolutionary actions would not be officially recognized and that the powers had the right to suppress these changes. Britain rejected the reactionary protocol. To suppress the ongoing rebellions, the 1821 Allied coalition conference at Laibach authorized Austrian military operations in the Italian peninsula, while the 1822 Verona conference sanctioned a French military incursion into revolutionary Spain. Britain refused to support either operation. The formal alliance was all but dead.

The Quadruple Alliance, however weak it proved to be, should be seen as an integral part of the comprehensive peace achieved at the Congress of Vienna. Among the principles followed by the congress, and all of the achievements of Vienna, the Quadruple Alliance created the sense of collective security and established a balance of power that helped guide European diplomacy for three decades. While revolutionary fervor continued to erupt from the 1820s through 1848, and the dying balance of power ended in 1854 with the Crimean War, the European powers re-

mained determined to avoid war on the scale of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, an effort that only ended with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

*Thomas D. Veve*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Elba; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; St. Helena; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo, Battle of

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## Quatre Bras, Battle of (16 June 1815)

Fought two days before Waterloo, the Battle of Quatre Bras took place around the crossroads of the highways from Nivelles to Namur and Brussels to Charleroi, on the same day in which Napoleon was engaging the Prussians at Ligny. The forces engaged included parts of the left wing of the (French) Army of the North (*Armée du Nord*) under Marshal Michel Ney and elements of the Anglo-Allied army (British, Dutch-Belgian, and various German troops: Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Nassauers, and others) under the Duke of Wellington. Despite being outnumbered, Wellington held this position that day.

Napoleon had crossed the frontier between France and the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Belgium having recently been combined with Holland) on 15 June, driving back the Prussian outposts. Napoleon's intention on the sixteenth was to crush the Prussian army, now assembling in the Sombrefe position. He sent Ney to brush aside

Wellington, preventing him from linking up with the Prussians. Quatre Bras marked the hinge between the two Allied armies. If the French were to take it, the Allies would be separated from each other and unable to bring the superior numbers of their united forces to play against Napoleon, who could then defeat each of their armies alone.

The affair at Quatre Bras was unexpected and took Wellington by surprise. Until 16 June, this important road junction on the line of communication between Wellington's headquarters in Brussels and that of Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt, commander of the Prussian Army of the Lower Rhine, was held by men from the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd (Dutch-Belgian) Division. These were Nassauers from a German state on the Rhine under the command of Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Although Wellington had ordered this force to join the remainder of the division at Nivelles on the evening of 15 June, the commanders on the ground, General Baron de Perponcher-Sedlnitzky and General Baron de Constant Rebecque, used their initiative and did not carry out this instruction. Thanks to them, Wellington was in a position to fight a battle there on the sixteenth.

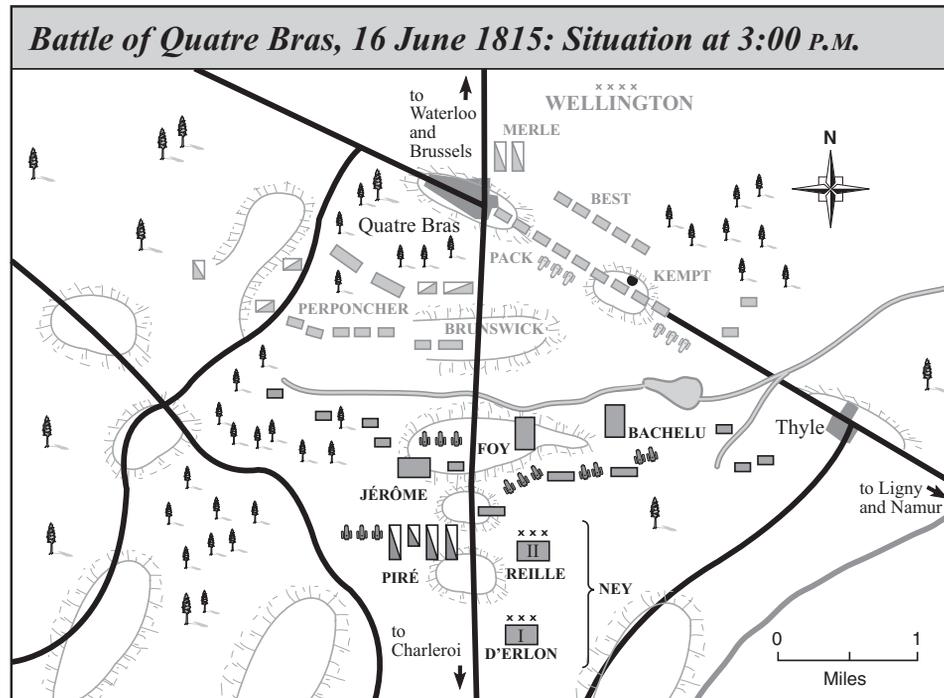
The hamlet of Quatre Bras consisted of one large farmhouse, an inn, and several smaller buildings. The surrounding countryside was undulating. The other solid buildings included the farm of St. Pierre at Gémioncourt, the village of Pireaumont, and the farm of Grand Pierre Pont. South of the Nivelles road and west of the Charleroi road was the Bossu Wood. The Delhutte Wood was to the southeast. Ney had his headquarters in the village of Frasnes.

The forces at Ney's disposal that day included I Corps under General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon, although this never arrived on the battlefield; II Corps under General Honoré, comte Reille; and General François Etienne, comte Kellermann's III Cavalry Corps; around 25,000 men, excluding d'Erlon (20,000 men).

At daybreak, Perponcher reinforced Saxe-Weimar with men of the 1st Brigade. He had around 7,000 men in position. At 6:00 A.M. the Prince of Orange arrived from Brussels and expressed his satisfaction with the dispositions. There were some brief exchanges of fire but nothing serious.

On the morning of the sixteenth, Wellington rode from Brussels to Quatre Bras to inspect the situation there. Arriving about 10:00 A.M. he observed the French activity at Frasnes, and judging them to pose little threat he merely ordered up Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton's division (5,000 men) to support the Netherlanders. The duke then rode to Blücher's headquarters at the Mill of Bussy, near Brye, to confer with him.

While Wellington was absent, Ney's forces formed up for the attack. The Prince of Orange perceived the danger



Adapted from Chandler 1999, 353.

and ordered up further forces. The prince's nine battalions, supported by sixteen guns, were spread thinly over a front of 3.5 kilometers. At the commencement of the battle, part of the Dutch-Belgian artillery was deployed in the center of their position, across the Charleroi road. Some guns were left to cover Quatre Bras. A battalion of Nassauers was posted south of the Bossu Wood. A battalion of *Jäger* (light infantry) was placed between Gémioncourt and Pireaumont. Part of a militia battalion held the farmhouse at Gémioncourt, while the main part of it took up positions on the hilltop 150 meters northwest of the farm. Four battalions were deployed along the eastern edge of the Bossu Wood. Three battalions were held in reserve.

Facing the Dutch-Belgians were 9,600 infantry and 4,600 cavalry with 34 guns. The French assault commenced around 2:00 P.M., with Reille personally leading his divisions into battle. General Jean-Baptiste Jamin's brigade opened the assault, attacking part of the 27th *Jäger*. Gilbert, comte Bachelu's division advanced on Pireaumont, forcing back other elements of the *Jäger*. The artillery of the 9th Division (General Maximilien, comte Foy) engaged the Dutch-Belgian batteries, causing heavy losses. General Maximilien Foy's columns then moved up the Charleroi road, with General Jean-Pierre Gauthier's brigade engaging the defenders of the Bossu Wood, forcing back the first line. Saxe-Weimar led a counterattack that drove the attackers out of the Wood. The Prince of Orange

reinforced this position just before Prince Jérôme Bonaparte's division (8,000 men) arrived.

While weight of numbers told, Saxe-Weimar conducted a skillful defense, only relenting to the pressure slowly. Gauthier used the respite to rally his men. Howitzer shells rained down on the militia battalion, softening it up for an attack from Jamin's brigade. The 5th Militia fell back to Quatre Bras. With 22,000 men engaged against 8,000, the position of the Dutch-Belgians was critical. However, General Jean-Baptiste van Merlen's cavalry brigade arrived shortly after 3:00 P.M., followed by Picton's division. They were able to stabilize the position.

Picton reinforced the Allied left, deploying his battalions along the Namur road to the east of Quatre Bras. General Carl Best's Hanoverian brigade also arrived, bolstering the position further. The Allies now had 12,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 27 guns available. The 5th Militia counterattacked, recapturing the farm of St. Pierre. With the Prince of Orange at their head, they fought off several French cavalry charges with volley fire.

Jamin now moved east of Gémioncourt with cavalry support. The *Jäger* and militia fought them off, but an attempt to charge the retiring French with the 6th (Dutch-Belgian) Hussars did not fare well. A countercharge by two regiments of French cavalry scattered them. This movement continued into the Dutch-Belgian artillery. Losses were heavy, and the Dutch-Belgians were routed. It was at this moment that Wellington returned.

Nassau and British infantry fought off the attacking French. The Brunswickers, nearly 7,000 men, now arrived, the Prince of Orange having ordered them up. With fresh troops, the situation could again be stabilized. Two companies of Brunswick Jäger moved into the Bossu Wood, much to the relief of the Nassauers, who were low on ammunition. The 2nd Light Battalion was sent toward Pireaumont. The remainder, four battalions of infantry and four squadrons of cavalry, drew up between the Bossu Wood and the Charleroi road.

Ney now decided to move on the crossroads at Quatre Bras. Bachelu advanced from Pireaumont against the Allied left, covered by artillery and with Jamin in support. Wellington now took tactical control of the battle. He drew up seven of Picton's battalions 500 meters south of Quatre Bras. Best's men were used to defend the Namur road, supported by the 95th Rifles and Captain Thomas Rogers's Battery. Just as Bachelu crossed the Gémioncourt brook, Picton's men fired a devastating volley, followed by a bayonet charge. The French retreated, but the 2nd Cavalry Division under General Hippolyte Marie, comte Piré, halted the pursuit and counterattacked. The square of the 42nd Highlanders was broken, and the color of the 44th Foot fought over. The British held on, but only just.

About 4:00 P.M. Wellington ordered the Brunswickers into the fray. They were deployed west of the Charleroi road, near Gémioncourt, and along the northern bank of the brook. The light companies of the vanguard passed through the Bossu Wood to link up with the Jäger. The Life Battalion deployed in line 250 meters south of Quatre Bras at the sheepfold. They re-formed in square, as French cavalry threatened them. By 4:30 P.M. the Brunswickers had taken up their positions. The 42nd and 44th Foot, now having rallied, moved up on their left. A battalion of Hanoverian militia covered this flank. The Brunswick cavalry covered the right. Two battalions were held in reserve, the 3rd Line taking up positions in the farm buildings at Quatre Bras, with the 2nd Line to its right and the 92nd Foot to its left.

Ney now deployed a battery of 12-pounders along the path from Gémioncourt to Pierrepont. These heavy guns opened fire on the Brunswickers, while skirmishers from Foy's division moved forward, toward the Gémioncourt brook. This bombardment lasted an hour, inflicting heavy casualties. To keep his young and experienced troops calm, the Duke of Brunswick stayed on his horse, smoking his pipe.

Had d'Erlon's Corps come up as ordered, Ney could have finished the job. Instead, the British 3rd Division now arrived, which the Prince of Orange had also ordered up. It was now after 5:00 P.M. and the Allies had 24,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 39 guns available. The affair was slowly

going their way, and the French only had one fresh reserve at hand, a division of cavalry. Ney sent in Foy's men for another attack. They advanced between the Charleroi road and Bossu Wood, which was now largely in French hands. Piré's cavalry moved up in support. The ten battalions of French infantry here amounted to nearly 5,000 men. There was little two battalions of Brunswickers could do to stop them. They fell back under the cover of cavalry charges led by the Duke of Brunswick.

The French pressed on, forcing the Duke of Brunswick to seek shelter in the square of his Life Battalion. He then moved forward, leading two battalions in a counterattack, but was mortally wounded by fire from some French lancers. The Brunswickers were demoralized and fell back.

About 6:00 P.M. the British 5th Brigade (Major General Sir Colin Halkett) now went into action. The Brunswickers were rallied and moved up in support. They had only just reached their positions in a field of tall rye when Ney staged his last desperate attack, throwing in what was left of Reille's corps. Several battalions of Hanoverians and of the King's German Legion met the French. The British Guards fired several effective volleys. This attack, too, was driven back.

Ney was still expecting the imminent arrival of d'Erlon's corps. However, a messenger then arrived to inform him that d'Erlon was moving on Ligny. Napoleon had ordered him there without telling Ney. The French had now too few men to win at Quatre Bras. Nevertheless, Ney sent in two regiments of cuirassiers in another attempt to beat a hole through the Allied position. They closed in on Halkett's brigade. The 69th fired a volley at 30 paces, but the French troopers rode into them, taking a color and scattering the 33rd Foot. Piré's lancers and chasseurs followed up, but the squares of the 30th and 73rd remained steady. The French cavalry then tried to find a way through the brigades of Major General Sir Denis Pack and Major General Sir James Kempt, but musketry drove them off. The Allied center held firm.

About 6:30 P.M. more Allied troops arrived in the form of Major General Sir Peregrine Maitland's 1st Brigade of Guards (2,000 men) and two batteries. The infantry moved into the Bossu Wood, clearing most of it of the French, while the artillery deployed east of Quatre Bras. The Dutch-Belgians, Nassauers, and Brunswickers took the opportunity of recovering much of their lost ground.

At 7:00 P.M. the remainder of the Brunswickers arrived and was placed in reserve. An hour or so later, more Nassauers arrived. Wellington, now having some 30,000 men available, staged a general attack, throwing back the French. The battle ended with both sides holding their original positions. The Anglo-Allies lost around 4,800

men, the French just over 4,000. With more troops on their way, particularly his cavalry, Wellington would have been able to go over to the offensive the next day, had Blücher held his positions at Ligny, where the Prussians were fighting ferociously at the same time as the Anglo-Allies were engaged at Quatre Bras. As, however, Napoleon broke Blücher's center, forcing him back, Wellington was obliged to withdraw the next morning to Waterloo. Here, the Prussians joined him and avenged their defeat at Ligny.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhardt Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Brunswick, William Frederick, Duke of; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Foy, Maximilien Sébastien, comte; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Ligny, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Orange, William, Prince of; Picton, Sir Thomas; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Queipo de Llano, José María, Conde de Toreno (1786–1843)

An Asturian nobleman and recent graduate of the University of Oviedo, which was one of the chief centers of early Spanish liberalism, the then Vizconde de Matarrosa happened to be in Madrid during the uprising on 2 May 1808. Terrified by the events of the Dos de Mayo, he fled to Asturias, and, as a prominent local notable with a permanent

seat in the provincial estates, was selected by its insurgent junta to go to London to obtain British aid. Arriving in that city on 8 June 1808, he was lionized by press and public alike.

Remaining in London until December (at which time he also inherited the title of Conde de Toreno following the death of his father), he then returned to Asturias, where he was in May 1809 appointed to be a member of the new provincial junta, set up by the Marqués de la Romana following his overthrow of the province's original government. Sensing that acceptance of this appointment would be unwise, he chose rather to go to Patriot Spain's temporary capital in Seville. Resident there for a few months, in January 1810 he joined the Junta Central in moving from Seville when the French invaded Andalusia (Andalucía).

Elected to the new *cortes* eight months later as a deputy for Asturias, for the next three years he played a prominent role in liberal politics. Proscribed by Ferdinand VII in 1814, he succeeded in escaping abroad. Returning to Spain in 1820 following the restoration of the constitution of 1812, he again became a deputy for Asturias and within a short time emerged as a leader of the conservative faction known as the *moderados*. Increasingly unpopular with the radicals who dominated the Cortes and in danger of indictment for corruption, he fled to France and did not return to Spain until 1833.

Resuming his parliamentary career in the wake of the restoration of constitutional government in 1834, he quickly became first minister of finance and then prime minister. Exiled again in 1836 following the outbreak of radical revolution, he returned once more in 1837, but in 1841 he had to flee abroad yet again on account of his opposition to the regime of General Baldomero Espartero. This time the move was for good. With the overthrow of Espartero and the consequent triumph of the *moderados*, Toreno might have returned home and played the role of a party grandee, but at this point he fell sick and died.

A political lightweight who was utterly corrupt and self-serving, Toreno cuts an unpleasant figure. Indeed, he would now be completely forgotten were it not for the fact that in 1832 he published a lengthy history of the Peninsular War that to this day remains an important guide to the politics of Patriot Spain and a classic of the historical art.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Cádiz, Cortes of; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Ferdinand VII, King; Junta Central; Peninsular War; Madrid Uprising;

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### Quiberon, Expedition to (June–July 1795)

Ill-fated British attempt to initiate a counterrevolutionary uprising in Brittany in 1795. A force of several thousand armed émigrés was landed by a British fleet, with the hope that Chouan revolutionaries would join them. The expedition was hampered by a divided command and was quickly defeated by local forces under General Louis Lazare Hoche.

By the spring of 1795 Allied operations in Flanders had collapsed and French Revolutionary armies were on the offensive. The British government, led by William Pitt, hoped to land an émigré army in Brittany, near the Vendée, to spur a general uprising. Joseph, comte de Puisaye, who had led a guerrilla force and fled France in 1794, had been trying to gain support for such an attack for some time. An expedition was prepared using British-funded French regiments as a landing force. Command was divided between Puisaye and Louis Charles, comte d'Hervilly, an experienced soldier.

An expedition under Commodore Sir John Warren left Portsmouth in mid-June 1795. Nearly 100 transports carried more than 3,000 émigré troops and 80 guns, escorted by 3 ships of the line and 10 frigates. The fleet sailed into Quiberon Bay, in western Brittany, on 25 June. A suitable landing spot was located, and the troops and supplies were disembarked on the twenty-seventh. There was little resistance from the local militia, and several thousand Chouan rebels quickly rallied to Puisaye's colors. D'Hervilly led an army of 12,000 men, including many untrained local peasants, to attack Penthièvre, the only fortification on the Quiberon peninsula. They quickly captured it, but d'Hervilly refused to advance farther. By not doing so, he allowed Hoche to seal off the peninsula.

Weaknesses in the expedition quickly came to light. Puisaye and d'Hervilly were at odds over who would command. Also, many of the émigré troops were French prisoners of war, who volunteered in England to get out of prison ships. When they returned to France, they quickly deserted. Hoche's defenses cut off the flow of new recruits to the army. Had the expedition come earlier, when counterrevolution was stronger in Brittany, the results might have been different. Unfortunately for the royalist cause, it had been largely suppressed by the time the landing at Quiberon took place.

D'Hervilly attempted to break out of Quiberon by making amphibious landings behind the flanks of Hoche's defenses on 11 July. He led the southern wing of the attackers in an assault against 3,000 men holding a fortified position on 16 July. Hidden French artillery opened up, killing d'Hervilly and routing the assailants. The northern wing marched on St. Malo, but was intercepted by republican troops and dispersed.

Émigré reinforcements arrived at Quiberon on 15 July, but by then the expedition was foundering. Hoche followed up his defensive successes by an attack on Penthièvre. Deserters among the émigrés took control of the fort and surrendered it on the night of 20–21 July. Hoche immediately attacked the remaining field force of royalists, who collapsed and were routed to the beaches. British frigates were delayed by a gale and managed to take off only 2,000 royalists of a force that had totaled 17,000. Hoche also captured equipment to supply 40,000 troops, intended for Chouans expected to join the expedition.

Despite promises of mercy, the republicans executed more than 700 émigrés captured in the abortive invasion. The defeat helped end the threat of counterrevolution in western France and prevented other uses of émigré troops by the British.

Tim J. Watts

See also Chouans; Émigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Pitt, William; Vendée, Revolts in the

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### Quintana y Lorenzo, Manuel José (1772–1857)

A noted poet, historian, and dramatist who in 1808 held the post of the Bourbon régime's chief literary censor, Manuel Quintana was an early convert to the ideas of Spanish liberalism and was deeply critical of the depths to which Spain had fallen under Charles IV and Manuel Godoy (albeit in part out of jealousy to the greater favor shown by the regime to some of his rivals in the literary world).

Caught in Madrid by the French occupation, he remained quiet until the capital's liberation in the wake of the Battle of Bailén (19 July 1808), then threw himself into the publication of a long series of odes in which he extolled the glories of Spanish history and called on the populace to wage war to the death. His work also appeared in the *Semanario Patriótico*, a lively newspaper that quickly became one of the most important productions of the Patriot press.

Having made his mark, in January 1809 Quintana became the head of the Junta Central's secretariat, and, in effect, its chief propagandist. Appointed to the post of director

of the government's corps of interpreters with the coming of the *Cortes*, he enthusiastically backed the revolution that was inaugurated by the liberals and wrote many articles and poems in defense of their policies. Imprisoned in 1814, he was freed by the revolution of 1820 and for the next three years served the liberal regime in the Ministry of Education. Following the restoration of absolutism in 1823 he went into retirement in Extremadura (Estremadura). Rehabilitated on the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833 he became one of the infant Isabel II's first tutors and reentered politics as first a

deputy and then a senator. In 1853 Quintana was crowned by the queen as the court's poet laureate.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Cádiz, Cortes of; Charles IV, King; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Junta Central; Peninsular War

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*and* Napoleonic Wars

A Political, Social, and Military History



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A Political, Social, and Military History

VOLUME THREE

Entries R–Z

Primary Source Documents

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Editor*

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# Key to Military Map Symbols

## *Formations*

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	Army (commander)
	Corps
	Division
	Brigade
	Regiment
	Battalion
	Infantry
	Cavalry
	Body of troops
	Infantry square

## *Movements*

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	Advances
	Attacks
	Retreats

## *Abbreviations*

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Gde	Guard	Cav	Cavalry
Res	Reserve	Div	Division

## *Military Symbols*

---

	Artillery
	Camp
	Cavalry picket
	Field fortification
	Permanent linear fortification
	Fort
	General headquarters
	General unit area
	Naval vessel
	Small boat flotilla
	Site of engagement

## *Geographical Symbols*

---

	Bridge
	Hills/Heights
	Mountains
	River
	Road
	Swamp
	Town
	Woods



# Chronology

## 1792

### March

- 2 Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, dies.

### April

- 19 Duke of Brunswick's army crosses the French border
- 20 France declares war on Austria
- 29 French offensive into Flanders halted by the Austrians at Valenciennes

### May

- 15 France declares war on Sardinia
- 18 Russian troops invade Poland

### June

- 18 Renewed French offensive into the Austrian Netherlands result in capture of Courtrai
- 26 First Coalition formed between Austria and Prussia
- 29 French troops retreat from Courtrai

### July

- 24 Prussia declares war on France

### August

- 1 Austro-Prussian forces cross the Rhine

### September

- 20 Battle of Valmy; First French offensive in Italy begins
- 22 France proclaimed a republic
- 25 Allies invest Lille
- 28 French troops occupy Nice, in Piedmont

### October

- 6 Allied forces withdraw from Lille
- 20 French forces occupy Mainz and Frankfurt
- 22 Prussians evacuate France

### November

- 6 Battle of Jemappes, in the Austrian Netherlands
- 15 French occupy Brussels
- 20 French declare the Scheldt open

### December

- 1–16 French driven from the east bank of the Rhine
- 2 French complete occupation of the Austrian Netherlands

## 1793

### January

- 20 Louis XVI, King of France, is executed
- 23 Second partition of Poland by Russia and Prussia

### February

- 1 France declares war on Britain and the United Provinces (Holland)

### March

- 6 Battle of Maastricht
- 7 France declares war on Spain
- 10 Outbreak of revolt in the Vendée
- 18 Battle of Neerwinden

### April

- 5 Dumouriez defects to the Allies
- 6 Committee of Public Safety established in Paris
- 14 Allies lay siege to Mainz, on the Rhine
- 15 Operations in the West Indies open with British attack on Tobago

### May

- 8 Battle of St. Amand

### June

- 5 British capture Port-au-Prince, St. Domingue, West Indies
- 28 Allies take Valenciennes

*July*

- 17 Battle of Perpignan on the Pyrenean front
- 21 Allies capture Mainz

*August*

- 28 Toulon surrenders to an Anglo-Spanish expeditionary force; start of siege of Quesnoy in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29 Siege of Dunkirk, Austrian Netherlands, begins

*September*

- 8 Battle of Hondshoote, Austrian Netherlands; siege of Dunkirk lifted
- 11 Allied forces accept surrender of Quesnoy
- 22 Battle of Truillas, on the Pyrenean front

*October*

- 8 Royalist rebellion in Lyon ends
- 15–16 Battle of Wattignies, in the Austrian Netherlands

*December*

- 19 Allies evacuate Toulon, taking Royalist civilians with them
- 23 Vendéan revolt ends
- 26 Battle of the Geisberg, on the Rhine front

**1794***April*

- 1 British capture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 20 British capture Guadeloupe, in the West Indies
- 26 Battle of Landrecies, in the Austrian Netherlands
- 29–30 Battle of Le Boulou, on the Pyrenean front

*May*

- 11 Battle of Courtrai, in the Austrians Netherlands
- 18 Battle of Tourcoing, Austrians Netherlands
- 23 Battle of Tournai, Austrian Netherlands

*June*

- 1 Battle of the Glorious First of June, off Ushant
- 6 French assume new offensive in Italy
- 26 Battle of Fleurus, Austrian Netherlands

*July*

- 27 Coup of Thermidor in Paris; Robespierre executed the following day

*August*

- 1 Battle of San Marcial, on the Pyrenean front
- 10 British forces capture Corsica
- 25 French invade Holland
- 29 French retake Valenciennes

*October*

- 5 Battle of Maciejowice, during the Polish revolt
- 6 French reconquest of Guadeloupe complete
- 9 French troops occupy Cologne, on the Rhine

*November*

- 4–5 Battle of Praga, during the Polish revolt
- 18 French capture Nijmegen, in Holland
- 26 French capture Figueras on the Pyrenean front

*December*

- 10 French retake Guadeloupe

**1795***January*

- 3 Third and final partition of Poland
- 20 French troops occupy Amsterdam
- 30 French cavalry captures the Dutch fleet at Texel

*February*

- 3 French troops capture Rosas on the Pyrenean front

*March*

- 13–14 Battle of the Gulf of Genoa
- 25 British expeditionary force to Flanders is evacuated by sea at Bremen

*April*

- 5 Treaty of Basle concluded between France and Prussia
- 25 French begin offensive along the river Fluvia on the Pyrenean front

*June*

- 17 Battle of Belle Isle
- 19 French recapture St. Lucia, in the West Indies
- 23 Battle of the Ile de Groix
- 27 British land French royalist troops at Quiberon Bay on the coast of France

*July*

- 17 Battle of Hyères
- 21 French republican forces defeat the royalists at Quiberon
- 22 French and Spanish conclude peace at Basle

*August*

- 1 British invade Ceylon

*September*

- 6 French open offensive along the Rhine

- 14 British expeditionary forces conquers the Dutch Cape Colony in southern Africa
- October*
- 1 France annexes Belgium
- 5 Bonaparte uses artillery in the streets of Paris to quell the coup of Vendémiaire
- 27 New French government, the Directory, takes power in Paris
- November*
- 23 Battle of Loano
- 1796**
- February*
- 14 British expeditionary force captures Dutch colony of Ceylon
- March*
- 2 Bonaparte assumes command of French troops in Italy
- 9 Bonaparte and Josephine marry
- April*
- 11 Napoleon opens offensive on the Italian front
- 12 Battle of Montenotte
- 14–15 Second Battle of Dego
- 16–17 Battle of Ceva
- 21 Battle of Mondovi
- 28 Piedmont and France conclude peace at Cherasco
- May*
- 8 Action at Codogno
- 10 Battle of Lodi
- 13 French forces occupy Milan
- 26 British troops retake St. Lucia in the West Indies
- 30 Battle of Borghetto; first siege of Mantua begins
- June*
- 3 British capture St. Vincent in the West Indies
- 4 First Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front
- 28 Fortress at Milan capitulates to the French
- July*
- 5 Battle of Rastatt, Rhine front
- 9 Battle of Ettlingen, Rhine front
- 14 Battle of Haslach, Rhine front
- 31 French abandon siege of Mantua
- August*
- 3 Battle of Lonato, Italian front
- 5 Battle of Castiglione, Italian front
- 7 Battle of Forcheim, Rhine front
- 11 Battle of Neresheim, Rhine front
- 17 Dutch surrender their fleet to British forces at Cape Colony
- 19 French and Spanish conclude Treaty of San Ildefonso
- 24 Battle of Friedberg, Rhine front; Battle of Amberg, Rhine front; French resume siege of Mantua
- September*
- 3 Battle of Würzburg, Rhine front
- 4 Battle of Rovereto, Italian front
- 8 Battle of Bassano, Italian front
- October*
- 2 Battle of Biberach, Rhine front
- 8 Spain declares war on Britain
- 10 Peace concluded between France and Naples
- 19 Battle of Emmendingen, Rhine front
- 23 Battle of Schliengen, Rhine front
- November*
- 2 French reoccupy Corsica after British evacuation
- 12 Battle of Caldiero, Italian front
- 15–17 Battle of Arcola, Italian front
- 17 Tsarina Catherine II of Russia dies
- December*
- 22 French naval force appears off Bantry Bay on the Irish coast
- 1797**
- January*
- 14–15 Battle of Rivoli, Italian front
- February*
- 2 Mantua surrenders to the French, Italian front
- 14 Battle of St. Vincent off the coast of Spain
- 17 British take Trinidad in the West Indies
- 19 Peace concluded between France and the Papal States
- 22 French expeditionary force lands on the Welsh coast
- 24 French troops in Wales capitulate
- April*
- 16 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at Spithead
- 17 Preliminary peace concluded between France and Austria at Leoben
- 18 Second Battle of Altenkirchen, Rhine front

- 20 Battle of Diersheim, Rhine front
- May*
- 12 Mutiny breaks out among British naval crews at the Nore
- 15 End of naval mutiny at Spithead
- June*
- 15 End of naval mutiny at the Nore
- July*
- 9 French establish the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy
- October*
- 11 Battle of Camperdown between the British and Dutch naval squadrons
- 17 France and Austria conclude Treaty of Campo Formio
- 1798**
- May*
- 19 French expeditionary force departs from Toulon bound for Egypt
- 24 Outbreak of rebellion in Ireland
- June*
- 12 French occupy Malta en route to Egypt
- July*
- 1 French expedition arrives in Egypt
- 13 Battle of Shubra Khit
- 21 Battle of the Pyramids
- 22 French enter Cairo
- August*
- 1–2 Battle of the Nile
- 22 French expeditionary force disembarks at Kilala Bay on the Irish coast
- September*
- 8 French troops in Ireland surrender to British
- 9 Turkey declares war on France
- October*
- 12 Battle of Donegal, off the Irish coast
- November*
- 19 British troops capture Minorca
- 23 Neapolitan forces invade central Italy
- 29 Neapolitan troops occupy Rome
- December*
- 13 Neapolitan troops evacuate Rome
- 1799**
- January*
- 23 French establish the Parthenopean Republic in the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples)
- February*
- 10 French troops begin campaign in Syria
- March*
- 12 France declares war on Austria
- 17 French besiege Acre on the Syrian coast
- 21 Battle of Ostrach, Rhine front
- 25 Battle of Stockach, Rhine front
- 30 Battle of Verona, Italian front
- April*
- 5 Battle of Magnano, Italian front
- 15 Russian army under Suvorov arrives at the Italian front
- 26 Battle of Cassano, Italian front
- 29 Allied occupation of Milan
- May*
- 20 French lift siege of Acre in Syria
- June*
- 4–7 First Battle of Zürich, on the Swiss front
- 18–19 Battle of the Trebbia, Italian front
- 21 Battle of San Giuliano, Italian front
- July*
- 15 Ottoman troops land in Aboukir Bay, Egypt
- 25 French attack Turkish positions at Aboukir
- August*
- 2 French capture Aboukir from the Turks
- 15 Battle of Novi, Italian front
- 24 Bonaparte leaves Egypt for France
- 26 French offensive near Mannheim, Rhine front
- 27 British expeditionary force disembarks from North Holland; Suvorov's army begins march from Italy to Switzerland; Tsar Paul I forms League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 30 British squadron seizes Dutch fleet at the Helder
- September*
- 18 French surrender Mannheim, Rhine front
- 19 Battle of Bergen, in Holland

25–26 Second Battle of Zürich, Swiss front

*October*

- 9 Bonaparte lands in France
- 10 By a convention with the French, Anglo-Russian forces to be withdrawn from North Holland

*November*

- 9–10 Coup of Brumaire in Paris; Consulate comes to power

*December*

- 25 Bonaparte appointed First Consul

**1800**

*January*

- 24 Convention of El Arish concluded between British and French in Egypt

*March*

- 20 Battle of Heliopolis, in Egypt

*April*

- 20 Allies lay siege to Genoa in northern Italy

*May*

- 15 French forces enter the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Alps

*June*

- 2 French forces occupy Milan
- 4 French surrender Genoa
- 9 Battle of Montebello
- 14 Battle of Marengo; Kléber assassinated in Cairo
- 15 Austrians conclude armistice by which they agree to evacuate northern Italy
- 19 Battle of Höchstädt on the Rhine front

*July*

- 28 Truce agreed between French and Austrians on the Rhine front

*September*

- 5 French garrison on Malta capitulates

*December*

- 3 Battle of Hohenlinden, Rhine front
- 16 Denmark and Sweden join Russia in League of Armed Neutrality against Britain
- 18 Prussia joins League of Armed Neutrality
- 25 French and Austrians sign armistice

**1801**

*January*

- 1 Act of Union joins Ireland to Britain

*February*

- 4 William Pitt, British prime minister, resigns, to be replaced by Henry Addington
- 8 Peace concluded between France and Austria by Treaty of Lunéville

*March*

- 8 British expeditionary force lands in Egypt
- 20–21 Battle of Alexandria
- 23 Tsar Paul I of Russia assassinated
- 28 Peace concluded between France and Naples by Treaty of Florence

*April*

- 2 Battle of Copenhagen

*July*

- 6, 12 First and Second Battles of Algeciras, off Spanish coast
- 15 Bonaparte concludes Concordat with Pope Pius VII

*August*

- 31 French army in Egypt capitulates

*October*

- 1 Preliminary treaty of peace concluded by Britain and France at Amiens

**1802**

*February*

- 5 French expeditionary force lands in St. Domingue, in the West Indies

*March*

- 25 Definitive version of Treaty of Amiens concluded

*August*

- 2 Bonaparte proclaimed Consul for life

*October*

- 15 French troops invade Switzerland

**1803**

*May*

- 2 United States agrees to purchase Louisiana Territory from France

- 18 Britain declares war on Napoleon signaling start of the Napoleonic Wars
- 1804**
- January*
- 1 St. Domingue declares independence from France, renaming itself Haiti
- March*
- 21 Civil (Napoleonic) Code published; execution of duc d'Enghien by French authorities
- May*
- 18 Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of France  
19 Napoleon establishes the Marshalate
- December*
- 2 Coronation of Napoleon I, Emperor of France  
12 Spain declares war on Britain
- 1805**
- April*
- 11 Treaty of alliance concluded between Britain and Russia
- May*
- 26 Napoleon crowned King of Italy
- July*
- 22 Battle of Finisterre, off French coast
- August*
- 9 Austria accedes to Anglo-Russian treaty of alliance, forming the Third Coalition  
26 Grande Armée leaves camps along the Channel coast and marches for the Danube  
31 August Britain and Sweden conclude subsidy agreement for the supply of Swedish troops to the Third Coalition
- September*
- 8 Austrian troops enter Bavaria
- October*
- 3 Sweden concludes treaty of alliance with Britain, formally joining the Third Coalition  
20 Austrian army under Mack surrenders at Ulm, in Bavaria  
21 Battle of Trafalgar  
29–31 Second Battle of Caldiero, in northern Italy
- November*
- 4 Battle of Cape Ortegal, off Spanish coast  
5 Battle of Amstetten, in Bavaria  
11 Battle of Dürnstein, in Bavaria  
12 French occupy Vienna  
15 Battle of Hollabrunn, in Bavaria
- December*
- 2 Battle of Austerlitz  
3 Emperor Francis of Austria sues for peace  
26 Treaty of Pressburg concluded between France and Austria
- 1806**
- January*
- 23 Death of William Pitt
- February*
- 6 Battle of Santo Domingo, in West Indian waters
- March*
- 30 Joseph Bonaparte crowned King of Naples
- June*
- 5 Louis Bonaparte proclaimed King of Holland
- July*
- 6 Battle of Maida, southern Italy  
9 British expeditionary force occupies Buenos Aires  
25 Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine
- August*
- 6 Termination of the Holy Roman Empire
- October*
- 8 French forces enter Saxony en route for Prussia  
10 Action at Saalfeld  
14 Twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt  
17 Battle of Halle  
20 French lay siege to Magdeburg  
27 Napoleon enters Berlin  
28 Prussian garrison of Prenzlau capitulates
- November*
- 1 Napoleon issues Berlin Decrees  
6 Blücher surrenders his forces near Lübeck  
11 Fortress of Magdeburg surrenders  
28 French troops enter Warsaw
- December*
- 26 Battles of Pultusk and Golymin, East Prussia

**1807***February*

- 3 Battle of Jankovo, East Prussia
- 7–8 Battle of Eylau, East Prussia
- 19 British fleet enters the Dardanelles

*March*

- 18 French lay siege to Danzig, in East Prussia

*May*

- 27 Danzig surrenders

*June*

- 10–11 Battle of Heilsberg, East Prussia
- 14 Battle of Friedland, East Prussia
- 25 Napoleon and Tsar Alexander meet on the River Niemen

*July*

- 7 France and Russian conclude peace at Tilsit
- 9 France and Prussia conclude peace at Tilsit
- 19 French issue ultimatum to Portugal demanding conformance with Continental System

*September*

- 2–5 British naval force bombards Copenhagen

*October*

- 27 France and Spain conclude Treaty of Fontainebleau

*November*

- 23 Napoleon issues first Milan Decree
- 30 French troops enter Lisbon

*December*

- 17 Napoleon issues second Milan Decree

**1808***February*

- 16 Beginning of French invasion of Spain

*March*

- 17 King Charles IV of Spain abdicates
- 24 French troops enter Madrid

*April*

- 17 Conference at Bayonne opens

*May*

- 2 Popular uprising in Madrid

*June*

- 6 Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain
- 15 First siege of Saragossa begins

*July*

- 14 Battle of Medina del Rio Seco
- 20 French surrender at Bailén

*August*

- 1 Murat becomes King of Naples; British troops land in Portugal
- 16 Action at Roliça
- 17 French abandon siege of Saragossa
- 21 Battle of Vimiero
- 22 Convention of Cintra concluded

*September*

- 27 Congress of Erfurt between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander

*November*

- 5 Battle of Valmaseda
- 10 Battles of Espinosa de los Monteros and Gamonal
- 23 Battle of Tudela
- 29–30 Action at Somosierra

*December*

- 20 Second siege of Saragossa begins
- 21 Battle of Sahagún
- 29 Action at Benevente

**1809***January*

- 16 Battle of Corunna

*February*

- 20 Saragossa surrenders to the French

*March*

- 28 Battle of Medellín

*April*

- 11–16 British naval attack on the Basque and Aix Roads
- 16 Battle of Sacile, Italian front
- 20 Battle of Abensberg
- 21 French troops capture Landshut
- 22 Battle of Eggmühl; Wellesley assumes command of British forces in Portugal
- 23 Storming of Ratisbon

*May*

- 3 Battle of Ebersberg
- 12 Battle of Oporto
- 13 French occupy Vienna
- 21–22 Battle of Aspern-Essling

*June*

- 14 Battle of Raab

*July*

- 5–6 Battle of Wagram
- 10–11 Battle of Znaim
- 12 Austrians conclude armistice with the French
- 27–29 Battle of Talavera

*October*

- 14 Treaty of Schönbrunn concluded between France and Austria

*November*

- 19 Battle of Ocaña

*December*

- 15 Napoleon and Josephine divorce

**1810***February*

- 5 French begin investment of Cádiz
- 20 Execution of Tyrolean rebel leader Andreas Hofer

*April*

- 2 Napoleon and Marie Louise of Austria marry in Paris

*July*

- 1 Louis Bonaparte abdicates as King of Holland
- 9 France annexes Holland

*September*

- 27 Battle of Busaco

*October*

- 10 French troops arrive before the Lines of Torres Vedras

*November*

- 16 French retreat from the Lines of Torres Vedras

**1811***January*

- 26 French besiege Badajoz

*March*

- 5 Battle of Barrosa
- 9 Badajoz surrenders to the French
- 11 Birth of a son to Napoleon and Marie Louise

*May*

- 7 British lay siege to Badajoz
- 16 Battle of Albuera

*June*

- 20 French relieve Badajoz

*September*

- 25 Battle of El Bodón

**1812***January*

- 20 Wellington captures Ciudad Rodrigo

*March*

- 16 Wellington begins third siege of Badajoz

*May*

- 28 Treaty of Bucharest ends Russo-Turkish War

*June*

- 19 United States declares war on Britain
- 22 Grande Armée invades Russia
- 28 French occupy Vilna

*July*

- 8 French occupy Minsk
- 22 Battle of Salamanca
- 25–26 Battle of Ostronovo
- 28 French occupy Vitebsk

*August*

- 8 Battle of Inkovo
- 12 Wellington enters Madrid
- 14 First Battle of Krasnyi
- 16–18 Battle of Polotsk
- 24 French abandon siege of Cádiz
- 26 Kutuzov appointed Russian commander-in-chief

*September*

- 7 Battle of Borodino
- 14 French army occupies Moscow
- 19 Wellington lays siege to Burgos

*October*

- 18 Battle of Vinkovo

- 19 French army abandons Moscow and begins to retreat west
- 21 Wellington retreats from Burgos
- 24 Battle of Maloyaroslavets
- 30 Wellington abandons Madrid
- November*
- 17 Second Battle of Krasnyi
- 25–29 French forces cross the Berezina River
- December*
- 5 Napoleon leaves the Grande Armée for Paris
- 8 French troops reach Vilna
- 14 Last French troops reach the Niemen River
- 28 Convention of Tauroggen between Prussian and Russian forces
- 1813**
- February*
- 7 Russian troops enter Warsaw
- March*
- 12 French troops abandon Hamburg
- 13 Prussia declares war on France
- 27 Allied troops occupy Dresden
- April*
- 3 Battle of Möckern
- May*
- 2 Battle of Lützen
- 8 French troops occupy Dresden
- 20–21 Battle of Bautzen
- 27 French abandon Madrid
- June*
- 2 British lay siege to Tarragona
- 4 Armistice agreed between French and Allies in Germany
- 12 British abandon siege of Tarragona; French evacuate Burgos
- 21 Battle of Vitoria
- 28 Siege of San Sebastian begins
- 30 Siege of Pamplona begins
- July*
- 7 Sweden joins the Sixth Coalition
- 19 Austria agrees to join the Allies
- 28–30 Battle of Sorau
- August*
- 12 Austria declares war on France
- 23 Battle of Grossbeeren
- 26 Battle of Pirna
- 26–27 Battle of Dresden
- 30 Battle of Kulm
- 31 British capture San Sebastian; Battle of Vera; Battle of San Marcial
- September*
- 6 Battle of Dennewitz
- October*
- 7 Wellington crosses the Bidassoa River
- 9 Battle of Düben
- 14 Action at Liebertwolkwitz
- 16–19 Battle of Leipzig
- 18 Saxony defects to the Allies
- 30 Battle of Hanau
- 31 French surrender Pamplona
- November*
- 10 Battle of the Nivelle
- 11 French surrender Dresden
- December*
- 9–12 Battle of the Nive
- 13 Battle of St. Pierre
- 1814**
- January*
- 11 Naples joins the Allies
- 14 Denmark concludes peace with the Allies at Kiel
- 27 Battle of St. Dizier
- 29 Battle of Brienne
- February*
- 1 Battle of La Rothière
- 3 Negotiations for peace begin at Châtillon-sur-Seine
- 10 Battle of Champaubert
- 11 Battle of Montmirail
- 12 Battle of Château-Thierry
- 14 Battle of Vauchamps
- 17 Battle of Valjouan
- 18 Battle of Montereau
- 26 British lay siege to Bayonne
- 27 Battle of Orthez
- 27–28 Battle of Meaux
- March*
- 7 Battle of Craonne
- 9 Allies conclude Treaty of Chaumont
- 9–10 Battle of Laon

- 13 Battle of Rheims
- 20 Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube
- 25 Battle of La-Fère-Champenoise
- 31 Action at Montmartre; Paris surrenders

*April*

- 6 Napoleon abdicates unconditionally
- 10 Battle of Toulouse
- 14 Action at Bayonne
- 17 Marshal Soult surrenders to Wellington, ending the Peninsular War
- 28 Napoleon leaves for Elba
- 30 (First) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies

*May*

- 27 French forces surrender Hamburg

*July*

- 5 Battle of Chippewa
- 25 Battle of Lundy's Lane

*November*

- 1 Congress of Vienna convenes

*December*

- 24 Treaty of Ghent concludes war between Britain and the United States

**1815**

*January*

- 8 Battle of New Orleans

*February*

- 26 Napoleon leaves Elba for France

*March*

- 1 Napoleon lands in France
- 15 Naples, still under Murat's rule, declares war on Austria
- 19 Bourbons leave Paris
- 20 Napoleon reaches Paris and returns to power
- 25 Allies form Seventh Coalition

*May*

- 2–3 Battle of Tolentino

*June*

- 9 Congress of Vienna closes
- 16 Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras
- 18 Battle of Waterloo; Battle of Wavre
- 22 Napoleon abdicates

*September*

- 26 Holy Alliance concluded between Russia, Prussia, Austria and other powers

*November*

- 20 (Second) Treaty of Paris concluded between France and the Allies; Quadruple Alliance agreed between Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia

# Glossary of Military Terms

The terminology associated with warfare on land and at sea during the period 1792–1815 is very large and can fill several books. Siege warfare alone produced a unique language of its own, mainly connected with the parts of fortifications and the craft associated with their defense or reduction. Below are some of the technical terms referred to in this work, as well as others commonly associated with the period.

*à cheval*: mounted

*à pied*: on foot

*abatis*: barricade of felled trees or interwoven branches

adjutant-general: staff colonel sometimes assigned to serve as a chief of staff at division or corps level

*Afrancesados*: Spanish Francophiles, associated with those who supported the French occupation of Spain from 1808

aide-de-camp: junior staff officer attached to a general or marshal

*Amalgame*: amalgamation of regular French infantry regiments and volunteer units to form a composite units

approaches: trenches or siege lines dug toward the enemy positions

*arme blanche*: generic term for cavalry

ataman: senior Cossack officer

Bashkirs: primitively armed and equipped light cavalry from Asiatic Russia

bastion: four-sided fortification

battery: gun emplacement or company of artillery; batteries could number six, eight or twelve guns

breaking ground: beginning a siege

breastplate: steel plate worn by cuirassiers to protect their fronts; badge worn on the shoulder-belt

breastwork: parapet, usually on a field fortification, to protect the defenders

brigade: tactical formation consisting of two or more battalions of infantry or regiments of cavalry

*cadre*: important officers, enlisted men and other staff needed to organize and train a unit

caisson: ammunition wagon

caliber: the internal diameter of the barrel of the weapon, and approximately the diameter of the projectile fired

canister: artillery ammunition consisting of small lead balls encased in a tin

cannon: informal term for artillery piece

carbine: short cavalry musket

carabinier: type of heavily-armed cavalryman, similar to a cuirassier

carbine: type of musket carried by cavalry, shorter and lighter than the standard infantry musket

carriage: wooden frame which supports the barrel of a cannon

cartouche: cartridge box

case shot: type of artillery ammunition, effectively the same as canister

*chasseurs à cheval*: light cavalry

*chasseurs à pied*: light infantry

*chef*: colonel-proprietor of a regiment in the Russian Army

*chef de bataillon*: major; commander of a French battalion

*chef d'escadron*: major; commander of a cavalry squadron

*cheval-de-frise*: planks or beams studded with spikes or blades, used as a barricade

*chevaléger/cheval-léger*: light cavalry, usually French

*chevauxléger*: light cavalry, usually German

chouan: Royalist insurgent from Brittany

citadel: component of a fortification, consisting of four or five sides

class: annual proportion of the population liable

cockade: rosette bearing the national colors worn on a hat or helmet

color/colour: infantry flag, battalion or regimental

commissariat: army department responsible for supply

company: small tactical unit of infantry or cavalry, or

battery of artillery; a subdivision of a battalion

cornet: lowest officer rank in the cavalry; second lieutenant

- corps: self-contained formation, and the largest tactical unit in an army, containing elements of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and staff; a corps consisted of two or more divisions
- Cortes*: the parliament of Spain
- Cossack: generic name for irregular Russian cavalry
- court-martial: military court
- cuirass: metal breastplate or backplate worn by heavy cavalry
- cuirassier: heavy cavalymen wearing a steel cuirass and helmet
- debut: to issue from a ravine or wood into open ground
- defile: narrow way through which troops can only march on a very confined front
- demi-brigade: French unit of the Revolutionary period consisting of one regular and two volunteer or conscript battalions
- department/*département*: geographical sub-division of France used for administrative purposes
- division: military formation comprising two or more brigades, comprising several thousand infantry and cavalry supported by artillery
- dragoon: medium cavalry capable of fighting mounted or on foot, though almost invariably playing the former role
- eagle: standard consisting of an bronze Imperial eagle mounted on a staff and presented to most units of the French Army from 1804
- embrasure: opening of a parapet of a fortress or field fortification through which artillery (or small arms) could be fired
- émigrés*: Royalists who fled France after the outbreak of Revolution in 1789
- enfilade: to fire on the flank of an opponent
- ensign: the lowest rank in the infantry; second lieutenant
- Erzherzog*: Archduke; an Austrian title
- escadron*: squadron of cavalry
- esplanade: open area separating a citadel from surrounding buildings
- état-major*: regimental staff
- evolution: drill movement, including marching and weapons handling
- facings: distinctive colors on a uniform, usually the collar and cuffs, which differentiate units
- fascine: bundle of brushwood used to fortify a position or to fill ditches during an assault
- field marshal: highest rank in the British, Russian, and Prussian armies
- foot: infantry
- flèche* (modern spelling, *flèche*): V-shaped fortification whose rear is left open, from the French for “arrow”
- flintlock: most common form of musket of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
- forlorn hope: advance storming party, usually that sent ahead of the main assault into the breach of a city or fortress wall
- Freiherr: title used throughout German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Baron*
- Freikorps*: independently-raised units, usually from Prussia or Austria; bands of volunteers
- Fürst: title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Prince*
- fusil: musket
- gabion: wicker basket filled with earth used in fortification
- général de brigade*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a brigade; brigadier general
- général de division*: rank in the French army usually accorded to the senior officer commanding a division; major general
- glacis: slope leading up to a fortification
- Graf: Title used in German-speaking territories, roughly equivalent to *Count*
- Grapeshot: type of artillery ammunition, only effective at short range, consisting of a cloth bag filled with musket balls which spread on leaving the barrel
- grand battery: tactical amalgamation of several artillery batteries in order to produce a massive concentration of fire
- Grande Armée: From 1805, the main body of the French army and any allied forces serving under Napoleon’s personal command
- grenadier: elite infantry, no longer armed with hand grenades, often used to spearhead an attack; they could operate as entire units or form a single company of a battalion
- Grenzer*: troops serving on the Austrian frontiers with the Ottoman Empire
- guard: term accorded to elite troops, usually regarded as the best in the army; in both French and German, spelled “Garde”
- guerrilla: irregular fighter
- guidon: cavalry standard
- gun: an artillery piece (cannon); not to be confused with small arms, which were known by type, that is, musket, fusil, rifle, pistol, etc.
- handspike: metal lever used to manhandle a cannon into a desired position
- haversack: bag carried by an infantryman containing food and personal effects, usually worn slung on the hip, as opposed to a knapsack
- hornwork: part of a fortification comprising the front of a bastion and two side extensions

- horse artillery: light caliber guns drawn by horse teams whose crew either rode on the limbers or on horseback, thus giving them greater speed over the foot artillery
- howitzer: short-barrelled cannon used to lob shells using a high trajectory
- Hundred Days, The: term used to describe the period of Napoleon's short reign between March and June 1815
- hussar: type of elaborately costumed light cavalry; originally Hungarian
- Imperial Guard: elite formation of the French and Russian armies, in the case of the former divided into the Young, Middle, and Old Guard. This formed Napoleon's tactical reserve and was seldom committed to battle until the campaign of 1813
- invest: in siege warfare, to surround a town or city in preparation for the establishment of formal siege works
- Insurrection: militia from Hungary and Croatia
- Jäger/jäger*: literally, huntsman, in German; rifleman or other type of light infantryman, usually from a German-speaking area
- Junker*: East Prussian aristocracy
- Kalmuk: type of light cavalry from Asiatic Russia
- knapsack: pack worn by infantry on the back
- Korps*: Austrian army corps
- Krümper*: Prussian reservist serving between 1808 and 1812
- lancer: light cavalryman armed with a lance
- Landwehr*: militia or newly-recruited infantry unit, from German-speaking states
- légère*: light, indicating types of infantry or cavalry
- legion/*légion*: a military formation usually consisting of a combination of infantry, cavalry and artillery, often of foreign troops forming part of another army
- levée en masse*: universal male conscription introduced by the French during a period of national emergency in 1793
- light dragoon: type of light cavalry
- ligne*: line; standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- light infantry: equipped like line infantry, but employed in a more mobile capacity on the battlefield, especially by operating in open, or skirmish, order
- limber: two-wheeled carriage with ammunition box which connects a team of horses to a cannon to facilitate movement
- limber up: to attach a cannon to a limber in order to move the former
- line: in French, *ligne*; for example, standard form of (usually) infantry meant to fight in the battle line
- "line infantry" or "infantry of the line" (*infanterie de la ligne*)
- line of communication: route behind an army, either by road or river or both, by which supplies, reinforcements, and couriered messages traveled
- line of march: general route taken by an army on the march
- line operations: as with line of march, but normally applied to enemy territory
- line of retreat: general route of withdrawal taken by a (usually defeated) army
- loophole: opening made in a wall to enable the defenders to fire through with small arms
- lunette: triangular fortification atop a glacis or beside a ravelin
- magazine: place of storage for ammunition
- Mameluke: from the Turkish *mamluk* (slave), a type of Egyptian horseman, variously and elaborately armed, though also referring to those serving in the French Imperial Guard
- marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea
- marshal: highest rank in the French Army from May 1804
- militia: forces raised for home defense
- National Guard: troops raised in France (*Garde Nationale*) for home defense
- Oberst*: colonel
- opolchenye*: untrained Russian militia
- Ordenança*: Portuguese militia
- outpost: infantry or cavalry occupying an advanced position to facilitate observation of the enemy or early warning of its approach
- palisade: sharpened wooden stakes used mainly for defense against cavalry
- parallel: large trench dug during siege operations which runs parallel to the enemy fortification; manned by troops and supplies in anticipation of the assault
- parapet: stone wall or bank of earth offering protection to troops occupying a fortified position
- partisans: guerrillas; irregular troops
- piece: a cannon, regardless of caliber
- picket/*picquet*: sentry or a small outpost
- pioneer: regimental carpenter or other skilled craftsman
- pontoon: boats specifically designed to be laid adjacent to one another to form a bridge
- pontonier: engineer trained to build pontoons or temporary bridges
- quarters: soldiers' accommodation, whether barracks or civilian lodgings
- rampart: wall of earth or stone comprising the main part of a fortress
- ravelin: detached, triangular-shaped fortification positioned in front of a fortress wall

- redoubt: field fortification, usually dug just prior to battle, armed with infantry and often artillery
- representative on mission/*représentant en mission*: deputy of the Convention or other Revolutionary government official, armed with sweeping powers, sent on specific missions to various regions or armies; political commissars
- rifle: infantry firearm with a grooved or “rifled” bore, thus providing spin—and therefore greater accuracy—than its smooth-bore counterpart, the ordinary musket
- round shot: the most common form of artillery ammunition, consisting of a solid cast-iron sphere, now commonly referred to as a “cannonball”; the weight of the ball varied according to the caliber of the gun from which it was fired
- saber/sabre: cavalry sword with a curved blade, generally used by light cavalry and general officers
- sap: narrow siege trench
- sapper/*sapeur*: combat engineer; often used to construct or demolish field fortifications, and to dig saps during siege operations
- sans-culottes*: extremist revolutionaries in France, generally associated with Paris
- Schützen: German riflemen
- shako: cylindrical military headdress, usually of leather, with a peak and usually a chin-strap
- shell: explosive projectile
- shot: abbreviation for round shot, the most common form of artillery ammunition
- shrapnel: type of artillery ammunition, unique to the British Army, consisting of a hollow sphere packed with musket balls and powder, which when detonated in the air by a fuse showered its target with its contents
- skirmisher: soldier operating in open or extended order to snipe at the enemy individually or as part of a screen to mask friendly troops
- spiking: the means by which a cannon can be made inoperable by the hammering of a spike down the touchhole
- squadron: subdivision of a cavalry regiment, usually consisting of two companies or troops
- square: infantry formation assumed as a defense against cavalry
- standard: cavalry flag, usually rectangular in shape
- sutler: camp-follower who sells food and drink to soldiers, either on the march or in camp
- tirailleur*: skirmisher or light infantryman, usually French and serving together as a unit rather than in the light company of a line regiment
- train: transport service of an army, responsible for conveying supplies, artillery, bridging equipment, and all the other paraphernalia of war
- Tricolor: French national flag, adopted during the Revolution, consisting of blue, white and red bands
- troop: unit of cavalry smaller than a squadron, usually the equivalent of an infantry company
- uhlan*: Polish for *lancer*, usually applied to those serving in German-speaking states or in the Russian Army
- vedette*: cavalry sentry or scout
- vivandière*: female sutleress who accompanies an army on campaign and provides food and sundry services, such as cooking and clothes washing, for a fee
- voltigeur*: from the French for “vaulter,” a light infantryman usually serving in the light company of a line regiment, usually deployed in extended order to form a skirmisher screen ahead of infantry or cavalry
- winter quarters: the quarters occupied by an army during that season, when fighting usually entered a period of hiatus until spring

# Glossary of Naval Terms

- aloft: up in the masts or rigging  
*amiral*: admiral in the French Navy  
astern: behind the vessel  
boarding: coming aboard an enemy vessel by force  
bow: the forward (front-most) part of a vessel  
brig: a lightly-armed (ca. 14 guns), maneuverable, square-rigged, two-masted vessel, smaller than a sloop  
broadside: the simultaneous firing of all the guns positioned on one side of the ship  
canister shot: a type of ammunition consisting of a cylindrical tin case packed with many iron balls which when fired from a cannon at short range spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
carronade: a short-barrelled, heavy calibre gun used only at close range for devastating results against the enemy's hull and crew; only the Royal Navy carried such weapons, which were not counted in the rating of vessel  
chain shot: a type of ammunition comprising two iron spheres or half-spheres, connected by a short length of chain, mainly used to damage rigging and sails  
*contre-amiral*: rear admiral in the French Navy  
double: to attack an enemy vessel from both sides simultaneously  
fireship: vessel packed with combustibles, steered into the enemy, and set on fire  
flagship: the ship of the officer commanding a squadron or fleet, usually a vice- or rear-admiral, and flying his flag  
fleet: a force of more than ten warships  
flotilla: a force of small vessels, sometimes troop ships and gun boats  
frigate: a single-decked warship mounting between 24 and 44 guns  
grapeshot: a type of ammunition consisting of a canvas bag filled with small iron balls which when fired from a cannon spread out to kill and maim enemy personnel  
grog: drink made from a mixture of rum and water  
gun: a cannon; these fired round shot weighing between 12 and 36 lbs; small arms, technically speaking, were not "guns," but referred to by their specific type, for example, musket, pistol, etc.  
line ahead: formation by which all vessels follow one another in a line, bow to stern; the standard formation for attack  
line of battle: the positioning of warships in a line with their broadsides facing an enemy against whom they intend to engage in battle  
line of battle ship: ship of the line; vessels carrying at least 64 guns and thus large enough to sail in the line of battle, as opposed to frigates and other, smaller vessels  
magazine: place of storage for ammunition  
marines: troops specifically trained to fight at sea  
port: the lefthand side of a ship when looking toward the bow; opposite of "*starboard*"  
prize: a captured enemy vessel  
rake: to fire at an enemy ship's bow or stern when it is at right angle to one's one vessel, so enabling the shot to travel down the length of the enemy ship  
ship: in distinction from a boat, a square-rigged vessel with three masts  
ship of the line: warship carrying a minimum of 64 guns that by virtue of its size and armament could fight in a line of battle; the standard type was the 74  
sloop: a single-decked warship slightly smaller than a sixth-rate (frigate) but larger than a brig  
starboard: the right-hand side of a vessel as one looks forward; opposite of "*port*"  
stern: the rear-most part of the hull, usually ornamented and especially vulnerable to enemy fire  
strike (one's colors): to haul down the national flag to indicate a desire to surrender  
tack: to change course by turning the bow through the wind  
*vice-amiral*: vice admiral in the French Navy  
wear: to change a ship's course by turning her stern to windward; opposite of tacking



# R

## **Raab, Battle of (14 June 1809)**

A decisive victory for the (French) Army of Italy over the (Austrian) Army of Inner Austria near the city of Raab (now Győr) in Hungary during the War of the Fifth Coalition. The victory enabled the French under Napoleon's 28-year-old stepson, Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, to reinforce Napoleon prior to the Battle of Wagram.

When the 1809 Franco-Austrian war began, Archduke John led the Austrian Army of Italy into northern Italy to engage the French Army of Italy, composed largely of Italian troops, under Eugène de Beauharnais. After initial success, John was ordered to retire to Austria to join Archduke Charles's retreating army. Eugène pursued him into Hungary, where the two armies met outside Raab, where John had been joined by Archduke Joseph, Palatine (Viceroy) of Hungary, with 20,000 insurrection troops (poorly equipped militia called out in emergencies).

After some skirmishing on 13 June, John took up a defensive position south of Raab, near the river Danube along the higher ground behind the Páncza stream, whose marshy banks made it largely impassable to artillery and cavalry. In the center, the stone-built Kismegyer farm complex guarded the main crossing. John deployed most of his cavalry on the southern flank under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Mecséry; *Feldmarschalleutnant* Hieronymus Graf Colloredo-Mansfeld's mixed infantry held the Kismegyer village area, with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Jellacic Freiherr von Buzim's Reserve behind them. The right flank under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Frimont was comprised of the regular cavalry and some insurrection troopers.

Eugène's Franco-Italian army enjoyed a significant artillery advantage with about 70 guns, alongside 28,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. General Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, who commanded the right wing (dragoons and General Louis-Pierre Montbrun's light cavalry), was to force a crossing over the southern Páncza, while Eugène directed generals Jean Seras and Paul Grenier's infantry as-

sault in the center, and General Jacques, comte Lauriston guarded the northern section of the stream.

After Grouchy's first attack was beaten off, the French artillery pounded the Austrian positions, and from 2:00 P.M. Grenier's corps launched a series of assaults during which Kismegyer farm changed hands five times before Jellacic's reserve finally repulsed the attack around 4:00 P.M. However, in the south, Montbrun's cavalry had outflanked and defeated Mecséry's insurrection cavalry. Grouchy had located a ford and threw the rest of his cavalry across into the left of the Austrian center to support Grenier's renewed assault. John drew in his left wing, but by 4:15 P.M. the farm had fallen to the infantry of the Italian Guard. Lauriston now crossed the stream to engage Frimont and, in danger of encirclement, John was forced to order a general retreat eastward. Both sides sustained about 3,000 casualties, but the Austrians also lost a similar number of prisoners.

*Rohan Saravanamuttu*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Eggmühl, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; John, Archduke; Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre, comte; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Wagram, Battle of

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## **Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf (1766–1858)**

Chief of the general staff of the Austrian armies against Napoleon and commanding general of Austrian forces during the revolution of 1848 in Italy. In his youth, Radetzky proved his bravery as a soldier; he was wounded numerous times, and he was noted for his intelligence and initiative. As a commander, he demonstrated concern for

his soldiers and proposed innovations such as officer training schools, peacetime army maneuvers, and the use of militia (*Landwehr*). He hated bureaucracy and battled the rigid regulations and stagnation of the Habsburg imperial court. His strategic sense, however, led to the victories in 1813 and 1848–1849 that saved the faltering Habsburg Empire.

Radetzky was born on 2 November 1766 at Trebnice, south of Prague, on the holdings of his father, Peter Graf Euseb. He enlisted in a cuirassier regiment in 1784 and saw his first action in the war against Turkey in 1788–1789. During the French Revolutionary Wars, he led a cavalry charge at Fleurus (26 June 1794) and was promoted to captain. In 1796, he was a member of Jean de Beaulieu's staff facing Bonaparte's French army in northern Italy. During the War of the Second Coalition, he attained the rank of colonel and served at the Trebbia, Novi, Marengo, and Hohenlinden. In 1805, he was a *Generalmajor* under Archduke Charles in Italy. After assisting the archduke in reform efforts for the Austrian Army, in 1809 he commanded *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann von Hiller's rear guard. For service at and after the Battle of Wagram (5–6 July 1809), he was promoted to *Feldmarschalleutnant*. As chief of the general staff, he tried again to reorganize and modernize the Austrian Army, but he faced an impossible task in the face of conservative opposition in Vienna.

Before Austria joined the Sixth Coalition in 1813, the forty-six-year-old Radetzky helped to assemble and organize an army of over 200,000 men under *Feldmarschall* Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg. He authored the Trachenberg Plan (12 July 1813), which guided Allied strategy during the autumn campaign in Germany. While Allied commanders were instructed to avoid battles in which Napoleon himself commanded, they were to seize the offensive against the French emperor's line of communications and any detached corps. This method led to Napoleon's expulsion from Germany after the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October).

Radetzky urged Emperor Francis I to have Schwarzenberg's army lead the invasion of France in 1814, but Austria's chancellor, Klemens Fürst Metternich, for political reasons, did not endorse this strategy. Radetzky was not allowed to contribute further to the overall Austrian planning. Thus, Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's Prussians led the Allied advance toward Paris, prompting Napoleon's abdication in April, while Schwarzenberg's army crept securely along the Aube and Seine rivers.

After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo and his second abdication in 1815, Radetzky held minor posts in the Austrian Empire while the Habsburg army was allowed to deteriorate. However, as a result of nationalistic revolts in Italy in 1830, he was sent to quell the unrest as command-

ing general of Lombardy-Venetia. He was promoted to field marshal in 1836. Milan rebelled against Austrian authority on 18 March 1848, and after five days of street fighting, Radetzky withdrew his army of 50,000 men to the Quadrilateral, the complex of fortresses at Legnano, Mantua, Peshciera, and Verona. Although Venice fell, Radetzky's forces held firm and routed the coalition of Italians at Custoza on 24–25 July, a victory that may have saved the Austrian Empire and turned the tide of revolutions in Europe. Radetzky recaptured Milan and, in a masterful campaign, invaded Piedmont, ending the Italian revolt with a decisive victory over the armies of King Charles Albert at Novara (23 March 1849). Thereafter, he served as governor-general of Lombardy-Venetia, harshly repressing Italian nationalism, until 1857. Following his death on 5 January 1858, he was honored by Johann Strauss the Elder's *Radetzky March*, the musical tribute to the savior of imperial Austria.

Llewellyn D. Cook Jr.

*See also* Austrian Army; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fleurus, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Francis I, Emperor; Germany, Campaign in; Leipzig, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Novi, Battle of; Quadrilateral, The; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Second Coalition, War of the; Trebbia, Battle of the; Wagram, Battle of

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## Rapp, Jean, comte (1771–1821)

French general Jean Rapp survived numerous wounds and served as one of Napoleon's most valued aides. His reputation is one of courage and physical resilience, but Rapp was an intelligent and able administrator as well.

Rapp was born in Colmar on 27 April 1771. His father was a devout Lutheran and had hopes that Jean would someday become a pastor. The young Rapp did receive a good education in preparation for a pastoral career, but his physical strength and adventurous nature led him to join a French cavalry regiment in 1788. He worked his way up the noncommissioned ranks while establishing a reputation for toughness in battle. In two separate actions in 1793, Rapp suffered a saber cut and a bullet wound. He was made lieutenant in 1794. At Ligenfeld on 28 May 1795 Rapp received several saber cuts on his head and left arm.

His conspicuous gallantry made him a desirable aide-de-camp, and he was soon on the staff of General Louis Desaix. In this role, he was wounded at Kehl in 1797, and was promoted to captain. Later that same year, Rapp accompanied Desaix to Italy and met General Bonaparte. Rapp was part of the expedition to Egypt in 1798, fighting in virtually every engagement there. He was wounded in the left shoulder at Samahoud, 22 January 1799. Promoted to colonel, he helped in negotiations with the British for the evacuation of French troops remaining in Egypt after Bonaparte's departure in August 1799. Rapp and Desaix returned to France in May 1800, and both men fought at the Battle of Marengo, 14 June 1800. Desaix was mortally wounded in the battle, and died on the field in Rapp's arms.

Napoleon made Rapp one of his own aides after the death of Desaix. Rapp served in a variety of roles from 1800 to 1805. He was an intelligence officer, a military inspector, and a diplomatic envoy, and he organized a squadron of Mamelukes in Marseilles for service in Napoleon's Imperial Guard. Rapp was promoted to general in 1803. As part of Napoleon's inner circle, he was a friend of Josephine, although plans for a marriage with one of her nieces fell through. Instead, in 1805 Napoleon arranged a marriage for Rapp with fourteen-year-old Rosalie Vanlerberghe, the daughter of an important manufacturer of munitions. Later in 1805, Rapp accompanied Napoleon on his famous Austerlitz campaign. At the Battle of Austerlitz, 2 December 1805, Rapp led a charge at the head of the Mamelukes and other Imperial Guard cavalry against a counterattack by the Russian Imperial Guard cavalry. Despite receiving several saber cuts, Rapp repulsed the Russians, capturing many of them, including Prince Repnin.

After Austerlitz, Rapp was promoted to *général de division*, and continued gathering intelligence and inspecting military formations. He accompanied Napoleon on the Jena campaign of 1806, and led a charge at Schleiz on 9 October. During the campaign in Poland against the Russians, he was wounded at Golymin on 26 December. The bullet wound almost necessitated the amputation of his left arm, but Rapp refused the operation. In 1807 he became governor of Danzig. Rapp's organizational abilities were put to use in raising the Polish light cavalry regiment for Napoleon's Imperial Guard. In 1809 the Emperor made Rapp a count and allowed him to leave his duties in Danzig temporarily, in order to serve with the staff in the campaign against Austria. The general distinguished himself at Aspern-Essling. Also in 1809 Rapp helped stop an assassination attempt on Napoleon by a knife-wielding young German named Staps. The following year, Rapp was briefly out of favor with Napoleon. The general feigned illness in

order to avoid attending the marriage of the Emperor and his second wife, Marie Louise. As a friend of Josephine, Rapp did not favor Napoleon's divorce from her. Rapp's own arranged marriage ended in divorce in 1811, a process facilitated by the general's relationship with Julie Boettcher, who bore him two children.

When Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812, Rapp initially fulfilled his duties as governor of Danzig, but later rejoined the Emperor's staff at Smolensk. Rapp fought at Borodino on 7 September, and received three minor wounds and one serious bullet wound in his thigh. During the retreat from Moscow, Cossacks ambushed Napoleon and his staff. Rapp's horse was killed in the ensuing melee, and the Emperor narrowly escaped being killed or captured. Later in the retreat, Rapp, though suffering badly from frostbite, fought alongside Marshal Michel Ney in the rear guard. Rapp resumed his duties at Danzig after the Russian campaign, and prepared to defend it against imminent attack. Prussian and Russian forces besieged Danzig from January through November of 1813. His garrison decimated by disease, Rapp finally surrendered on terms. He and his men were held as prisoners in and around Kiev until Napoleon's first abdication in the spring of 1814.

Rapp commanded French forces guarding the Rhine during the Hundred Days in 1815. Napoleon had great faith in his former aide-de-camp, for Rapp had less than 30,000 men with which to face a gathering Allied army of around 200,000 troops. While Napoleon took the main French army into Belgium, Rapp organized a remarkably effective defense in Alsace, using a combination of fortified garrisons and limited counterattacks. He was able to claim a small victory at La Suffel on 28 June. Napoleon had already been defeated at Waterloo ten days earlier. Rapp resigned himself to the Bourbon restoration after Napoleon's second abdication and exile. Rapp remarried (Mademoiselle Rotberg) and had two more children. He was given some ceremonial posts, but developed cancer and died at the age of fifty on 8 November 1821.

*Ralph Ashby*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Cossacks; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Golymin, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Josephine, Empress; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Middle East Campaign; Ney, Michel; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Waterloo, Battle of

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### Rastatt, Battle of (5–9 July 1796)

Also known as the Battle of Malsch, this was the first (indecisive) engagement of the 1796 campaign in Germany between the (French) Army of the Rhine and Moselle under General Jean Moreau and the (Austrian) Army of the Upper Rhine under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour, reinforced by troops brought from the lower Rhine by the overall Austrian commander, Archduke Charles.

After crossing the Rhine, Moreau marched his main force north to circumvent the Black Forest to reach the main road network. Pushing his central column through the forest, Moreau marched north and engaged the Austrians around Rastatt and Malsch until the advance of the French center threatened Austrian communications and forced Charles to withdraw. The Austrian retreat led quickly to the Holy Roman Empire's southern princelings making peace with the French.

The campaign had opened on the central Rhine, as French general Jean-Baptiste Jourdan's Army of the Sambre and Meuse was defeated at Wetzlar on 15 June by Archduke Charles and his Army of the Lower Rhine. To the south, Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Moselle had mounted diversions around Mannheim in mid-June to draw in the (Austrian) Army of the Upper Rhine under Latour. Suddenly on 23 June, Moreau's right under General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr led the French army of 53,000 across the Rhine at Strasbourg. Moreau then marched north with General Louis Desaix's column down into the Rhine valley; General Pierre Marie Ferino marched south to cut off the Austrian left wing under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Frieherr von Fröhlich around Freiburg. Between them, St. Cyr went east into the Black Forest and destroyed the Swabian District contingent of Holy Roman Empire troops to take Freudenstadt on 3 July. Latour had hastily marched south from Mannheim to the Murg River crossing at Rastatt with 10,000 Austrian troops. When news reached the archduke on 26 June, he left the Army of the Lower Rhine under *Feldzeugmeister* Wilhelm Ludwig Graf Wartensleben and marched south with 20,000 troops. The cautious Moreau moved slowly toward the northern end of the Black Forest and reached Rastatt on 5 July. Latour withdrew 15 kilometers east to Malsch, where Charles joined him the following day.

Moreau delayed his attack until he knew St. Cyr was approaching. This French column had turned north and

marched down the Murg, forcing Charles to deploy *Generalmajor* Konrad Valentin Freiherr von Kaim's division to face him. The Austrian army was positioned around Malsch with about 38,000 troops facing a slightly larger French force. On 9 July, Desaix attacked Charles's right and after a desperate struggle, took the village. At the head of his troops, Charles led them forward and swept back into Malsch. The success was short-lived, as French troops again took the village and it was late afternoon before Austrian infantry could finally secure it. As Charles pushed Moreau toward Rastatt, news arrived of Kaim's defeat by St. Cyr around Rothenzoll in the Murg-Enz gap about 15 kilometers south of Malsch. St. Cyr could now cut Charles off from his communications in the Neckar valley. Both sides had suffered heavy casualties, so the next morning Charles withdrew toward Pforzheim.

David Hollins

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Holy Roman Empire; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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### Ratisbon, Storming of (23 April 1809)

Scene of the last engagement of the Bavaria phase of the campaign of 1809, when Napoleon's Franco-Allied army seized the important city of Ratisbon (now Regensburg) on the Danube from Archduke Charles's retreating Austrian army. The brief defense of the city and installation of a pontoon bridge to the east enabled the Austrian army to escape into Bohemia. During the assault, Marshal Jean Lannes led his troops up ladders onto the walls, and Napoleon was wounded by a small artillery round.

Following his victory at Eggmühl on 22 April Napoleon summoned his first ever council of war, which decided to halt the army about 18 kilometers south of the city of Ratisbon (which the Austrians had captured two days earlier). That night, the main Austrian army (I–IV Korps and I Reserve Korps) began moving its heavy equipment over the city's vital stone bridge over the Danube, while a pontoon bridge was thrown 2 kilometers downstream to the east for the troops. Five battalions from II Korps de-

fended the city, while 6,000 cavalry and some infantry battalions held the hilly ground outside.

At dawn on 23 April the French advance continued in a pincer movement toward Ratisbon, with General Louis-Pierre Montbrun coming from the southwest and Napoleon moving up from the south. Around 9:00 A.M. 10,000 French cavalry, led by General Etienne Nansouty's two cuirassier divisions, began to engage the Austrian cavalry, who despite poorly coordinated charges were able to hold them for almost three hours to facilitate the army's escape, before they slipped away. Only then did the French discover the pontoon bridge, but its last defenders were able to hold on and cut the securing ropes to prevent the French from using it.

By noon the French infantry had arrived and formed up around the city's medieval defenses. Lannes was given charge of its capture and opened up an artillery bombardment, while light infantry engaged the Austrian troops in the suburbs. Two infantry assaults on the main gates had already failed with heavy losses, when at 3:00 P.M. General Henri-Gatien, comte Bertrand, head of the engineers, smashed a breach in the wall with heavy artillery near the Straubing gate. Walking to observe the gap, Napoleon was struck by a small canister round in the left foot but was able to mount his horse and ride around, reassuring his anxious troops. Three small parties with siege ladders failed to scale the damaged wall until Lannes seized a ladder and led his men up to secure the lightly defended walls. A street-by-street battle raged for several hours until the French could secure and begin looting the southern part of the city. The bridge was determinedly defended by the 1st battalion of Infanterie Regiment 15 from the northern gatehouse until around 9:00 P.M., when they abandoned their positions and the French could reach the northern suburb of Stadt-am-Hof. The last 300 defenders surrendered soon after.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Eggmühl, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Lannes, Jean; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion

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**Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count (1771–1829)**

Russian general and army commander. Rayevsky was born to a prominent Russian family, nephew of Prince Gregory

Potemkin. He was enlisted in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment at the age of three (thus guaranteeing him a place in the ranks when he came of age) in 1774, becoming a sergeant on 11 May 1777, an ensign on 12 January 1786, a sub-lieutenant on 12 January 1788, and a lieutenant in 1789. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792, he transferred as a premier major to the Nizhegorod Dragoon Regiment on 11 April 1789 and served in Moldavia and Wallachia, fighting at Akkerman and Bender. Rayevsky was promoted to lieutenant colonel on 12 September 1790, and at the age nineteen, he took command of the Great Hetman Bulava (*Bulavy Velikogo Getman*) Cossack Regiment.

Promoted to colonel on 11 February 1792, Rayevsky served in Poland in the same year, distinguishing himself at Gorodische and Daragosta. In 1793 he took part in the operations around Mogilev. In 1794 he commanded the Nizhegorod Dragoon Regiment in the Caucasus and took part in the Persian campaign in 1796, fighting at Derbent. However, Rayevsky was discharged from the army during Tsar Paul's purges in May 1797. He was restored to the army with the rank of major general only after Paul's assassination on 27 March 1801, but he took another discharge on 31 December of the same year due to poor health and family problems. Rayevsky returned to service in 1805, when he was appointed to the Imperial Retinue and served under Prince Peter Bagration during the Russian retreat from Braunau to Austerlitz. In April 1807 he took command of a *Jäger* brigade in Bagration's advance guard in Poland. He distinguished himself at Guttstadt, Quetz, Deppen, Heilsberg (where he was wounded in the leg), and Friedland.

Rayevsky participated in the Russo-Swedish War in 1808, commanding a detachment in Bagration's 21st Division. In the spring of 1808 he took part in the actions at Kumo, Bjorneborg, Normark, Christianstadt, and Vaasa, earning promotion to lieutenant general on 26 April 1808 and command of the 21st Division two days later. Rayevsky then fought at Gamle-Kalerby, Lappo, Kuortaine, Brahestadt, and Uleaborg. In 1809, during the Russo-Turkish War, he led the 11th Division in the Danubian Principalities, distinguishing himself at Silistra and Shumla. On 12 April 1811 he took command of the 26th Division. In 1812, during the campaign in Russia, he commanded the 7th Corps of the 2nd Western Army. On 22–23 July he distinguished himself in the battle at Saltanovka (near Mogilev), where he engaged French forces under Marshal Nicolas Davout. He resolutely defended Smolensk on 15–16 August, allowing the Russian armies to regroup and retreat to Borodino.

On 7 September 1812, Rayevsky took part in the Battle of Borodino, where he defended a strong field entrenchment manned by artillery in the center of the Russian positions,

sometimes referred to as the Rayevsky, or Great, Redoubt. At the council of war at Fili, he urged the abandonment of Moscow. In October–November 1812, he participated in the battles of Tarutino, Maloyaroslavets, and Krasnyi. However, he became seriously ill and had to take a furlough in December. He returned to the army in late April 1813. During the campaigns of 1813–1814, Rayevsky commanded the Grenadier Corps, fighting at Koenigswartha, Bautzen, Dresden, Kulm, and Dohna. At the Battle of Leipzig he was seriously wounded in the neck but remained on the battlefield and later was promoted to general of cavalry on 20 October 1813. After the battle he left the army to recuperate from his wound and returned in early 1814, when he replaced General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein on 20 February.

In 1814 Rayevsky fought at Arcis-sur-Aube, Vitry, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre. In 1815 he led his corps to France during the Hundred Days and attended a military parade at Vertus. After the war, he commanded the 3rd Corps (25 January 1816) and then the 4th Corps before retiring on 7 December 1824. He was surprised and anguished when in December 1825, his two sons, Alexander and Nikolay, his brother Vasily Davydov, and two sons-in-law, Mikhail Orlov and Sergey Volkonsky, took part in the Decembrist Uprising and were arrested and exiled to Siberia. Despite his family involvement in the uprising, Rayevsky was appointed a member of the State Council on 7 February 1826, and over the next four years he tried in vain to secure amnesty for the members of his family. However, he became seriously ill and died on 28 September 1829. He was buried in the village of Boltyska in the Kiev *gubernia* (province). During the Napoleonic Wars, Rayevsky was celebrated for leading an attack with his two sons, Alexander (sixteen years old) and Nikolay (ten years old) during the action at Saltanovka in 1812.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bautzen, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dresden, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Heilsberg, Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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## Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José (1775–1847)

By far the most famous Spanish general of the Peninsular War, José Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi joined the Guardias de Corps in 1792, and by 1808 was a second lieutenant (a post which gave him the rank of brigadier in the rest of the army). A supporter of the aristocratic faction that overthrew Charles IV and Manuel de Godoy at Aranjuez, Palafox was given command of the escort that took Godoy, the former favorite, to France when Napoleon ordered that he should travel to Bayonne. Hearing of the Dos de Mayo (Madrid uprising of 2 May 1808), he decided to make use of it to further the traditionalist assault on enlightened absolutism, and to this end organized an insurrection in his home city of Saragossa (Zaragoza). In brief, the aim of this affair was to establish himself as regent and unleash a war against the French that would sweep away Bourbon reformism, but the plan miscarried on account of the simultaneous organization of other uprisings in many other cities.

For the next two years Palafox (and, following his capture, his supporters) made repeated efforts to take control of the Spanish uprising and discredit their opponents. These efforts seriously compromised the war effort, and it is therefore ironic that Palafox is seen as one of the greatest heroes of Spain's resistance to Napoleon. In part a reflection of the general's skills as a propagandist—his bombastic and grandiloquent pamphlets reached every part of Spain—this image is also the result of events at Saragossa, which withstood two terrible sieges before finally falling to the enemy in February 1809 (whereupon Palafox was taken prisoner).

How much of the credit for withstanding the sieges should go to Palafox is a moot point, however. In both sieges his personal courage is open to question, while in the second one in particular he crammed the city with so many troops that it was left devoid of hopes of relief and exposed to an epidemic of typhus that wiped out thousands of its defenders. Nor did he show much grasp as a field commander: In the campaign of October–November 1808, his insistence on an offensive in Navarre exposed the forces of both himself and General Francisco Javier de Castaños to catastrophic disaster. That said, he did inspire great courage among his men, and was unique among Spanish commanders in his ability to reach out to the common people.

Released by Napoleon as a peace emissary in 1814, Palafox rallied to the cause of absolutism in 1814 and was rewarded with the post of Captain General of Aragón. Thereafter, however, he played no role in politics, serving a succession of regimes in a variety of posts in the royal bodyguard and the military administration until his death in 1847.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bayonne, Conference at; Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Charles IV, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Madrid Uprising; Peninsular War; Saragossa, Sieges of

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## Regency, The

*See* Prince Regent and the Regency Period

## Reichenbach, Convention of (27 June 1813)

The Convention of Reichenbach is the name given to a series of agreements reached at the town of Reichenbach in the Kingdom of Saxony between Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia during the 1813 summer armistice. What is usually referred to as the Convention or Treaty of Reichenbach was an agreement between Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the minimum terms for a preliminary peace with the Emperor Napoleon. Other agreements arising out of the meetings at Reichenbach included unilateral treaties between Britain and Prussia, and between Britain and Russia. Some sources also refer to the convention as the articulation of Austria's terms for armed mediation with Napoleon's representatives, principally the diplomat Louis, comte de Narbonne.

In the summer of 1813, Klemens Graf Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, finalized the creation of the grand coalition that was to defeat Napoleon at Leipzig that fall. Metternich had first visited Napoleon at Dresden on 26 June, where in a stormy interview the French emperor angrily rejected Austria's demands that Napoleon essentially withdraw to France's natural frontiers along the Rhine, Alps, and Pyrenees. Metternich's demands were codified the next day in a secret treaty at Reichenbach between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with neither Britain nor Sweden being a party to this treaty. The demands included Napoleon's withdrawal from Germany, the return of Illyria to Austria, the independence of the Hanse cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, and the enlargement of Prussia by the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw, Napoleon's satellite Polish ally. Napoleon's acceptance of these terms would only guarantee Austrian neutrality and mediation.

Metternich had already established that Napoleon would reject these demands at Dresden. He pledged Austria to join the coalition once Napoleon's rejection of the terms became known. The Allies additionally agreed not to

make a separate peace with Napoleon under any circumstances. After Reichenbach, Napoleon again attempted negotiation at Prague beginning on 30 June, but only agreed to the return of Illyria in order to buy Austrian neutrality, and these negotiations were in any event broken off on 4 August. The Austrian emperor, Francis I, convinced that Napoleon was not serious about negotiation, determined on war against his son-in-law on 12 August.

There are two schools of thought about Metternich's diplomacy. The first, best represented by Henry Kissinger, claims that Metternich subtly set a trap for Napoleon at Dresden, which he codified at Reichenbach. Another view, held by Felix Markham, sees Metternich as less interested in painting Napoleon as a warmonger and more interested in establishing the basis for a general peace. Whatever Metternich's actual motives, Reichenbach's direct effect was to add Austria's military might to the Sixth Coalition.

*John T. Kuehn*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Austria; Francis I, Emperor; Germany, Campaign in; Leipzig, Battle of; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst

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## Reichsdeputationshauptschluss

*See* Imperial Recess

## Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte (1775–1860)

Reille was a talented member of the younger generation of French military leaders, one of those whose careers began after the Revolution of 1789. Entering the army as a volunteer in 1791, he reached the rank of brigadier general in 1803 at the age of twenty-eight. Reille served for many years as aide-de-camp and staff officer under the future marshal, André Masséna, whose daughter he married in 1814. The young officer fought throughout Europe during

the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, from his first campaign in Belgium in 1793 to Poland in 1807, and he then saw extensive duty in Spain from 1808 to 1813. Reille commanded one of the three corps that Napoleon led in the Waterloo campaign of 1815, and he returned to the army in 1818, three years after the restoration of Louis XVIII to the French throne.

Reille was born in Antibes on 1 September 1775, the son of a judicial official in the royal administration. After service in the National Guard, he responded to the call for volunteers for the army in 1791. As a lieutenant in the infantry, the young man saw action at the Battle of Neerwinden in the spring of 1793, then participated in the capture of Toulon.

Fighting with the (French) Army of Italy from 1794 onward, Reille began his long association with Masséna. He served as that general's aide-de-camp during the campaign of 1796–1797, was wounded during the river crossing at Lodi, and led a cavalry charge at Arcola. Reille continued his role as a valuable subordinate to Masséna in Switzerland in 1799, and he played a significant part in the siege of Genoa in 1800. Both of these campaigns established Masséna as one of the leading figures on the French military scene.

While Genoa was under siege from Austrian forces on land and the Royal Navy at sea, Reille slipped through the blockading forces carrying a crucial message from Bonaparte to Masséna. As a result of Reille's daring, Masséna now learned that Bonaparte intended to cross the Alps in order to strike Austrian forces in Italy from the north. The longer Masséna could tie down enemy forces in northwestern Italy, the greater the chances of a spectacular French success.

After Bonaparte achieved his victory over the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo, Colonel Reille received the delicate task of negotiating a line of demarcation between French and enemy forces. Bonaparte found Reille so impressive that he asked to have the young soldier transferred to his own staff.

On the battlefield as a brigade commander at Jena (1806) and Pultusk (1807), Reille won promotion to the rank of *général de division*. He served at that rank as aide-de-camp to Napoleon at the Battle of Friedland (1807). The young general then spent most of the years from 1808 through 1813 in the Iberian Peninsula, although he was called away from Spain to lead a division at the Battle of Wagram in 1809.

From the time he returned to Spain in 1810, Reille had no successes comparable to those he had achieved as a more junior leader. Rather than fighting a conventional opponent in the open field, Reille had to deal with fortified Spanish cities and irrepressible local guerrilla units. In

early 1812, by now Napoleon's most experienced general in fighting Spanish irregulars, he took command of the newly formed Army of the Ebro. His assignment was to wipe out resistance in northeastern Spain. Inadequate numbers of troops, the continuing shortage of supplies, and the difficulties of the terrain combined to produce complete failure. Reille's problems were compounded by unrealistic orders sent from Napoleon's faraway headquarters.

In 1813, Reille, now a full general, led the former Army of Portugal, which was transformed into one of the three French corps that fought in northern Spain. By the summer, French forces under King Joseph and General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan were hard-pressed by the Marquis of Wellington, in a campaign that culminated with the Battle of Vitoria in June 1813. Although Reille's units fought heroically, Joseph and Jourdan were nonetheless defeated, and the French, now under the command of Marshal Nicolas Soult, were pushed back across the Pyrenees. Reille's forces distinguished themselves by conducting a series of orderly retreats from northern Spain all the way back to France.

Barely forty years old, Reille commanded one of the three corps that Napoleon took into Belgium during the Waterloo campaign. On 16 June 1815, Reille advanced cautiously against the Duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras when a bolder approach might have thrown the enemy into disarray. Reille's experiences fighting in Spain made him wary of British forces concealed behind the crests of hills and ready to pounce on a rapidly advancing French army.

Two days later at Waterloo, he had a more useful insight into the situation: he urged the Emperor to avoid a frontal attack on Wellington's formidable defenses in favor of a maneuver on the enemy flank. Napoleon rejected the advice, and Reille's corps initiated the Emperor's final battle with ferocious attacks against the farmhouse at Hougoumont on the west side of the Allied line.

The defeat of Napoleon and the dissolution of the remnants of the former Grande Armée brought Reille a brief period in retirement. In 1818, however, he returned to active duty, and, in September 1847, he was named a Marshal of France. He lived to see Napoleon III, the nephew of his former commander, become ruler of France. Reille died in Paris on 4 March 1860, at the age of eighty-five, and he was laid to rest alongside Masséna in the Père-Lachaise cemetery.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Arcola, Battle of; Bonaparte, Joseph; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Genoa, Siege of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Lodi, Battle of; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna,

André; National Guard (French); Neerwinden, Battle of; Peninsular War; Pultusk, Battle of; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Switzerland, Campaign in; Toulon, Siege of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Republican Calendar

The Republican calendar was used in France from 1793 to 1806 as a secular and Revolutionary alternative to the Gregorian calendar.

The Republican calendar was adopted by the National Convention on 24 October 1793. Its proponents hoped to devise a rational decimal system for the measurement of time, as they had done for the measurement of weights and lengths. They also hoped to symbolize the beginning of a new era in which the values and symbols of the Republic would replace those of the *ancien régime* (called the “vulgar era” in the act that created the new calendar).

Mathematicians Gaspard Monge and Charles Gilbert Romme devised a scheme intended to be as simple as the metric system, yet compatible with the uneven cycle of the seasons. The Republican calendar year still numbered 365 to 366 days, but it was divided into 12 months of equal length (30 days), followed by 5 to 6 additional days. A complex system of leap years would have kept the calendar in sync with the solar year over several millennia, though the calendar was abandoned long before it could be of any use. Each month was divided into 3 weeks of 10 days each. In addition, days were to be divided into ten hours of 100 minutes each, which were themselves divided into 100 seconds. The implementation of this last clause was not to take effect for two years because it demanded extensive modifications of existing clocks.

Poets André Chénier and Philippe Fabre d’Eglantine were responsible for replacing all references to Christian and Roman deities with Revolutionary symbols. The cal-

endar’s first day was set retroactively on 22 September 1792 (1 Vendémiaire Year I), the day on which the Republic was proclaimed following the French victory at Valmy. The names of the twelve months were based on Greek and Latin names and referred to each season’s typical weather and crops: Vendémiaire (grape harvest), Brumaire (fog), Frimaire (cold), Nivôse (snow), Pluviôse (rain), Ventôse (wind), Germinal (seed), Floréal (flower), Prairial (meadow), Messidor (wheat harvest), Thermidor (heat), and Fructidor (fruit). The ten days of each week, or *décade*, were called Primidi, Duodi, Tridi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octidi, Nonidi, and Décadi, based on the Latin root for the numbers one through ten. In addition, each day of the year was assigned a name inspired by farming. The month of Vendémiaire, for example, included such days as Safran (saffron), Chataigne (chestnut), Cheval (horse), Carotte (carrot), Potiron (pumpkin), Tonneau (barrel), Chanvre (hemp), and Boeuf (ox).

The last day of each ten-day week, or Décadi, was set aside as a day of rest. In addition, the five or six complementary days that closed off the year were labeled “Sans-Culottides” after the sans-culottes, as the working-class urban Revolutionaries were called (changed to the neutral “Jours Complémentaires” during the Directory) and became annual feast days. These were the feasts of Virtue, Genius, Work, Opinion, Rewards, and (in leap years only) Revolution.

The Republican calendar never had the lasting influence, both in France and abroad, that the metric system had. Its secular nature offended the Roman Catholic Church. The ten-day week was unpopular with workers, who now had to wait nine days before resting. The general public found the 22 September starting date confusing, for it did not coincide with existing months and years. Napoleon abolished the calendar on 1 January 1806. It was revived briefly during the Commune (1871) and is still used occasionally by anticlerical Frenchmen.

*Philippe R. Girard*

*See also* Convention, The; Directory, The; French Revolution; Valmy, Battle of

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## Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer, comte (1771–1814)

Reynier was born into a Huguenot family in Switzerland in 1771. His training was in civil engineering, but in 1792 he

volunteered for the artillery, in which he served in the early part of the French Revolutionary Wars and fought at Jemappes. In January 1795 he was promoted to *général de brigade* after initially declining the promotion while serving under General Charles François Dumouriez.

In 1796 he was promoted to *général de division* after serving as General Jean Moreau's chief of staff for the Army of the Rhine and Moselle. In this capacity, Reynier showed his talent for planning. In 1798 he went with Bonaparte to Egypt, where he commanded a division and fought in the Battle of the Pyramids and then in the Syrian campaign. After a heated argument with General Jacques-François Menou, to whom he was second in command, Reynier was arrested and sent back to France to be put on trial, though he was cleared of all charges. Reynier continued his assault on his fellow officers and finally engaged in a duel outside Paris with General Jacques-Zacharie Destaing, whom Reynier killed; as a result of the duel, Reynier was exiled from Paris. During this period he served in Italy, where he was defeated by a British expeditionary force at Maida. In 1808 he became minister of war and marine for the Kingdom of Naples. In 1809 he was recalled for service in the Grande Armée in central Europe.

Reynier fought in the latter part of the Wagram campaign, in which he commanded the Saxon corps in the French army. In March 1810 he led II Corps in the (French) Army of Portugal commanded by Marshal André Masséna. His command covered the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida during 1810. Later in the year he commanded the left wing at the Battle of Busaco. He continued with the army when it advanced to the Lines of Torres Vedras. In 1811 he won a victory at Sabugal while covering the army's retreat. Later he fought at Fuentes de Oñoro. His skills as an organizer were reflected in his detailed planning of the army's marches and countermarches. He was also critical of Masséna's conduct. In May 1811 he was made a Count of the Empire.

Reynier served in the Russian campaign of 1812 on the southern flank commanding VII Corps, which was composed almost entirely of Saxon troops. In the 1813 campaign in Germany he continued as commander of VII Corps, which fought at Bautzen, Dresden, Grossbeeren, Dennewitz, and, finally, at Leipzig, where the corps defected to the Allies and Reynier was taken prisoner. While in captivity, Reynier was offered a commission in the Russian Army, which he refused. He returned to France in February 1814 after a prisoner exchange, but died from exhaustion and fatigue two weeks after his arrival.

*Dallace W. Unger Jr.*

*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Bautzen, Battle of; Busaco, Battle of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Dennewitz, Battle of; Dresden, Battle of; Dumouriez, Charles François

Dupérier; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Jemappes, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Maida, Battle of; Masséna, André; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussey, baron; Middle East Campaign; Moreau, Jean Victor; Naples; Peninsular War; Pyramids, Battle of the; Russian Campaign; Saxon Army; Torres Vedras, Lines of

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### Rheims, Battle of (13 March 1814)

Rheims was among the last battles of Napoleon's famous defensive campaign of 1814. It can be counted as the Emperor's final victory prior to his abdication and is noteworthy for that fact alone. Napoleon's situation in early March 1814 seemed grim. His army had been severely mauled at the bloody battles of Craonne and Laon against Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher's forces, and the enormous Austro-Russian army of *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg was edging ever close to Paris from the south. All that was needed was for Blücher's army to unite with Schwarzenberg's and march on Paris. Facilitating this juncture, an independent Russian corps under the French émigré general Louis de St. Priest seized the key city of Rheims on 12 March. Rheims was also important symbolically as the ancient coronation site for French kings.

Napoleon reacted quickly to this danger. Early on the thirteenth, he set out for Rheims with Marshal Auguste Marmont's corps, elements of Marshal Michel Ney's corps, and portions of his Old Guard—about 13,500 men. St. Priest had approximately the same number of men. Napoleon used Marmont as his advance guard and approached the city from the west. Once there, Marmont immediately began to skirmish, while Antoine, comte Drouot set up the artillery of the Guard on the hill near St. Pierre. At 4:00 P.M. Drouot opened fire with devastating effect, mortally wounding St. Priest almost immediately. Marmont's main columns now advanced, supported by generals Louis Colbert and Isidore Exelmans's light cavalry. Of note, the relatively new Guard of Honor cavalry regiments, which had been somewhat ineffective during earlier battles, performed exceptionally well in the street fighting. It is thought that the residents of Rheims hung out lanterns after the sun set to aid the French cavalry in its pursuit of the beaten Russian troops.

Napoleon was welcomed as a liberating hero by the city's residents, and by 9:30 P.M. the battle was effectively over, with St. Priest's corps in flight, having lost 6,000 men to the French 700. The immediate result of the battle, aside from the destruction of St. Priest's corps, was that Napoleon had interposed himself between Blücher and Schwarzenberg at a decisive point. Once Blücher heard the news of St. Priest's defeat, he kept his army in the vicinity of Laon. Schwarzenberg and Tsar Alexander, too, were anxious and put a temporary halt to their offensive.

*John T. Kuehn*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Craonne, Battle of; Drouot, Antoine, comte; France, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Laon, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Ney, Michel; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu

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## Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

When war began in 1792, the French Revolutionary government's key aim was to secure the nation's "natural frontiers" of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine, so the river Rhine—being the only of these three natural features not yet identifying the French frontier—became their primary strategic objective. By 1794 the French had conquered the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium and Luxembourg) but had only secured the left bank of the central Rhine following their victory in Italy. The first French incursions into the Holy Roman Empire in Germany met with a combined Austro-Prussian response, but after that alliance's collapse in 1795—with Prussia signing a separate peace at Basle on 5 April—French forces marched across the Rhine into southern Germany in 1796.

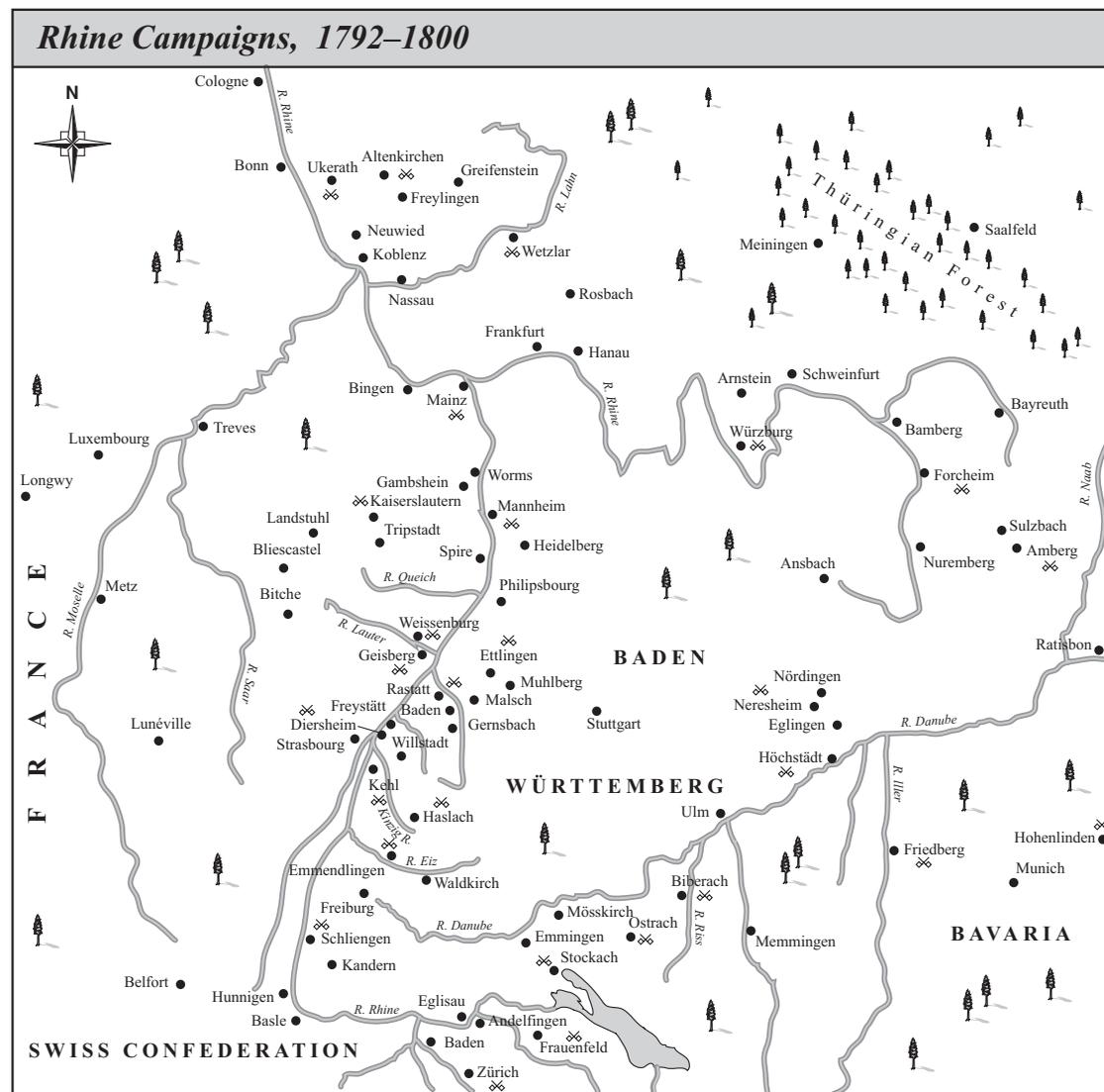
From the outset of hostilities on 20 April 1792 between France and the German monarchies, the French Revolutionaries planned to seize the Austrian Netherlands and the Palatinate (German states on the left bank of the Rhine). The Prussians favored a rapid march on Paris to restore the Bourbon monarchy, so the army commander,

*Feldmarschall* the Duke of Brunswick, planned a steady advance against the belt of fortresses before marching into France. In August, 40,000 Prussians under Brunswick entered France, marching along the Moselle. The (Austrian) Army of the Upper Rhine would advance in the south, while a second advanced from the Austrian Netherlands on Lille. The Prussians took the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, but badly afflicted by dysentery, the weakened Prussian army was halted at Valmy on 20 September by a French army under General Charles Dumouriez. Although there was little fighting, the French steadiness and Brunswick's retreat caused a sensation and gave the French the confidence to commence their own advances.

The (French) Army of the Rhine under General Adam de Custine invaded the Palatinate, taking Speyer on 30 September and the fortress city of Mainz on 21 October. Having reached the Rhine, he advanced up the Main valley to take Frankfurt. However, Brunswick's army had recovered and defeated Custine at Frankfurt on 2 December, forcing the French army into a difficult retreat on Strasbourg by March 1793. A French garrison under General Francisco Miranda held out in Mainz against a Prussian siege, but the city fell on 23 July.

As Allied armies evicted the French from the Austrian Netherlands, the Austrians and Prussians returned to the offensive in the Palatinate. *Feldzeugmeister* Dagobert Graf Würmser's Army of the Upper Rhine, which defeated Custine at Offenbach in July, smashed through the supposedly impregnable Weissenburg defensive lines in a series of bloody battles during September and October. Brunswick's two victories over the (French) Army of the Moselle under General René Moreaux at Pirmasens on 22 July and 14 September cleared the French from the German left bank of the Rhine. However, amid growing mistrust, Austro-Prussian relations broke down and, despite a victory over the Army of the Moselle, now under General Louis Hoche, at Kaiserslautern on 28 November, Brunswick failed to advance into French Alsace.

As the Prussians reduced their forces along the Rhine to improve their position in Poland, the French regrouped for a renewed effort in 1794. They concentrated on the Austrian Netherlands and had defeated the Allies by June, forcing the British into Holland and the Austrians east to the Rhine. The reduction in French troops along the Rhine had enabled the Prussians to take Kaiserslautern in May, but once reinforced, the French were able to take Trier in August. After success in the Austrian Netherlands, General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan turned east with his Army of the Sambre and Meuse to cross the river Roer (Ruhr) in October to chase the Austrians from Maastricht, Coblenz, and Cologne that month, effectively securing the Rhine as the line of separation between the hostile forces. On 5 April



Adapted from Pope 1999, 547–548.

1795 the Prussians withdrew from the war after signing the Peace of Basle. In August, Jourdan crossed the Rhine, while General Jean Charles Pichegru's Army of the Rhine and Moselle took Mannheim, before Pichegru commenced armistice negotiations with the Austrians in September. Isolated, Jourdan was routed outside Mainz in October by Würmser, who retook Mannheim the following month.

In June 1796 the French launched a two-pronged attack across the Rhine into southern Germany to engage the combined (Austrian) Armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine under *Feldmarschall* Archduke Charles. Jourdan's advance was halted in the north by the archduke at Wetzlar on 16 June, but after indecisive fighting at Rastatt, General Jean Moreau's Army of the Rhine and Moselle was able to push the archduke's southern forces back to Neresheim, where they fought an indecisive action over 1–3 August.

However, the archduke was then able to march north to combine with his northern troops under *Feldzeugmeister* Wilhelm Graf Wartensleben to defeat Jourdan at Amberg before driving him westward to crush him at Würzburg on 3 September. Although Moreau had driven the southern Austrian troops under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour back to Munich, defeating him at Friedberg on 24 August and Biberach on 2 October, Jourdan's defeat forced him to withdraw hastily westward. Defeated by Charles at Emmendingen, Moreau withdrew over the Rhine on 24 October.

Brief French incursions were launched over the Rhine in April 1797 in support of Bonaparte's advance on Vienna, in which General Louis Lazare Hoche defeated *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Freiherr von Werneck at Neuwied on 18 April and two days later, Moreau defeated *Feldzeug-*

*meister* Anton Sztáray Graf von Nagy-Mihaly at Diersheim before the armistice of Leoben concluded hostilities. The subsequent Peace of Campo Formio secured the left bank of the Rhine for France, although Austria had achieved its policy objective of swapping the Austrian Netherlands for contiguous territory in the former Venetian Republic.

David Hollins

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Biberach, Battle of; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Emmendingen, Battle of; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Friedberg, Battle of; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Holy Roman Empire; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Mainz, Siege of; Mannheim Offensive; Moreau, Jean Victor; Neresheim, Battle of; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Rastatt, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Valmy, Battle of; Venetian Republic; Würmsers, Dagobert Sigismund Graf; Würzburg, Battle of

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## Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800)

After a pause, the war between France and Austria, which had ended in 1797 with the Treaty of Campo Formio, resumed in 1799 with the formation of the Second Coalition, including Britain, Austria, and Russia, while Prussia remained neutral. Having secured its “natural frontiers,” the French planned renewed offensives into southern Germany and Austrian-held Italy, but both were defeated in early 1799. The Austrians expelled the French from southern Germany but failed to exploit the opportunity to evict them from strategically important Switzerland. In September an Anglo-Russian force landed in Holland but was forced to withdraw in late October. When Russia left the coalition shortly thereafter, France, now under First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, decided to continue the war. The French marched across the upper Rhine into southern

Germany, and by the time of Bonaparte's victory at Marengo, on 14 June 1800, they had almost reached Munich. A short-lived ceasefire failed in November, and the French finished off the war by defeating the Austrians at Hohenlinden in December.

Fighting on the Continent during the War of the Second Coalition resumed in early in 1799. The new coalition was based around Russia and Austria. Tsar Paul I of Russia intended to halt the flow of revolutionary enthusiasm, while Holy Roman Emperor Francis II (later Francis I of Austria) wanted to restore Habsburg influence in Germany and recover control of northern Italy. While Switzerland was the key to control of central Europe as it held the strategic transalpine roads, only Britain wished to prioritize it as an objective, mainly as a base for émigré activity and intelligence gathering.

The French, who had created satellite republics in Switzerland, Holland, and Piedmont, looked to expand eastward and planned to attack both in Germany and Italy before Russian troops could reinforce the Austrians. The Rhine campaign began on 1 March 1799 as the (French) Army of the Rhine under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan crossed the Rhine into southern Germany without a declaration of war, while his left wing under General Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte took Mannheim on the middle Rhine. As Jourdan emerged through the Black Forest on 6 March, General André Masséna with the (French) Army of Helvetia commenced his march across the upper Rhine toward Feldkirch in the Austrian Tyrol.

The Austrian army under *Feldmarschall* Archduke Charles responded quickly. While *Feldmarschalleutnant* Anton Sztáray Graf von Nagy-Mihaly led an independent *korps* against Bernadotte and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze defended Feldkirch with the left wing, Charles moved his main force across the river Lech to defeat Jourdan at Ostrach on 21 March. The archduke then followed Jourdan to the main strategic objective in southern Germany, Stockach, which stood at the junction of the roads connecting Germany and Switzerland. There, the Austrians decisively defeated the French on 25 March. Meanwhile, Hotze had defeated Masséna around Feldkirch and was pushing westward to Zürich, outflanking Jourdan's position and forcing him to withdraw back to the Black Forest, where he resigned his command to Masséna on 26 March. Bernadotte likewise abandoned his march into Germany and recrossed the Rhine.

Anxious about his losses, Charles blamed the government in Vienna for detaching troops to Italy and the Tyrol, but he pressed for a rapid advance into Switzerland to force Masséna from Zürich by threatening the French commander's rear. However, Vienna required him to march westward to Rastatt at the northern end of the Black

Forest, where the peace conference that had commenced in 1798 was winding up. During the night of 28 April, as they tried to leave the town, two French ambassadors were murdered and another injured by cavalry of the Austrian advance guard. Charles took the opportunity created by the subsequent political furor to leave the area and march into Switzerland to defeat Masséna at the first Battle of Zürich over 4–6 June. However, as Russian troops marched from Italy to secure Switzerland, the archduke was ordered north in late August to recapture the key fortress of Mannheim and besiege Phillipsburg in support of the Anglo-Russian invasion of Holland. The French then renewed their offensive: Masséna overwhelmed the Austro-Russian force under Hotze and General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov at the second Battle of Zürich on 25 September, as General Guillaume Brune halted the Allied invasion in Holland and General Claude Lecourbe advanced from Mainz to retake Mannheim.

When war resumed in late April 1800, *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova had taken command of the Austrian army in Germany but was outnumbered by the (French) Army of the Rhine, now under General Jean Moreau. The French crossed the upper Rhine to defeat Kray in a series of battles between 3–16 May at Engen, second Stockach, Mösskirch, and Biberach, forcing the Austrians to withdraw toward their base on the Danube at Ulm, which they reached on 11 May. Moreau's victory at Erbach on 16 May cut the main road to Munich, so when he was victorious at the Danube crossing at Höchstädt on 19 June, Kray was forced to abandon Ulm and withdraw in a northern loop toward Munich and on 10 July to cross the Iller. News of Bonaparte's victory at Marengo prompted the two commanders to agree to the armistice of Parsdorf on 15 July.

The truce broke down and fighting resumed in late November. Moreau advanced from Munich to engage the Austrian army now under Archduke John's command. At Hohenlinden on 3 December the French held their positions against a multi-column Austrian assault from the forest to the east, before counterattacking to crush the Austrian left and comprehensively defeating John's army. Three weeks later, Austria signed an armistice with France at Steyr on 25 December, which led to the Peace of Lunéville in February 1801.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Biberach, Battle of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Francis I, Emperor; Höchstädt, Battle of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Holy Roman Empire; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); John, Archduke; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Lunéville, Treaty of; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Ostrach, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Rhine Campaigns

(1792–1797); Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, First Battle of; Stockach, Second Battle of; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Rifle

The rifle as a weapon was not commonplace in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars. Rifled muskets, loaded from the muzzle just like common muskets, were issued to four British rifle battalions in the Iberian Peninsula, but the common practice was for a few members of every battalion to be issued rifles.

The term *rifle* comes from an archaic verb, *to rifle*, meaning “to cut spiral grooves in,” referring to the way in which the barrel had grooves cut in it to impart spin to the projectile fired. The spin increased range and accuracy. However, such weapons were costly to produce and slow to load, and they required the user to be better trained than the average infantryman of the period. Further, the British Army, despite the successful experiments conducted by Colonel Patrick Ferguson with his breech-loading rifled muskets, was averse to change, and for many decades resisted the rifling concept. Interestingly, although the invention of rifling seems to have been German, the Prussian Army followed the British lead in issuing only a few rifled muskets within companies. The same applied in the Russian Army, but the French seemed to have little time for rifled muskets and discontinued their issue in 1807. The main arguments against the rifle were that it was too costly to issue to every rifleman, and it took far longer to train riflemen individually than it took to train a company or even a battalion of musket users.

The few riflemen that existed were issued with prepared ammunition, but also often carried separate powder and ball for the sake of security. Their exploits were well

known. The accuracy of the rifled musket was far greater than that of the common musket, so that marksmen were able to pick individual men as targets, whereas the normal line infantry were hard-pressed to hit anything at any range greater than about 80 yards. The rifle issued to the British Army was designed by Ezekiel Baker, who, when he fired 34 shots at 100 yards and 24 at 200 yards at a man-sized target, hit the target every time.

The Baker rifle had its problems: although much easier to reload than earlier forms of the weapon, even in the prone position, the rifling grooves were soon filled with powder deposits, and reloading became difficult, if not impossible. Riflemen were issued a mallet with which to hit the ramrod to force the ball down the barrel past the fouling. This meant that the ball was often badly misshapen on firing, which rendered vain any hope of improved accuracy. Other armies were frequently forced to use civilian rifled weapons.

At the Battle of Waterloo the British 95th Regiment had fourteen companies armed with rifles, and more than half of the men of the light companies of battalions of the King's German Legion, as well as the *Jäger* battalions in the Hanoverian, Netherlandish, and Prussian armies, also carried rifles. Little is said of this in the histories of the battle, but it is an important point, marking the service debut of the rifle.

David Westwood

*See also* Infantry; Musket

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## Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich (1753–1840)

Prominent Russian military commander. Born to a Russian noble family on 24 August 1753, Rimsky-Korsakov enlisted as a corporal in the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment in 1768, rising to sub-ensign in 1769, to sergeant in 1770, to ensign in 1774, and to lieutenant in 1775. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1778, he transferred to the Chernigov Infantry Regiment and served in Poland from 1778 to 1779. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–

1792, he was assigned to the Austrian *Korps*, fighting at Khotin and Gangur in 1788. The following year, he commanded a detachment at Byrlad, Maximeni, on the Siret River and at Galati. He had the honor of delivering the news of the Russian victories to Catherine II, who promoted him to brigadier.

Rimsky-Korsakov transferred to the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment on 25 July 1789 and served during the Russo-Swedish War on the galley flotilla against the Swedes at Friedrichsham, Neischlodt, and Julaksioki. He became a major general in 1793 and briefly visited Britain in 1794. He joined the Austrian army in the Austrian Netherlands and took part in various actions against the French in late 1794. He returned to Russia in 1795 and the following year participated in the Persian expedition along the Caspian Sea, distinguishing himself at Derbent and Gandja. Under Tsar Paul, Rimsky-Korsakov became the infantry inspector for the St. Petersburg Inspection and received promotion to lieutenant general on 15 January 1798. He became *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Rostov Musketeer Regiment on 28 September 1798.

In 1799 Rimsky-Korsakov commanded a corps against the French in Switzerland and was decisively defeated at the second battle of Zürich in September. He was removed from command and discharged from the army that November. He returned to service in March 1801, receiving the rank of general of infantry that month with seniority dating from December. In 1802 he became governor of Byelorussia and, one year later, was appointed the infantry inspector in Moscow. In 1805–1806 he commanded the Russian reserves in the western provinces. He became military governor of Lithuania on 1 October 1806 and organized local militias during the campaigns in Poland in 1806–1807. He took a discharge on 15 July 1809 following a disagreement with General Aleksey Arakcheyev. In 1812 he was again appointed military governor of Lithuania, serving in this position for the next eighteen years. He became a member of the State Council in 1830 and died in St. Petersburg on 25 May 1840.

Alexander Mikaberidze

*See also* Arakcheyev, Aleksey Andreyevich, Count; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Paul I, Tsar; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## River Plate, Expeditions to the

See Buenos Aires, Expeditions to

### Rivoli, Battle of (14–15 January 1797)

Fought on the hilly ground between Lake Garda and the Adige River, a dozen miles northwest of Verona, the Battle of Rivoli was Bonaparte's most decisive victory in his first Italian campaign. The defeat at Rivoli led to the failure of the last Austrian attempt at relieving Mantua. After the capitulation of the fortress at the beginning of February 1797, Bonaparte could move his army to the Austrian borders, thus speeding up the chain of events leading to the end of the war in Italy and the Peace of Campo Formio.

After the Battle of Arcola in November 1796, both armies, tired, depleted, and worn to rags, would have welcomed a period of rest in winter quarters. Their hopes were to remain unfulfilled. After recent French defeat in Germany, the Directory looked toward peace and sent Minister Henri Clarke to Italy for armistice talks. Expecting Mantua to surrender very soon, Bonaparte opposed a cease-fire. It was the Aulic Council in Vienna, however, that entertained stronger reasons for reopening hostilities in Italy as soon as possible. The first was to make a new attempt at rescuing Mantua before lack of supplies and malarial disease forced *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser to capitulate. Political reasons were also at work. To the lower social classes supporting the *ancien régime*, the fall of Mantua would mean the final victory of the French Revolutionary cause in Italy. Moreover, the pope might be forced to consent to wage war against Revolutionary France by a new show of Austrian military enterprise. Such pressing needs led Vienna to send orders to the Austrian commander in Italy, *Feldzeugmeister* Joseph Alvinczy Freiherr von Berberk, for a new campaign that—rather unusually—was to begin in winter.

Beginning in December, a constant inflow of replacements started filling the gaps in the Austrian army. Admittedly, the quality of the new troops—recruits, Vienna volunteers, depot units—was on the average poor. By the new year, however, Alvinczy could field about 47,000 men for campaign service, the Mantua garrison (about 20,000) and some thousands for rear duties not included.

Once again, the Austrian plan to relieve Mantua, devised by the same Colonel Franz Weyrother later responsible for the plan at Austerlitz, provided for two separate lines of advance. A diversionary force, in two columns under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Adam Freiherr von Bajalich (6,000 men) and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Giovanni Marquis di Provera (9,000), would, respectively, push westward over

the plain toward Verona and Legnago. By feinting operations on the Adige, they intended to draw Bonaparte's attention. Despite the approaching winter, however, the main thrust was to be delivered from the Alps. Under the direct command of Alvinczy, about 28,000 men in six columns would move from Trento down the Adige valley and through the chain of mountains (collectively called Monte Baldo) between the Adige and Lake Garda. After breaking through the bottleneck at Rivoli, they would make for Mantua.

This plan apparently rested on some uncertain assumptions: (1) that a substantial part of Bonaparte's army was south of the Po preparing to invade the Papal States; (2) that Bonaparte would mistake the diversionary force for the main army and would concentrate most French troops behind the Adige from Verona to Legnago; (3) that consequently only minor forces would be left at the strong defensive position of Rivoli in the upper Adige valley and, once attacked, they would not be able to receive immediate support; (4) that the Austrian columns could advance over mountain roads and tracks covered with snow in a coordinated way and with relatively small manpower consumption; and (5) that Würmser could actively cooperate by launching sorties from Mantua. None of these assumptions turned out to be valid.

The (French) *Armée d'Italie* had also received some replacements. Its general situation, however, did not look good. Besides the chronic lack of equipment and supplies, after nine months of campaigning Bonaparte had run short of capable generals and knew that the fighting quality of his troops was declining. The French deployment in January 1797 was as follows: General Pierre Augereau's division (9,000 men) behind the Adige between Verona and Legnago; André Masséna's (9,000) around Verona; Barthélemy Catherine Joubert's (10,250) at Rivoli and on Monte Baldo; General Antoine Rey's (4,100) at Brescia and along the western shore of the Garda; a reserve under General Claude Victor (2,400) at Castelnuovo and Villafranca; and General Thomas Alexandre Dumas's and Claude Dallemagne's blockading corps (10,200) around Mantua. To the south of the Po, there was only a small column under General Jean Lannes, with 2,000 French and several thousand Italian troops.

On 7 January Bonaparte left for Bologna, where three days later he received the news that Provera's column had appeared before Legnago. He immediately ordered Lannes back to the Adige, and rushed to his headquarters at Roverbella, just north of Mantua, where he arrived probably early on the twelfth. As Alvinczy had hoped, by that time Bonaparte still believed that the main threat was on the lower Adige and thus made his dispositions accordingly. Later that day, however, he started receiving reports an-

nouncing that Joubert was under attack at La Corona, a steep defile on Monte Baldo, five miles north of Rivoli. To ascertain the real magnitude of this new threat, Bonaparte asked Joubert for more information. Early on the thirteenth, Joubert realized that he was facing a strong and determined army (actually, 28,000 men). While three of Alvinczy's columns were marching down the valley roads along the Adige (Prince Reuss's and Ocksay's on the western, Vukassovich on the eastern bank), three other columns (Köblös's, Liphay's, and Lusignan's) trudged along the tracks of Monte Baldo covered with snow. Later in the afternoon, fearing being outflanked, Joubert withdrew to Rivoli.

By 3:00 P.M., thanks to Joubert's reports, Bonaparte knew that the main attack was coming from the north. He reacted swiftly, rushing Masséna with three demi-brigades and some cavalry to Rivoli. Rey's division was also ordered to move to Rivoli, a brigade under General Joachim Murat being ferried across Lake Garda.

At Rivoli, where now both Bonaparte and Alvinczy were expecting to fight a decisive battle, less than four miles separated the Adige from Lake Garda. Over this ground, a two-layer amphitheater facing the southern slopes of Monte Baldo formed one of the strongest defensive positions anywhere in the Italian Alps. The village of Rivoli lay (and still lies) in the center of this hilly semicircle that stretches to the north, the west, and the south, with the steep bank of the Adige to the east. The outward and higher layer of the amphitheater has a diameter of about three miles, starting from the Chapel of San Marco to the north, and ending at Monte Pipolo to the south. A mile-wide plateau runs throughout its extension. Three villages, San Giovanni, Caprino, and Pesina (from east to west), are located on the plateau along the banks of a small stream called the Tasso. The inner layer has a diameter of a mile and a half.

A peculiar feature made Rivoli an excellent defensive position. While the defender could easily undertake operations with all three arms (infantry, cavalry, and artillery), a network of relatively good roads being available to approach the battlefield from the south, the attacker had no such facility, as the northern accesses from Monte Baldo, even in more favorable weather, were only practicable to infantry. This suggested that Alvinczy's field artillery and cavalry should file along the roads on either side of the Adige. From the river valley bottom, the only exit to the Rivoli amphitheater was by the road on the western bank. It led to the Dogana Inn and the main village, after winding up to an inner plateau through a steep, narrow, and easily defensible defile.

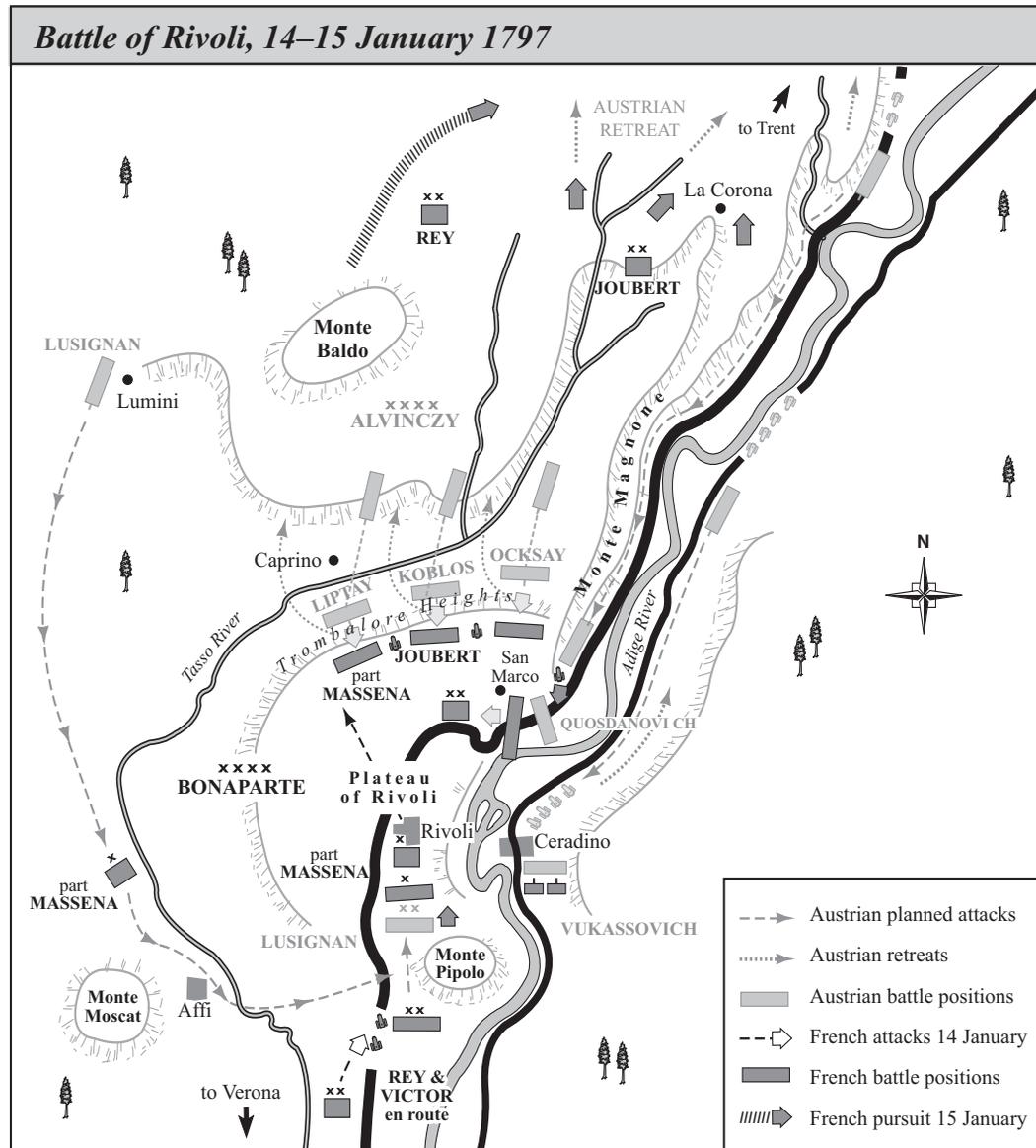
By the evening of 13 January, Joubert had deployed his troops over a restricted area along the edges of the inner

plateau, where they could take advantage of some entrenchments. Three Austrian columns (from east to west, under Ocksay, Köblös, and Liphay, respectively) had encamped for the night on the heights north of the Tasso. Lusignan was farther to the west, with orders to make a long outflanking detour and reach the southern side of the amphitheater at Monte Pipolo, thus cutting off Joubert's line of retreat and preventing Bonaparte from sending him support. Lusignan's column was, however, considerably behind schedule because of the snow and the bad dirt tracks.

Bonaparte joined Joubert during the night, rushing ahead of Masséna's troops. From Bonaparte's recollections and most French sources, we learn that once on the spot he immediately recognized the enemy plan and took adequate countermeasures. As a matter of fact, later that night Joubert's division advanced to regain control of the outward plateau south of the Tasso. In this sector, about 9,000 French were now facing 12,000 Austrians, the latter being short of artillery and rations.

Following the French advance, skirmishes broke out at daybreak on the fourteenth. The combat rapidly escalated along the line, ebbing and flowing, but with no decisive outcome. After a couple of hours, around 9:00 A.M., Liphay managed to outflank the French left and routed two demi-brigades (the 29th and 85th). By that time, however, the awaited reinforcements appeared on the southern edge of the battlefield. Masséna brought the 32nd forward, and by 10:30 A.M. the French left was restored. Farther east, the 14th demi-brigade, under General Louis-Alexandre Berthier, were gallantly resisting Ocksay's attack. Meanwhile, Prince Reuss's column had started climbing up the road leading from the valley bottom to the inner plateau, receiving substantial support from the guns Vukassovich had deployed on the eastern bank of the Adige. On higher ground, the 39th demi-brigade put up fierce resistance against an enemy that was numerically superior, but was forced to advance uphill in long road columns. With great perseverance, Reuss's troops eventually succeeded in pushing the French out of their entrenchments and started streaming over the inner plateau.

The prospect of a junction between the column from the Adige and those coming down the ridge posed a serious threat to the French right flank and rear. Joubert and Berthier set to work, however, to rally their men for a counterattack against Reuss. Meanwhile, about 250 cavalry under generals Charles-Victor Leclerc and Antoine Lasalle charged the troops under Köblös and Ocksay, which after hours of fighting lay scattered on the plateau. Some Austrian units apparently panicked and started retreating, partly uphill, partly down the road to the Adige valley bottom, the latter causing some disorder in Reuss's tightly packed column. It is believed that at this crucial point two



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 117.

Austrian ammunition wagons exploded, thus spreading further chaos among the infantry ranks. Certainly it is a fact that most of Reuss's units broke and fled down the road to the Adige. With effective cavalry and artillery support, Joubert and Masséna moved forward again and took definitive control of the outward plateau and the villages, repulsing the Austrians toward Monte Baldo.

As the main action was being fought, around 11:00 A.M. Lusignan's column appeared on Monte Pipolo, at the southern edge of the amphitheater. It was, however, too late for Lusignan's force to influence the battle's outcome. Even worse, he found himself trapped between the French army at Rivoli and the reinforcements approaching from the south. Attacked from many sides, Lusignan's men retreated in great disorder, leaving hundreds of prisoners be-

hind. By late afternoon, the Battle of Rivoli was over and Alvinczy's army in full retreat.

Bonaparte did not sleep on the battlefield. Being informed that Provera was now in sight of Mantua, he entrusted Joubert with the pursuit of the Austrian army (which Bonaparte's subordinate duly embarked on, clashing again with Alvinczy on the fifteenth) and then himself rushed with Masséna's and Victor's divisions to face the new threat. Austrian losses at the Battle of Rivoli and in the following pursuit are estimated at 14,000 dead, wounded, stragglers, and prisoners. The French had 5,000 losses. On this figure, however, sources are obscure, as usual.

At Rivoli Bonaparte showed most of his superior military skills at their best. The concentration of his army at Rivoli was executed at an exceptional speed, the night

march of Masséna's division being one of the keys to victory. During the battle, Bonaparte succeeded in always keeping his numerically inferior army concentrated in a central position. He was, moreover, also favored by the excellent defensive ground, some faulty assumptions made by his opponents, the poor general quality of the Austrian army, and the lack of coordination between Alvinczy and his subordinates.

Had Provera succeeded in arriving at Mantua on 13 January, he would have forced Bonaparte to choose between two alternatives: to rush in support of Joubert, thus risking Mantua being rescued; or to reinforce the French forces around the fortress, thus abandoning Joubert to his fate. In either case, the outcome of the campaign would have not been the same.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Alvinczy, Joseph Freiherr von Berberek; Arcola, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-Charles-François; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Lannes, Jean; Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis, comte; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Murat, Joachim; Papal States; Pius VI, Pope; Victor, Claude Perrin; Würmsers, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore (1758–1794)

Maximilien Robespierre has been cast as both hero and villain of the Revolution, his name inextricably associated with the Terror of 1793–1794, for which he has served as a scapegoat. For some he was a great idealist, for others an appalling hypocrite; it is almost impossible to reconcile the apparently conflicting aspects of his brief, but momentous, political career. Yet in many respects he reflected the general fortunes of a Revolution that lurched dramatically from idealistic expectations to violent extremism. On account of his admiration for Rousseau, it is tempting to regard Robespierre as an ideologue who sought to make others conform to his vision, driving the Revolution in an authoritarian direction. Yet Robespierre's ideals were inevitably affected by changing circumstances, above all in the hothouse atmosphere created by internal rebellion and foreign war, where the very survival of the Republic became paramount for its leaders. As such, he incarnated both the triumphs and the tragedy of the Revolution.

Robespierre, who hailed from the northern town of Arras, where he was born in 1758, in modest circumstances (the original “de” in his name was a pre-Revolutionary affectation later abandoned), made his local reputation as a champion of the poor. Practicing as a barrister in his native town, he defended impecunious clients, a reputation that secured him election to the Estates-General in 1789. There he first emerged from obscurity when he demanded that all adult males be admitted to the franchise; restrictions on the vote were an affront to the Rights of Man. His distinction as a “man of the people” grew apace, chiefly via the Jacobin Club of Paris. Following the collapse of the monarchy in 1792, he was elected to the National Convention summoned to draw up a republican constitution, at the head of the list of deputies for the capital.

Yet, as an impeccable dresser, in wig and silk stockings, he was for, rather than of, the populace. In 1793, having condemned participants in a grocery riot, he was reminded that “citizen Robespierre” had never experienced pangs of hunger. Unlike Jean-Paul Marat, or indeed Georges Danton, who were capable of haranguing the crowd on street corners, Robespierre excelled in carefully crafted speeches, delivered to more orderly assemblies (when shouted down on 9 Thermidor—27 July 1794—and subsequently arrested, he was immobilized and took no action to secure his release). Nonetheless, he was totally dedicated to the Revolutionary cause, living simply in lodgings and leaving little in the way of personal wealth, hence his sobriquet, “the incorruptible.”

Such puritanism, combined with single-mindedness, rendered him ready to sacrifice all to the cause, including himself. The acid test came with the exercise of real power in 1793. Condemnation of king and government (he was a ferocious regicide) was coherently pursued, but the year Robespierre spent on the great Committee of Public Safety inevitably proved much more demanding. Robespierre has become synonymous with the committee and its policies because he was its chief spokesman, justifying the course taken in a great series of speeches made between the autumn of 1793 and the early summer of 1794. As a consequence, he has been accused of great hypocrisy: the individual who had opposed the war that broke out in 1792 now demanded it be pursued with the utmost vigor; the deputy who made a celebrated speech against the death penalty in 1790 became willing to strike down opponents of the Revolution without mercy; the scourge of the clergy sponsored the Cult of the Supreme Being and appeared to regard himself as its pontiff.

In view of the great crisis facing the fledgling French Republic, few of Robespierre's colleagues had expressed misgivings about the establishment of the Terror, deemed necessary to strengthen government and punish rebels.



Maximilien Robespierre, the leading member of the infamous Committee of Public Safety that ruled France during the Terror of 1793–1794. Thousands were guillotined as alleged enemies of the Revolution. (Library of Congress)

Success in defeating internal insurrection and rolling back the foreign armies, however, led many to ask how much longer these draconian measures should remain in place. At this point Robespierre's judgment appeared to desert him, as those proposing a slackening of repression, notably his erstwhile colleague Danton, were put down as counter-revolutionaries. At Paris the Terror intensified instead of diminishing.

Was this an inexorable momentum, as power became concentrated in fewer hands, difficult to relinquish, and dissent still harder to tolerate? Or had Robespierre in particular come to regard terror not simply as a means of defeating enemies but of creating a utopian order, where all base passions would cease to exist? Robespierre contended that democracy could only flourish among virtuous citizens, but was the Terror becoming a shortcut to fashioning new people, forcing them to be free? Though it is anachronistic to talk of totalitarianism, Robespierre seems to have succumbed to the temptation of using violence as a means of effecting thoroughgoing political and cultural change.

Historians still debate Robespierre's demise in the early summer of 1794. Ill for a month, the strain of office taking its toll, he had perhaps become out of touch, even deluded. His call on 8 Thermidor for yet more heads to roll, when "guillotine sickness" was spreading alarm among members of the Convention on whom his authority ultimately rested, was a profound error, almost a suicidal gesture. He had never led an organized party, but the next day those most closely associated with him, such as Louis Antoine de Saint-Just, were arrested along with him. The people of Paris, themselves disciplined by the Terror, failed to offer assistance, and he was either shot, or shot himself through the jaw in a vain attempt to end his life. He was guillotined the next day, 10 Thermidor (28 July). His execution did not represent the end of the Revolution, nor even the immediate termination of the Terror, but there was a reassertion of both the liberal and limited goals of the Revolution.

Malcolm Crook

See also Convention, The; French Revolution; Jacobins; Public Safety, Committee of; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup

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## Roer, Battle of the (2 October 1794)

The Battle of the Roer resulted in the Austrians being forced out of Flanders and back across the Rhine. It may have been one of the most effectively fought battles of the French Revolutionary armies, well planned and executed by commanders and troops who had learned their military craft through bitter experience.

The summer of 1794 saw the end of the Terror under Maximilien Robespierre and the abandonment of the policy of executing unsuccessful generals, or even those suspected of royalist leanings. The season also saw the enormous expansion of the French armies, thanks to the mobilization of the nation under Lazare Carnot, and an improvement in the weapons that those armies wielded. Through experience and training, the new drafts became more proficient in the use of their arms as well. Although the French still practiced a more open order of battle, with emphasis on skirmishing, they had learned to move large bodies of men rapidly and to fight in the more traditional, formal manner.

The Army of the Sambre and Meuse was one of the chief beneficiaries of the improvements. As the principal army at this stage in the war, it was charged with completing the conquest of the Low Countries. General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, who commanded the army, was a politically active general, but a somewhat cautious one, as well. Jourdan opened his autumn campaign with an attack on Ayvalle, from which he quickly drove the Austrian defenders. *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Sebastian de Croix Graf von Clerfayt retreated with his forces to the river Roer, approximately 40 kilometers west of the Rhine, where he hoped to establish a defensive line behind the river to await reinforcements and hold onto part of the Low Countries. The Austrians destroyed the bridges over the Roer, and rendered many fords uncrossable. Other crossings were covered by field fortifications and artillery.

Jourdan was ordered by Carnot to pause in his pursuit of Clerfayt until he had captured the important city of Maastricht. Jourdan realized that the strategically proper course was to push the Austrians over the Rhine, to prevent them from relieving Maastricht. Therefore, ignoring his orders, Jourdan left a small covering force around Maastricht, then pushed his entire army on toward the Roer. He had around 100,000 men, opposed by 76,000 Austrians. The Austrians were established on the right bank of the Roer, with the exception of a bridgehead at Aldenhoven at the center of their line. Having conducted a detailed reconnaissance of the line, Jourdan ordered an attack on 2 October. Fog delayed the opening of the battle from 5:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M. Several divisions on the right were to make a frontal attack on the Austrians at Duren, while another division was to sweep round the Austrian open flank and over the Roer.

In the event, the flanking attack went too wide and did not arrive until the end of the day. Even so, the Austrians were forced back by hard fighting. On Jourdan's left, the attack was held up for a while by well-sited Austrian artillery. Eventually, General Jean-Baptiste Kléber massed his own artillery and covered an attack by divisions under generals

Michel Ney and Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte. French troops swam across the river and established a bridgehead on the eastern bank, despite heavy fire from the Austrians. By the end of the day, Ney and Bernadotte had achieved their goals. When night fell, they were constructing bridges to bring the rest of the left wing across the Roer. In the center, the French launched a frontal attack on Aldenhoven. They overran the fortifications guarding the city and soon captured it. The Austrians evacuated their bridgehead and destroyed the bridge behind them, preventing Jourdan from crossing. By nightfall on 2 October, the French were victorious all along the line. Clerfayt ordered his men to retreat to the Rhine, which they crossed by the sixth.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Flanders, Campaigns in; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Ney, Michel; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The

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## Roliça, Battle of (17 August 1808)

The first major encounter between British forces under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley and the French in Portugal. The French under General Henri François Delaborde had taken up a strong position around the village of Roliça, but they were forced back by the British and Portuguese. Delaborde withdrew to join the main French force under General Jean Andoche Junot, leading to the Battle of Vimeiro.

After landing in Portugal, Wellesley quickly led his forces southward toward Lisbon. Junot needed time to gather as many troops as possible to meet this threat and deployed Delaborde to delay the advance of the Anglo-Portuguese army. Having been pushed back in a skirmish at Obidos, Delaborde deployed his force around the village of Roliça. On the morning of 17 August 1808, Wellesley advanced to attack in three columns. On the left Brigadier General Ronald Ferguson had 4,500 men. The right flank was under the command of Colonel Nicholas Trant, leading 1,300 Portuguese troops. Wellesley himself took control of the central force of 9,000 men. Delaborde quickly realized that the enemy force was three times his own strength and that the Anglo-Portuguese attempt to outflank him would succeed if he remained in position. The

French fought a skilful action allowing them to retreat to a ridgeline one mile to the rear of Roliça. This position could be approached using four gullies.

Having re-formed his force, Wellesley was determined to attack the new position using the same tactics as before, relying on his flank attacks to make the enemy position untenable. Trant and Ferguson, however, were slowed down by the terrain, and the central force attacked first. The central gully was attacked by the 29th and 9th Foot. The 29th Foot was in the lead; when it reached the top it was met by disciplined fire from a Swiss regiment. This fire disorganized the front of the column. The British were then attacked in the flank by a French force that had been positioned in the ground between the gullies. This attack was successful, resulting in the death of the colonel of the 29th and the capture of the regimental colors.

The 9th Foot now advanced in support of their comrades, and they were able to launch a counterattack, which retook the colors, though in the process their commander was killed. For the next two hours, Delaborde skillfully held off the British attacks with a series of charges once the British tried to deploy from the tops of the gullies. Delaborde was nevertheless under pressure. Wounded, aware that Ferguson was now on his flank, and threatened by a large force of Portuguese cavalry, Delaborde used his small cavalry force to delay this attack. The Portuguese proved to be no match for the French, who were able to withdraw with the loss of around 700 men. Wellesley had suffered nearly 500 casualties. Delaborde had fought a valiant action, allowing Junot to prepare his forces for the next confrontation, at Vimeiro.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Peninsular War; Vimeiro, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Romana, Pedro de la

*See* Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana

## Romanticism

Romanticism may be defined as a self-conscious artistic movement directed against the rationalism, mechanistic materialism, and classicism of the Enlightenment and the hegemony of France between 1789 and 1815. Romanticism means expressing one's emotion and intuition as sources of truth. The love of nature, the quest for new experience,

the view of society as an organism rather than as a machine—all these are characteristics of Romanticism.

Romanticism involved every aspect and genre of the arts: poetry, prose, drama, the visual arts, and music (opera in particular). Although a diverse movement in art, literature, and music, the chief characteristics of Romanticism in the arts include emotion, sensitivity, imagination, self-expression, the exotic, the dramatic, and a return to the medieval. According to Romantics, the chief weakness in the Enlightenment was its neglect of the imagination, emotions, aesthetics, and mystery. The origins of Romanticism date from the 1750s with the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant. Although both philosophers are often considered to be Enlightenment thinkers, they were forerunners of the Romantic movement. Rousseau stressed sensibility in his writings, while Kant, although a rationalist, believed that knowledge was subjective rather than objective in nature.

The Romantic movement flourished in parts of Europe that had opposed French Revolutionary and Napoleonic rule, particularly in the German states and Britain. Initially many Romantics, both poets and musicians, had been supporters of the Revolutionary upheaval in France. But as the Revolution grew more extreme and Napoleon began conquering Europe and subjecting occupied populations to the French worldview, they turned against all things French, including its Neoclassical aesthetic.

Napoleon and the French Revolution were catalysts in the Romantic movement. This is particularly evident in the writings of Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, Keats, and Wordsworth. The poet William Wordsworth introduced Romanticism to Britain. Like many Romantics, Wordsworth welcomed the French Revolution, as is evidenced in his poem *The Prelude*, but turned against it when liberty became terror. In drama, Romanticism meant departing from classical rules; in poetry it meant, to Wordsworth at least, using simple rather than literary language and writing about ordinary people. His poems evoke a mystical adoration of nature.

German Romantics were tremendously affected by the Napoleonic era, and the movement was intimately connected to the nascent German sense of nationality, stemming from the humiliation of the Napoleonic Wars. Before Napoleon, German Romantics had not been concerned with a German identity and generally had supported the liberal gains of the French Revolutionaries. But all this changed with Napoleon's conquests. German Romantic writers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder, often referred to as cultural nationalists, looked to the Middle Ages for a sense of German history and collective identity. He identified the *Volkgeist* (national spirit), objected to French dominance of German manners, and urged Germans to focus on their own culture.

Napoleon's influence is unquestionable in the music of Ludwig van Beethoven, who had been an admirer of Napoleon until 1804, the year he crowned himself Emperor. It was in this year that Beethoven had actually written a dedication of his Third Symphony, the *Eroica*, to Napoleon, but when he learned of the coronation, he tore the page out of the score. The great transitional figure between the Classic and Romantic eras in music, Beethoven is still a figure who, both in his person and through his achievement, has come to typify Romantic notions of individual genius and the transcendent expression of the freedom of the human spirit. These values survived to underpin nascent democratic and anti-authoritarian political movements around the world.

*Leigh Whaley*

*See also* Beethoven, Ludwig van; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Kant, Immanuel; Keats, John; Kleist, Heinrich Wilhelm von; Literature and the Romantic Movement (contextual essay); Schiller, Friedrich von; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Wordsworth, William

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### Roncesvalles, Battle of (25 July 1813)

Engagement fought between the French and Anglo-Spanish forces in July 1813, which formed part of what is sometimes known as the Battles of the Pyrenees, together with the battles of Sorauren and Maya, during the Peninsular War. When Marshal Nicolas Soult began his counteroffensive through the Pyrenees in July 1813, he ordered generals Honoré Reille and Bertrand Clausel with the 40,000 men under their command to advance from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port and to attack the Allied forces at the pass at Roncesvalles.

The pass itself was held by Major General John Byng's British brigade, supported by the Spanish regiment of León. The Marquis of Wellington had reinforced the position eight days before by ordering a division commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole to advance from Pamplona. At 6:00 A.M. on 25 July, the French attacked, led by the troops of Clausel. They advanced on the high ground on either side of the road running through the pass. Byng's brigade was holding the eastern side of the pass. Due to the steep, grass-covered slopes, they were in a strong position. There now followed a period of fierce skirmishing, which held up the French advance for three hours until Clausel was able to move three battalions onto the flank of the British position. Byng then retreated to

the heights at Altobiscar, which Clausel did not attempt to attack.

While Clausel was making limited progress, Reille had tried to advance in the west and had begun to move onto the Lindus plateau, where they were met by Major General Robert Ross commanding troops from Cole's division. Ross had heard the noise of the fighting between Byng and Clausel and ordered his Brunswick light troops forward to watch the activity of the enemy to his front. In a short time they made contact with French troops under the command of General Maximilien Foy. Ross was deploying his forces on the plateau and in order to complete this maneuver, he ordered a company of the 20th Foot to charge the French. A short melee took place until Ross ordered the company to withdraw. The terrain forced Reille to deploy on a narrow frontage, and as the French columns tried to break onto the plateau they were stopped by the fire of the British lines.

By now Cole had been able to bring up fresh troops and by 2:00 P.M. could deploy a further three brigades against the French. Despite the fact that the Allied troops were heavily outnumbered, the French were unable to make any headway, and the battle ended at around 5:00 P.M., due to a heavy fog covering the battlefield. Portuguese infantry arrived to reinforce Cole further, but he took the decision to withdraw during the night. Wellington was critical of this order, as he had instructed that the passes were to be held if at all possible. Cole's force had suffered the loss of about 450 men, but he had held up Reille's advance for almost a day.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Foy, Maximilien Sebastien, comte; Maya, Battle of; Peninsular War; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Sorauren, Battle of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Rosas, Siege of

*See* Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795)

### Rosetta Stone

The Rosetta stone is a damaged granodiorite *stela* (inscribed slab) 112 centimeters tall, weighing three-quarters of a ton, and is probably the most important find in the history of Egyptology. It provided the key to deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics.

It was made in 196 B.C. in Memphis and bears a decree in two languages written in three scripts: one text is written in Greek (the governmental language); the second in Coptic, using the demotic script, that is, the everyday script of literate Egyptians; and the third in Coptic as well, but using hieroglyphics (the script that was 3,000 years old then and used for religious documents). The decree is in honor of the boy king, Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.) and records the decision of the Egyptian priests to establish a royal cult in return for concessions to the temples. The stone was probably originally erected at the temple city of Sais. Copies were intended to be erected at every temple. Its rough back indicates that it had its back to a wall. It is likely to have been moved to Rosetta in medieval times to be used as a building block.

When Bonaparte invaded Egypt in 1798, he took with him a party of 167 scientists and artists, called the savants, who studied the antiquities they found. Thus Bonaparte could be said to be the father of Egyptology. One of the party, Dominique Vivant, baron Denon, wrote an account of the campaign. In July 1799 French soldiers under the command of the engineer officer, Pierre François Bouchard, were dismantling a house to prepare the defenses of el-Rashid (Rosetta), when they discovered the stone. Its significance was quickly realized because it was clear from the Greek text that the other texts were the same, making it possible to use the stone as the first significant step in deciphering hieroglyphics. The French took copies of the text, using the stone as a printing block. Traces of the ink survive today. In 1801 the French, now commanded by General Louis Desaix, surrendered to the British and Turks. Under the Treaty of Alexandria, they surrendered the antiquities they had collected to the British. In 1802 these antiquities were donated to the British Museum, where the stone is exhibited.

Even with the stone, deciphering hieroglyphics took more than twenty years. A number of scholars worked on the puzzle including Johann Akerbad, Sylvestre de Saey, the English polymath Thomas Young, and the brilliant Frenchman Jean-François Champollion. Hieroglyphs were originally thought to be picture symbols rather than symbols of sounds (phonetic symbols). A number of cartouches containing royal names had been translated with the help of Greek and Roman sources. The translation of these names established that the hieroglyphs within the cartouches were phonetic symbols. Thomas Young used the stone and a large obelisk brought from Pilae to Kingston Lacey, Dorset, to translate a few symbols, including those which spell out phonetically the name for Ptolemy.

Champollion realized in 1822 that even hieroglyphics outside the cartouches used phonetic as well as picture symbols. He also realized that Coptic, which was written in

an adapted Greek alphabet called the demotic script, was a form of the language of ancient Egypt. In other words, two of the inscriptions were in Coptic, simply using different scripts. Putting this information together enabled hieroglyphics to be translated.

*Rohan Saravanamuttu*

*See also* Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Egypt; Middle East Campaign; Savants

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### Rovereto, Battle of (4 September 1796)

Fought in the autumn of 1796 during *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser's second campaign to rescue besieged Mantua, the so-called Battle of Rovereto was less a full-scale battle than a sequence of small and somewhat separated combats that allowed Bonaparte's army to break through a row of narrow defiles in the upper Adige valley on their way to Trento.

After Würmser's first failure at relieving Mantua, in August 1796, the Austrian army retreated to the Tyrol. While Bonaparte set about reorganizing his worn-out army and preparing a new blockade of Mantua, the strategic situation quickly developed in a rather peculiar fashion. The Directory in Paris urged the unwilling commander of the Armée d'Italie to push northward through the Tyrol in an attempt to link up with General Jean Moreau in Germany. Meanwhile, the Aulic Council in Vienna ordered Würmser to prepare for a second attempt to relieve Mantua—a strategic decision taken partly for political reasons, in order to reassure Naples and the pope of Austria's will to continue the war against France.

According to the Austrian plan, *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Freiherr von Davidovich was to defend the access to Tyrol with a force of about 14,000 men in the area between Trento, Rovereto, and Lake Garda, with another 11,000 regulars and *Schützen* (rifle-armed militia) being scattered over the alpine valleys in the Austrian rear. Meanwhile, Würmser, with two divisions (about 9,500 men), would proceed from Trento down the Sugana valley, join with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr Mészáros's division (10,000) in Bassano and make for Mantua via Vicenza. His leading division (that of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Freiherr von Sebottendorf) left Trento on 1 September. The very same day Bona-

parte determined his final dispositions. The left wing under General Claude-Henri, comte de Vaubois (11,000) was to reach Mori at the northern end of Lake Garda by either following the western shore of the lake or crossing it by boat. The center column under General André Masséna (13,000) was to move up the Adige valley, pushing the enemy outposts from Ala and Serravalle. General Pierre Augereau's division (9,000) would cover Masséna's right flank, trudging its way through the Monti Lessini between the Adige and the Sugana valley. The French columns had orders to concentrate before Rovereto, south of Trento.

On 3 September, Masséna made progress in the Adige valley, dislodging *Generalmajor* Joseph Philipp Freiherr von Vukassovich's detachments (2,700) from Ala and Serravalle. Primitive mountain tracks, however, considerably delayed Augereau's movement. On being informed of the French advance, Würmser ordered Davidovich to counterattack at dawn. It was Bonaparte, however, who kept the initiative on the fourth. To force the defile at Marco, Masséna sent a strong detachment of light troops under General Jean-Joseph Pijon to the heights, as his main body pushed forward along the main road. Fearing being outflanked, the Austrians retreated to Rovereto and, after a short and unsuccessful defense of this city, back to Calliano. Meanwhile, Vaubois attacked the entrenched camp at Mori, defeating Prince Reuss's brigade and thus establishing a link with Masséna.

Situated in a very narrow defile between the river and a steep mountain wall, the Austrian entrenchments at Calliano were held by about 4,800 men (Vukassovich's and *Generalmajor* Johann Graf Spork's brigades). A sudden massed charge by three of Masséna's demi-brigades, with the support of heavy artillery fire, broke the discouraged defenders. The Austrians soon withdrew to Trento in great disorder, after losing in two days of fighting about 6,000 men and many guns. Figures for French casualties are uncertain.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mantua, Sieges of; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Royal Navy

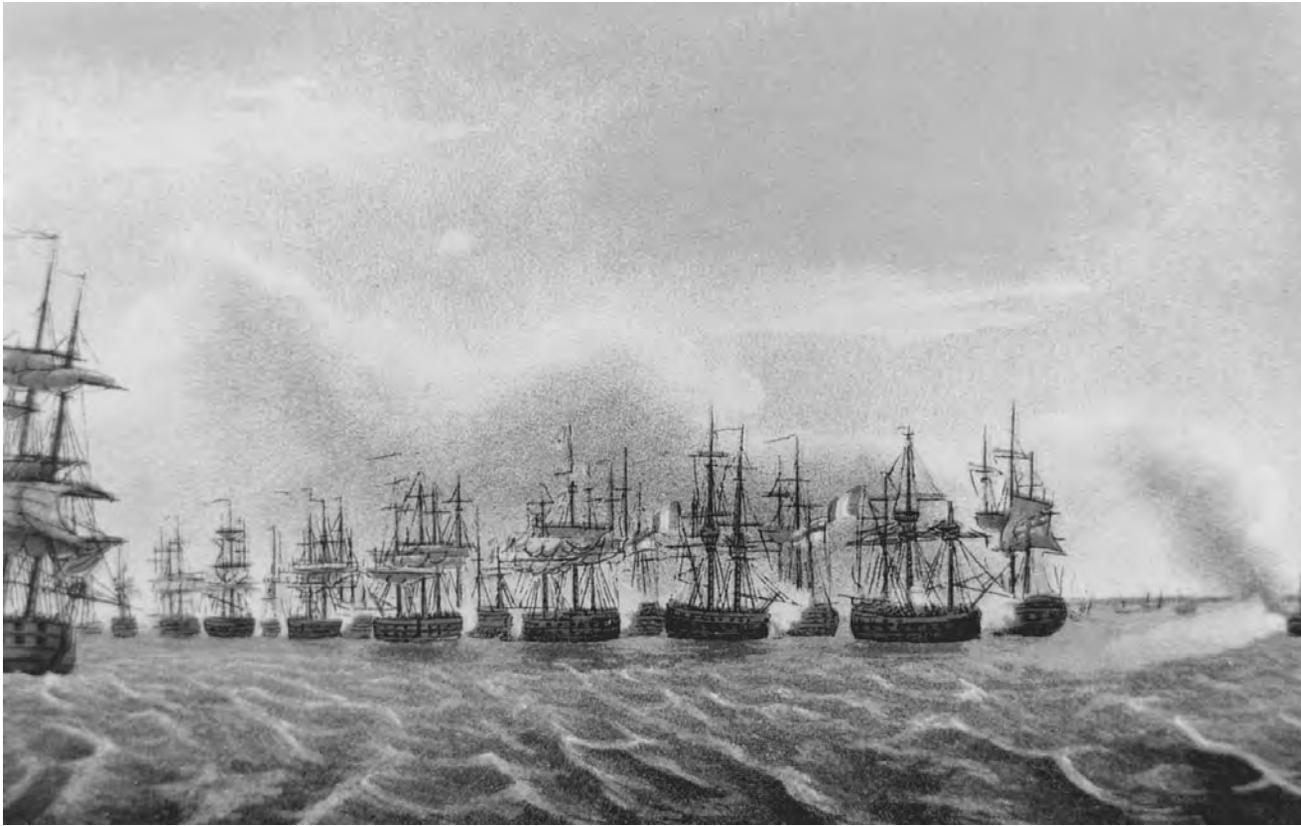
### Introduction

During the whole period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Britain maintained the largest and most

effective navy in the world. This circumstance came about by reason of necessity, for the strategic realities of a small island nation, unable to raise a large standing army by dint of tradition and size of population, demanded that the country's resources for defense should be allocated to its navy. The Royal Navy was superior to its rivals in practically every sphere except for ship design. The quality and training of its crews, the fitness of its officers, the skills attained by its men in navigation and gunnery, all combined to render the Royal Navy practically unbeatable. Until well into the Peninsular War in Spain, successive British governments allocated far greater sums for the navy than for the army, for the simple reason that its seamen could perform many more essential services for the nation than could its soldiers. Whereas Britain's continental allies could be relied upon to supply the vast numbers of troops needed to fight France on land, which Britain was itself incapable of raising, the Royal Navy could oppose the Revolutionary and Napoleonic navies to an extent impossible for Britain's continental allies.

The Royal Navy not only ensured the nation's defense against invasion—unquestionably its primary task—but it also protected the British merchant fleet, upon which the country depended for its overseas trade. Conversely, the navy actively preyed on the enemy's commercial shipping, so reducing French maritime-based revenue. The navy's war against French commerce also served as a counterweight to Napoleon's Continental System, which closed the French-controlled ports of Europe to British vessels as early as the end of 1806. Unlike France, which in addition to drawing on its internal resources could plunder western and central Europe as compensation for gradually decreasing access to overseas markets, Britain was not self-sufficient, and its economy depended heavily on foreign commerce, not only with the Continent but with its empire. A powerful navy ensured the empire's preservation.

The Royal Navy also played an important offensive role, seeking out and destroying the enemy's naval forces, whether in the numerous ship-to-ship actions of the period, or in the less frequent encounters involving squadrons or fleets, such as at the famous battles of St. Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar. Less dramatic, but also important, was the task of blockading enemy fleets and ports, thus denying the enemy (always France, and periodically its allies, the Spanish and Dutch) the ability to strike at British trade, colonies, and naval assets. The Royal Navy also seized enemy colonies and overseas bases and disrupted whatever wider strategic plans France might have in view, whether in European waters or across the world's oceans. The navy played a vital role in conveying troops by water for operations on the Continent, in the West Indies and South America, and as far off



Ships of the Royal Navy in action against the French at the Battle of the Nile. British crews enjoyed the unbeatable advantages of superior gunnery, training, and morale. (Unsigned print, ca. 1900)

as the East Indies. Having disembarked British troops, the navy was then required to supply and reinforce them in the theater of operations and, ultimately, to return them to Britain. Small expeditionary forces were landed by the navy on numerous occasions during the period 1793–1815, but the large-scale operations undertaken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, in Portugal and Spain—the Peninsular War—could not have occurred without the essential services provided by the Royal Navy.

### Ship Construction and Design

Ships were constructed of wood, with the most preferred type being oak, which was both durable and resilient. Teak, grown in India, also proved excellent material, and fir was sometimes used for hulls, though it was best for deck planks. Elm was also sometimes used for hulls. Very large quantities of wood were required for even the smaller-sized vessels, not to mention ships of the line, with the largest ships requiring over 5,000 cartloads of timber, each of 50 cubic feet (the equivalent of approximately one full-grown oak). There was never enough timber, with shortages of oak being particularly acute. Pine was also important, as it functioned well for the masts.

The rigging, though complex, served well its purpose of extracting power from the wind and supporting the masts. The warship of the late eighteenth century was in fact fairly simple in design and function, constructed of wood, canvas, and rope, yet its design enabled a captain to execute a large number of maneuvers, including sailing with a wind dead ahead by having the ship tack, that is, zigzag its way in the direction intended. A captain did not have to depend entirely on the wind, for he could also make use of the current or tide to reach his destination, even with an adverse wind. A ship contained a large number of types of sails, which, when combined with the power of the wind and the muscle of the crew, could propel the vessel across the Atlantic in as little as four weeks.

This rate of speed was enhanced by a distinct advantage enjoyed by ships of the Royal Navy over most foreign vessels: copper sheathing. The longer a ship had been in commission, especially if it served in tropical waters such as those surrounding the West Indies, the more it was likely to have small sea creatures and vegetation attached to its bottom. As this marine life grew, so the ship slowed in its progress through the water, owing to the resistance caused by friction. The underside of a ship could also be attacked by a small burrowing creature known as the Teredo worm,

which would bore its way into the ship from beneath, gradually eating away the timber and thus weakening the ship's structure.

Copper sheathing protected ships from such pests, thereby increasing a ship's longevity and preventing the decrease in its speed. Coppering a ship's bottom also decreased the time a vessel had to be laid up in dock in order to scrape and burn off the growth clinging to the underside. Although this innovation was expensive, it was effective against marine growth and boring animals, for copper in contact with water soon forms a layer of oxide, which is poisonous to most marine animals and is too slick to allow adhesion for plants. It also provided the advantage of superior speed over vessels not outfitted in this way.

Ship design naturally depended on the function for which the ship was intended, and always constituted a compromise between various conflicting requirements, including speed, seaworthiness, carrying capacity, strength, and maneuverability. Whatever the ship's function, it had at least to provide space for its crew and the supplies on which it depended, together with weapons and ammunition and other cargo. Guns were exceedingly heavy and inaccurate, and they offered a very limited range. Needless to say, the more guns a ship could accommodate the better, and the only feasible method of carrying them was in rows along each deck, that is to say, on the broadside. This was the most efficient method of deploying them for battle, and, in any event, a ship would capsize with any other configuration.

Shipbuilders understood the practical limits that could be placed on the length of a vessel and the need for sufficient strength to protect it from enemy fire. They also had to consider a ship's ability to carry itself and its cargo—in good as well as bad weather—which, together with its stability at sea, dictated the number of decks a ship could contain. Everything was a compromise: the heavier the ship, the slower she moved. The longer the ship, the faster she sailed, but the more space required to turn. A smaller ship, equipped with plenty of sails, would have an advantage in speed over a larger vessel, but in adverse weather conditions the larger vessel could sustain the strain of the wind longer and was slowed down less by the effect of the waves. Thus, ship types were specialized, with larger vessels boasting strength, size, and the ability to mount more guns, and smaller vessels displaying superiority in maneuverability and speed.

Although no perfect system of standardization of ship types existed, such types can be broken down into categories and readily distinguished. Ships of the line carried 64 guns or more; frigates usually 36 or 44 guns; brigs and sloops carried fewer guns still. Ships of the line and frigates were three-masted vessels with square sails on all three

masts, that is, square-rigged, though most ships also carried a number of sails fore and aft as well.

Warships of this era mounting at least 20 guns carried a "rating." There were six rates, each defined by the number of guns carried. First rates carried 100 guns or more; second rates mounted 90 to 98 guns and normally served as flagships for admirals. There were very few of these two rates in commission, but they were particularly powerful and deployed their guns on three decks. The most common vessel intended to take its place in the line of battle was the third rate, which had between 64 and 84 guns, with almost all ships of this rate having guns on two decks. First-, second-, and third-rate vessels were called "line-of-battle ships" or "ships of the line," and were those that stood end-to-end in battle delivering their broadsides to the enemy in the principal formation employed in combat. The kind of ship whose complement of guns fell below 64 did not normally take a place in the line of battle, since its armament was considered too light and its hull insufficiently strong to bear up against fire delivered by larger vessels.

Two-deckers, which were seldom seen in the line, were mostly used as escorts for larger warships or for troop transports and merchant vessels. Such ships were sometimes classed as fourth rates of 50 to 60 guns or fifth rates of 30 to 44 guns. Frigates, which generally fell into the category of fifth rates, were used extensively at this time. They contained a single gun deck and carried between 28 and 40 guns. They were built for speed, though powerful enough to defend themselves even against ships of the line for a short period. The larger types were fifth rates, and the smaller ones sixth rates, with 20 to 28 guns. Sixth rates were usually known as "post ships." Below these were the unrated sloops, which carried between 8 and 20 guns. Unrated vessels also included a variety of other types, such as brigs, schooners, bomb ships, fire ships, and transports.

### Weaponry and Its Use

The principal weapons aboard ships of this period were smoothbore cannon mounted on carriages. These items of naval ordnance amounted to little more than iron tubes, closed at one end, down which were loaded various forms of ammunition. Guns were classified according to the weight of the shot they fired: 32-pounder, 24-pounder, and so on. Guns were shifted into position by a system of ropes and pulleys, together with handspikes that enabled the crew to manhandle the weapon into position, particularly after discharge. The gun carriage sat on wheels, or trucks, enabling the crew to run the gun back inboard for loading.

The barrel first had to be cleaned of any burning fragments left by the previous powder cartridge. A bag con-

taining gunpowder packed in the form of a cartridge was then pushed down the barrel from the muzzle, followed by a felt wad. The shot was then pushed after it, followed by another wad meant to hold the shot in place. After ramming all these materials home, a member of the gun crew used a spike to pierce the cartridge bag by inserting it into the touch hole near the breech of the gun. Next, a small amount of fine grain gunpowder was inserted into the touch hole. The men then “ran out” the gun through the port, the position adjusted for proper elevation and aim. Then, when a slow match was applied, the flame was transmitted down to the cartridge and ignition achieved. The weapon discharged and violently recoiled, but the force was partly controlled by the weight of the gun itself and the rope “breechings,” which stopped the gun from rolling back further than was necessary to reload it.

The heaviest piece of ordnance, a 32-pounder, required a crew of fifteen men to operate it, though it could be fired by fewer men once losses were incurred. A gun crew underwent constant and repetitive training in order to perfect the routine of loading and firing their weapon as rapidly and as accurately as possible—no mean feat when performed under battle conditions, complete with thick swirling smoke, cramped conditions, deafening noise, and the cries of the wounded. A crew could certainly be trained to execute their functions quickly; having them fire their weapon accurately took rather more time to perfect.

A skilled gun crew, firing with the right type of ammunition and in good weather conditions, could hit a target more than a mile away, but the effective range of typical gunners was closer to a quarter of a mile. Ideally, ships would be within “pistol shot,” where hitting the target was more or less guaranteed. In such a case, rate of fire took precedence over accuracy, and a good crew could fire an average of every 90 seconds. A great psychological effect could be achieved by firing a broadside simultaneously, but inevitably, different standards of gunnery between different gun crews, together with the effect of casualties, made this very difficult after a few discharges. Simultaneous firing, moreover, took a toll on the ship itself. More commonly, crews fired in quick succession down the deck, creating a kind of ripple of fire. Depending on the purpose to be achieved, crews fired at the enemy above the bulwarks to slow down their speed by damaging masts and rigging, or at the hull to create holes beneath the waterline or to disable the opponent’s guns and kill their crews.

Several forms of projectile were available to gunners. For short ranges, grapeshot, consisting of a bundle of musket shot secured together in canvas, could be fired to create the effect of a shotgun when they left the barrel. Similarly, canister or case shot consisted of a tin containing small shot, which burst after emerging from the muzzle. Where

the objective was to disable an enemy vessel’s masts and rigging, many types of shot were available, including bar shot and chain shot. Bar shot consisted of two halves of an iron ball attached to a bar, making the shape of a dumb-bell. When fired, this projectile did great damage to ropes and spars. Chain shot consisted of two balls connected by several inches of chain. These cut and tangled ropes.

Such projectiles were very effective against the motive power of a ship and against men, but they were inaccurate and traveled only a short distance. For greater distance, crews used round shot—what is often referred to now as a cannonball. This was spherical, iron, and solid, and meant to smash the enemy’s hull. The heaviest type, of 32 pounds, had a velocity of 1,600 feet per second on leaving the muzzle and could crash through two and a half feet of oak planking. Where round shot hit thinner planking, the resulting shower of splinters could disable and kill men, not to mention dismount a gun or destroy its carriage. Any man unfortunate enough to find himself in its path was either badly mauled or killed. Limbs were commonly lost through such fire. Even the “wind” produced by a closely passing shot was capable of killing a man, queerly, without leaving so much as a mark on his body.

Even more effective at close range were double-shotted guns—those loaded with two shots. Normally, opponents fought in parallel lines, thus exposing only their strongest sides. Great damage could, however, be achieved if a captain could maneuver his ship so as to cross the bow or stern of his opponent, thus enabling him to “rake” the target with most of his broadside guns while himself suffering comparatively little from the few guns that the enemy had mounted on his bow and stern. These were the most vulnerable parts of the ship, and shot fired along the whole length of the decks often dismounted guns.

The accepted, conventional method of fighting was in “line of battle,” that is, with both squadrons or fleets deployed in more or less parallel lines (whether on the same or opposite courses) so that their broadsides could be brought to bear against the enemy. Ships were said to be “in line ahead,” that is one behind the other in single file. Once the lines passed one another, they maneuvered in an oval or elliptical formation and returned to engage their opponent once again. Such methods rarely led to decisive victories, since the quality of the various fleets were not as distinguishable in the late eighteenth century as they became a generation later. The idea of “breaking the line” (deliberately driving through the line and forcing the opponent to fight individual ship-to-ship actions when one possessed an advantage in numbers, seamanship, and morale) had come into notice at the Battle of Saintes in 1782, during the American Revolutionary War, and was used again very successfully at St. Vincent in 1797 and, most famously, at Trafalgar in 1805.

Whether fleet actions or single-ship actions, most encounters were fought at close range, so close in fact that small arms were regularly employed, together with edged weapons carried by boarding parties. The most common form of firearm at sea, as on land, was the musket, though the blunderbuss could still be seen during this period, and the Americans sometimes used rifles. “Sea service” muskets were of a very similar type to the land version, though slightly shorter. Blunderbusses, with a bell-shaped mouth and firing irregular-sized objects such as bits of iron, were used with deadly effect at close range, particularly against boarders. Muskets were discharged from across rival decks, particularly by marines, but could be wielded by boarding parties. Once discharged in hand-to-hand fighting, however, there was no time to reload, so the weapon was usually reversed to make use of its butt end as a club.

If rival crews actually confronted one another face to face in a boarding action, then recourse was most often had to boarding pikes; pistols; tomahawks or boarding axes; and knives or daggers. Boarding pikes were about six feet long, made of ash and tipped with a triangular steel blade that narrowed to a point. They were most effective in defending against boarders attempting to mount the side of an enemy vessel. Boarding pikes came in long and short versions, depending on the area on the ship where they were to be used. As there was little room on the cramped decks of a ship to employ long weapons, short pikes were therefore designed for such conditions.

The cutlass was short, heavy, and bereft of unnecessary ornamentation, with a strong hand guard on the hilt, both to protect the hand and to use as a knuckle-duster, in the event that lack of space prevented its user from swinging the blade. Officers’ swords were similar, very unlike the straight dress swords seen in portraits, which were only used for ceremonial purposes on land. Midshipmen, who were generally only in their teens, often employed a simple dirk, much like a dagger, or a very short sword. Pistols were very similar to the patterns used ashore, but plainer and sturdier, and sometimes modified with a belt hook to enable a sailor to carry more than one slung across his front and to prevent his dropping it in combat. Hand grenades were also used (though much less frequently than in the past), particularly by sailors positioned in the fighting tops (platforms mounted on the masts about halfway up). Grenades were of simple design, consisting of hollow spheres filled with gunpowder and lit with a slow match.

The Royal Navy also had use of a special naval gun known as a carronade, a weapon not employed in any other navy except that of the United States. It was shorter than a standard “great gun,” as cannon were officially designated, and fired a 68-pound shot for larger ships, and

smaller weights for smaller vessels. Employing a small charge and a short barrel, the benefit of the carronade derived from the smashing power produced by the weight of its shot rather than from the velocity at which it traveled. The Royal Navy’s preferred method of fighting was at close quarters, and its sailors generally aimed at the enemy hull, as opposed to the rigging, which was the traditional target sought by the French. Once a ship could be maneuvered into close range, the more rapid broadsides produced by the superior efficiency of a British crew, now further enhanced by the devastating power of the carronade, gave the British a distinct advantage. The carronade had numerous other advantages, including the fact that the gun was mounted on a slide carriage, rather than on trucks (small wheels). The recoil was absorbed by the slide, whereas in ordinary guns this was absorbed by a series of ropes. Carronades were lighter, required fewer men to operate, and could be aimed more easily by using a screw to elevate and depress the barrel. No other European navy employed carronades, and this technological innovation showed its worth in several actions.

### Higher Direction and Support

The Royal Navy was backed by a complex organization, made necessary by the fact that warships, though relatively simple in design and function, were in other ways the most complicated man-made objects in existence, whose maintenance and construction required a complex system of officials, dockyards, and skilled workers to manage, direct, and support. The navy employed more men than any other occupation or institution in the country and was not unnaturally the most expensive to maintain. The navy was managed by the Admiralty in London and maintained at various dockyards, the six major ones being Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, all on the south coast of England, Deptford and Woolwich on the Thames; and Sheerness in Scotland. Such yards constructed ships and refitted them, though, with its worldwide responsibilities, the navy had also to rely on overseas dockyards that maintained and refitted local squadrons. Gibraltar in the Mediterranean, Antigua and Jamaica in the West Indies, Halifax on the Canadian coast, and Bombay in India were the principal overseas ports of the Royal Navy. Ships requiring repairs or resupply could usually depend on such yards, which contained shipwrights, carpenters, and other skilled craftsmen, to stock their needs and make necessary repairs.

### Recruitment

Manning the Royal Navy was a perennial problem, as there was never enough available manpower to satisfy the navy’s needs. Conscription largely brought in men already connected with the sea, but landmen were sometimes drafted

as well. Many others were obtained by the more ruthless method of the press gang, by which seamen—desirable recruits because they were already acquainted with life aboard ship—were in effect seized from merchant ships or abducted from the streets of port towns and compelled to serve aboard a vessel of the Royal Navy. Men already serving the navy or in possession of a certificate of exemption could avoid “the press,” but this unjust method of manning the fleet was a legal, if unofficial, means at the government’s disposal. Pressed men, like convicts, were held aboard ships until the end of the war.

About half the sailors in the Royal Navy were pressed, the remainder being volunteers (who themselves may have been pressed to the extent that once caught they may have been offered the opportunity to “volunteer” and receive higher pay rather than protest at the injustice of their predicament). Those who genuinely volunteered often did so with dreams of glory and adventure, but for the most part their motivation lay in acquiring “prize money”—a specified payment made to every officer and seaman as a reward for the capture of an enemy vessel in reasonable enough condition for the navy to commission for its own use. Men sometimes “volunteered” under the influence of drink, only afterward realizing that they had become virtual prisoners in the hands of their captain.

The strength of the Royal Navy in the year of Trafalgar (1805) was slightly over 100,000 men, of whom a quarter were marines, men specially trained to serve aboard ships on sentry duty, to maintain discipline, and to provide musket fire in battle and landing parties in amphibious operations. Their chief function was to prevent mutiny aboard ship. The navy expanded rapidly during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, but while Parliament voted for impressive numbers of sailors and ships on a yearly basis, these figures were never reached.

### **Discipline and Conditions of Service**

Discipline aboard ship was strict and sometimes harsh. Landsmen, in particular, with no experience of the rigors of life at sea, had to be blended into the existing team, a team that had to be capable of carrying out a variety of difficult and often complex functions under all conditions, especially combat. Petty officers encouraged the quick fulfillment of orders with the use of a rope’s end or cane, with which they would strike men perceived as too slow. But it was the captain, as supreme authority aboard the ship, with absolute command over the officers and men, who, whether benign or despotic, possessed the power of life and death over the crew.

Most captains were strict, but essentially reasonable, despite the fact that the lash was used regularly. The harshness of this method of punishment must be seen in the

context of the time; life on land was fraught with poverty, illness, and crime, and punishments for civilians were at least as severe as for those in the navy. Men subjected to a lashing with the cat-o’-nine-tails were tied to a grating and flogged with a whip consisting of nine cords, all of them knotted. In short order this removed the skin from a man’s back, leaving it a bloody mass of pulp. The number of lashes was specified by the captain, and usually did not exceed two dozen, with the punishment being carried out by the bosun’s mate. The captain could always employ the death sentence for serious offenses, such as mutiny. At a time when capital punishment was regularly handed down by the courts for what today would be considered a minor offense (such as petty theft), the use of the death penalty aboard ship was relatively rare. Whatever the punishment prescribed by a captain, the crew generally accepted it as a matter of course. It was abuse of the system of discipline by the occasionally sadistic officer to which the men might object, rather than the system as it then existed.

Desertion was severely punished, but it is not surprising that many men, especially those who had been pressed, should have resorted to it. Leave was seldom given during wartime, for the simple reason that many men might simply abscond once ashore or be taken aboard other ships, especially when in for a refit or at the end of a commission. On the occasions when men were granted leave, they often spent all their money in a drunken spree or in the pursuit of women, having been confined aboard ship often for months at a time. Once the war ended, most sailors were discharged from the service with the usual ruthless cutbacks in naval expenditure. There were no pensions for the aged or injured, and men found themselves back in society without immediate means of food, accommodation, and work.

The functions of a ship’s crew were necessarily varied in complexity and skill. The men were divided into several groups, the two main ones being able seamen and landsmen. The first were skilled men; the latter were unskilled. Able seamen were employed in the rigging and were extremely fit, able to climb the masts, spars, and lines with remarkable agility and speed so as to enable them to take in the sails—all tasks performed high above the deck. This was necessarily dangerous work, especially for the “topmen,” who worked amid the higher sails and masts. Older men or those with fewer skills might be in charge of a gun or perform other tasks not requiring the same degree of strength or agility.

Landsmen usually worked on the deck, manhandling ropes to fix the sails in place, raising the anchor, and doing other work for which no machinery then existed to replace simple, brute strength. Such men were known as “waist-ers,” being employed in the center of the ship, and were generally incapable of working in the rigging because of age, lack of fitness, or low intelligence.

Living conditions aboard ship were cramped, smelly, and uncomfortable. The men slept in hammocks slung between the decks, stowing them each day. They ate at a mess table erected at mealtimes between the guns and then stowed again, leaving the deck free for the use of the guns. The whole purpose of the ship was for fighting; the comfort and convenience of the men was not an issue aboard warships at this time. The men's diet consisted of hard tack (a sort of biscuit), salted meat, and various beverages, including beer and grog (watered-down rum). Fresh meat and fruit were rare, and poor nutrition and scurvy were a constant problem.

### Officers and Men

Noncommissioned officers were in charge of the guns, and the men performing their respective tasks in the rigging. The more senior of the NCOs were the warrant officers. The boatswain held responsibility for the seamen and the carpenter for the ship's structure; the purser managed the system of pay and the provision of food and clothing aboard ship. The navigation of the ship fell largely to the master. Officers held commissions from the king authorizing them to hold a position of command, either lieutenant, captain, or admiral. Prior to becoming an officer, a boy aged between thirteen and eighteen would serve for a number of years as a sort of apprentice or cadet, known as a midshipman, though older men could remain midshipmen if they failed their lieutenant's examination or were unable to secure promotion through patronage.

The system of patronage was extremely important at the time, not only within the armed forces, but in politics. Receiving a post or promotion in the navy usually came as the result of distinguished service or, more frequently, through the assistance of a friend or family member with influence within the service. A patron might wish to support a young man's professional aspirations, have a family or political connection with him, or need to return a political or financial favor performed by the aspirant's family.

Having passed his lieutenant's examination as a midshipman, a man had to rely on patronage to rise to a captaincy or depend on the fate of circumstances. Battle might disable or kill off those of higher rank, thereby opening up more senior positions. Distinguished conduct in combat might also secure the rank of captain, giving the independent command of a ship to an ambitious lieutenant. Beyond captain came the rank of admiral, divided into rear admiral, vice admiral, and admiral, the last rank itself divided into three parts to distinguish them according to seniority. After becoming a captain, promotion was achieved by seniority, and though this was more or less a simple waiting game, patronage could still make the difference between a desirable or undesirable posting, whether in terms of the

quality of the squadron or fleet one commanded or the station (theater of operations) to which one was assigned. During peacetime a ship was usually "paid off," which meant that her crew was released from service and the captain placed on half pay, unless he could find another ship into which he could immediately transfer.

### Conclusion

The Royal Navy easily surpassed all other contemporary navies for size, efficiency, and power. Well before the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the navy had achieved maritime supremacy over all contenders and enabled this small island nation, in the remaining period of the nineteenth century, to establish an empire on a scale not seen since ancient Rome.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Artillery (Naval); Blockade; British Army; Continental System; Copenhagen, Battle of; Dutch Navy; French Navy; Marines; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Ottoman Navy; Peninsular War; Privateering; Prize Money; Russian Navy; Spanish Navy; St. Vincent, Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of; United States Navy

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## Russia

The Russian Empire was the largest state that participated in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The in-

ternational status of the Russian Empire was transformed during the wars. Russia was a junior partner in the early coalitions; by 1815 Russia was recognized as the strongest military power on the Continent.

In the late eighteenth century, the empire's borders had expanded westward, as a consequence of the three partitions of Poland-Lithuania in 1772, 1793, and 1795, to incorporate Lithuania, Belarus, and the Western Ukraine, and southward, as a consequence of two Russo-Turkish Wars of 1768–1774 and 1787–1792 (which ended by the Treaty of Jassy on 9 January 1792), to the northern shores of the Black Sea. The period of the Napoleonic Wars saw further significant territorial acquisitions in the north, south, and west, namely the Grand Duchy of Finland (as a result of the Russo-Swedish War of 1808–1809), Bessarabia (as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812), and the Congress Kingdom of Poland (ceded to Russia at the Congress of Vienna in 1815). The Russian Empire extended to the Bering Sea and the Pacific Ocean in the east, and inroads had been made into the Caucasus in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The population of the Empire (excluding the Caucasus, the Polish provinces, and Finland) rose from 37.2 million in 1795 to 43.1 million in 1815. The Grand Duchy of Finland comprised some 1.4 million inhabitants in 1843; the population of the Congress Kingdom of Poland numbered approximately 3.3 million. The expansion of the Empire resulted in a fall in the percentage of ethnic Russians in the population. In 1782 (at the fourth census), the Russian population was 48.9 percent of the total population of the Empire; by 1833 (the seventh census), it had fallen to 45.32 percent. Non-Russians included Ukrainians, Poles, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Romanians, Jews, Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvash, Mordvins, Mari, Votiaks, Kalmyks, and Komi. When Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812, he crossed through Lithuanian and Belarusian lands before entering Russia proper after the Battle of Smolensk. He was unable, however, to gain any military or diplomatic advantages from his presence in nonethnic Russian territory. Non-Russians, with the exception of Jews, served in the imperial Russian Army.

It was the Russian peasants who had to bear the major burden of war, either directly, as recruits, or indirectly, as payers of the poll tax. Some 90 percent of the Russian population (as opposed to the population of the Russian Empire as a whole) were peasants. The peasantry was not a homogeneous group. Over half the peasants were legally categorized as serfs, that is, seigniorial peasants who lived on land owned by nobles. The rest were loosely categorized as state peasants, comprising court peasants (who lived on land owned by members of the imperial court); Cossacks (of Russian or Ukrainian ethnic origin who lived mainly in

what had been or still were the outposts of the Empire in the south, the north Caucasus, and Siberia); so-called economic peasants, who had lived on church or monastic lands until the secularization of Church lands in 1764; so-called black peasants, who lived on land, mainly in the north and in Siberia, where there had never been noble landowners; and various smaller categories of former servitors, military settlers, and non-Russian peasants.

Peasants—either serfs or state peasants—were largely self-governing, through the village commune, or *mir*. It was the commune that selected unfortunate young men as recruits for the army (who were often either work shy, trouble makers, or simply impoverished), and who supplied and dispatched the recruits and handled the requests by the army for supplies, quarters, and transport. These latter burdens fell most heavily on peasants in the western and southern borderlands, where the bulk of the Russian Army was quartered. Once a peasant was recruited, he rarely returned to his village, unless he was found to be medically unfit or unless he was wounded very early in the campaign. Contact between soldiers and peasants was therefore rather limited under normal circumstances; the military activities of 1812, of course, had a far more direct impact on peasant lives along the route of the invasion and the retreat.

The other main source of conscripts to the army consisted of artisans and day laborers in towns. Townspeople, though, only made up a small percentage of the Russian population (although the number of people living in towns was always considerably higher than the number in legally defined urban groups). In 1795, the number of males in various urban groups was estimated as 771,317, which rose to 1,208,600 in 1815. The elite category of the urban groups—the merchants—were excluded from the recruit levy (although they paid a special tax in its place), so that the pool for recruits was limited. Officers and soldiers were billeted on towns, and most large towns had garrisons, but apart from the large military presence in the major cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, most troops were quartered on the southern and western borderlands.

The nobles provided the bulk of the officer corps. It has been estimated that the number of male Russian nobles rose from 362,574 in 1795 to 429,226 in 1816. This comprises about 2 percent of the Russian population—a nobility rather larger proportionally than that of Sweden, but small compared with other east European states such as Hungary or Poland. Nobles had been obliged to serve the state—in a military or, far more rarely, in a civil capacity—in the reign of Peter the Great. But in 1762, during the short reign of Peter III, nobles were freed from compulsory service to the state. In practice, this change had only a limited effect, and nobles continued to serve,

partly because by this time service had become the *raison d'être* of the nobility, and, more prosaically, because the majority of noble families needed a state income to support themselves.

Nobles were not, of course, taxpayers, and there was no attempt in Russia to introduce property tax or any other form of direct taxation of the privileged classes during the Napoleonic Wars. Service in the army was consistently more popular and more prestigious than civil service, and entry into the elite Guard regiments was only possible for young nobles who had wealth and connections. The elite military schools helped to foster an *esprit de corps* among the officer class, although this feeling of solidarity may also have helped the spread of reformist and revolutionary ideas after 1815.

Russia was backward economically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Grain yields (only twice or three times the grain sown) were consistently lower than those of western and northwestern Europe. This disproportion can partly be explained by climatic conditions, but there were other factors that perpetuated economic backwardness. Peasants were slow to adopt innovations in technology, field rotation, or experiment with new crops. Serfdom acted as a brake on innovation, not least because serfs traditionally worked noble lands, so that the kind of commercial agriculture found in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where the nobility took a more direct interest in their own lands, failed to develop. The other major problem was poor transportation. It was particularly difficult in the spring, when the thaw made swollen rivers impassable and turned roads into quagmires. Nevertheless, the grain market had expanded from the second half of the eighteenth century, aided by the abolition of internal customs, rising grain prices, the development of the southern port of Odessa, and further development of the canal system that facilitated transportation of goods to the Baltic ports.

Russian industry developed late, but major advances, particularly in the metallurgy and textile manufactories, had taken place from the time of the reign of Peter the Great in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The most successful area of development was iron production; by 1800 Russia had become the greatest producer of pig iron in the world (although thereafter it was rapidly overtaken by Britain). Iron was used for cannon and armaments, and the center of the armaments industry was the town of Tula, south of Moscow. The main shipbuilding centers were in St. Petersburg, on Kronstadt (an island in the Gulf of Finland), and in the Crimea. Moscow was the center of the textile industry and the silk-weaving industry, but there were other important regional centers. A major economic weakness for Russia was the slow development

of towns and of the urban elites. Traditions of urban self-government were weak, and an imposed western-style guild system had failed to take root. As a result, urban goods and artisans were constantly undercut by peasant traders, and the majority of towns remained small and predominantly peasant in social composition.

The relative economic backwardness of Russia was exposed during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Russia had the industrial capacity to supply troops with arms and uniforms and, at least in principle, had sufficient grain to feed the troops and sufficient fodder for horses. Russian soldiers were in effect conscripted for life (twenty-five years) and were paid very little, nor were salaries for officers generous. But Russia lacked the resources or the income to sustain the largest army in Europe during almost constant warfare, particularly when its territory was invaded in 1812. Industry was not sufficiently advanced to benefit from the increased needs by the military for textiles and armaments. Attempts to increase the state's income through rises in direct and indirect taxation foundered because the tax-paying population was too small (nobles, clergy, and merchants being excluded) and too impoverished to be further exploited, and the mechanisms of tax collection remained inefficient. The consequence was that arrears rose alarmingly.

Budgeting mechanisms and the banking and credit systems were underdeveloped (there was no national bank), so that the rising national debt could not be underwritten or consolidated in a sinking fund. Customs revenues declined sharply during the time that Russia adhered to the Continental System by which Napoleon sought to close continental markets to Britain. Extensive subsidies, particularly from Britain, could not make up this shortfall in income. The Russian government therefore resorted to printing paper money (assignats), which in turn led to inflation and devaluation of the ruble (the value of the ruble fell by 24 percent between 1806 and 1810). By 1810, Russia was facing a financial crisis, but new regulations to stabilize the currency were wrecked by the experience of invasion, which destroyed towns (most notably Moscow and Smolensk), villages, and agriculture along the path of the invasion route.

The Russian tsar is often described as an autocrat; however, it is not the case that there were no practical restrictions on the tsar's power. Tsars were conscious that they could be victims of military or palace coups (as was Paul I, father of Alexander I) or that their policies could provoke popular revolt (as in the Pugachev Revolt during the reign of Catherine II). But there were no formal legal or institutional restrictions on tsarist power—no national representative institution, no powerful body of social elites or regional interest groups, no administrative institution

with powers to block tsarist policy, no separate legal body or codified set of laws that could be used against arbitrary tsarist action.

The tsar had sole control over foreign and military policy, although tsars rarely took part in battle (Alexander learned his lesson after he participated in the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805). While this complete control gave the ruler great freedom of action, it also meant overreliance on individual ministers, army commanders, and friends, and in practice meant that the central government apparatus was inefficient, cumbersome, and overly dependent on the personal views and whims of the ruler. Some restructuring of central government took place during Alexander's reign, most notably the reform of the Senate and the introduction of ministries, including the ministry of finance and the ministry of war. These newly established institutions proved inadequate in dealing with the strains of war.

The acquisition of new lands and a new great-power status in the Vienna settlement of 1815 could not disguise the fact that war left the Russian Empire with an enormous debt, an inflated currency, impoverished western provinces, its largest city in ruins, and an empty treasury. As Russia continued to maintain the bulk of its army in peacetime after 1815 (only the temporary militias were demobilized), and war had not resulted in technological advances in industry or agriculture or substantial improvements in banking and credit facilities, let alone any fundamental change in the structure of society or the form of government, there was no obvious remedy for reducing the financial crisis.

Thus, by the end of the era the vast Russian Empire posed an extraordinary paradox, possessing by far the largest army in Europe, and benefiting substantially from the settlement reached at the Congress of Vienna, yet with little to show for itself in terms of social, political, scientific, or economic development.

Janet Hartley

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austerlitz, Battle of; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Continental System; Cossacks; Finland; Paul I, Tsar; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Russian Army; Russian Campaign; Russian Navy; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Vienna, Congress of

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## Russian Army

Russia was at war for virtually the entire period between 1789 and 1815. The Russian Army participated in seven campaigns against France, in 1799, 1805, 1806–1807, and 1812–1814; fought two wars against the Turks in 1787–1792 and 1806–1812; a war with Persia in 1804–1813; two wars with Sweden in 1789–1791 and 1808–1809; in the Partition of Poland in 1792–1794; and in the annexations of principalities in Georgia and the northern Caucasus.

### Recruitment

Able to draw on a population of almost 40 million by the late eighteenth century, Russian sovereigns drew conscripts from the servile population of an empire that included serfs, state and church peasants, and townspeople. Every year the sovereign or the Senate acting in the imperial name issued a decree (*ukaz*) specifying a levy to be raised. The number of recruits fluctuated with military need, and each decree stipulated how many individuals were to be recruited from a given number of men, what procedures were to be followed, and which groups were to be exempt. In 1724, the system was modified, and levies were imposed

based on the number of souls, not households. While under Peter the Great all estates had to provide specified levy quotas, the system later gradually changed. In 1736 new regulations allowed nobles to keep one son at home to take care of the family property; other male children could study until the age of 20, at which time they had to be enlisted in the army for twenty-five years. After 1737–1739 clergy and merchants were exempted from recruitment if they paid a special fee. Finally, in 1762 Tsar Peter III promulgated the Charter of Liberties, which abolished mandatory military service for the nobles. After 1811 landowners could pay a fee of 2,000 rubles in lieu of providing a recruit. Thus, the burden of recruitment lay heavily on serfs, townspeople, and peasants. In total, between 1705 and 1825, there were over 90 levies raised, yielding more than 4,000,000 men for the Russian armies. During the period 1805–1815 Russia raised levies every year except 1814, drafting over 1.2 million men.

In time of emergency, Russian sovereigns often issued heavier levies or resorted to militia mobilizations. During the 1806–1807 campaigns in Poland, Tsar Alexander issued a special levy for “temporary internal militia” that yielded some 200,129 men. The heaviest levies were held in 1812, when three emergency levies were issued within six months calling for over 400,000 men, excluding militia.

Age limits for recruits were initially restricted to those between 15 and 30, inclusive, but they were eventually raised by 5 years. Catherine the Great raised the minimum age requirement to 17. During the Napoleonic Wars, age requirements went through various changes: the maximum age for a recruit was raised to 36 in 1806, age limits were set at 19 to 37 in 1808, the minimum age was lowered to 18 in 1811, and the maximum increased to 40 in 1812. In practice, officials often ignored regulations and accepted underage boys or older men. Height regulations also gradually evolved, starting with 2 arshins and 4 vershkis (5 ft. 3 in.) in the 1730s. During the Napoleonic Wars, requirements were lowered by half an inch in 1805, 1808, and 1809, an entire inch in 1806 and 1811, and two inches in 1812. Shorter men were usually recruited anyway and assigned to garrison duty or to the navy. Soldiers initially had to serve in the army for life. However, following the successful war against the Ottomans in 1787–1792, Catherine rewarded her troops with a reduction in their term of service to twenty-five years in 1793. Tsar Alexander considered proposals to reduce military service to twelve years but could not implement them in wartime.

Peter the Great initially forced the nobility into mandatory military service, beginning their term as ordinary soldiers with eventual promotion to officer’s rank. However, the nobles exploited a loophole in the system by

Table R.1 Levies during the Napoleonic Wars

Levy	Year	Levy Quota	Recruits	
			Expected	Actual
73rd	1802	2 per 500 souls	52,523	46,491
74th	1803	2 per 500 souls	60,379	54,855
75th	1804	1 per 500 souls	n/a	38,437
76th	1805 (first call-up)	4 per 500 souls	n/a	110,000
	1805 (second call-up)	n/a	n/a	58,205
77th	1806–1807 (militia recruitment)	5 per 500 souls	612,000	200,129
78th	1808	5 per 500 souls	118,300	38,906
79th	1809	5 per 500 souls	82,146	ca. 60,000
80th	1810	3 per 500 souls	n/a	94,589
81st	1811	4 per 500 souls	135,000	120,000
82nd	1812 (first call-up)	2 per 500 souls	70,000	166,563
83rd	1812 (second call-up)	8 per 500 souls	181,585	n/a
84th	1812 (third call-up)	8 per 500 souls (1 per 50 souls in Lifland)	167,686	n/a
85th	1813	8 per 500 souls (1 per 50 souls in Estland)	n/a	ca. 200,000
86th	1815	1 per 500 souls (Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Georgia exempt)	n/a	33,417

Sources: Data from Beskrovny 1996; Geisman 1902; Kersnovskii 1992; Ulianov 1997; V. Zweginsov, *Russkaia armia*, vol. 4 (Paris: N.p., 1973).

Note: n/a = Data not available.

enlisting their children in the Imperial Guard at the time of their birth or infancy; by the time the children grew up, they already had officer's rank without the benefit of any experience or training. Initially, the length of service for nobles was not established, which often meant they served for life. Although in 1762 Tsar Peter III had abolished mandatory military service for the nobles, the army nevertheless remained the only honorable career for young noblemen. The total size of the officer corps is estimated as some 12,000 in 1803, over 14,000 in 1805–1807, and between 15,000 and 17,000 in 1812–1815.

After enlisting, a nobleman was usually given the rank of a noncommissioned officer but had to serve as a soldier for three months before actually receiving the rank. Of course, patronage and nepotism played an important role in advancement. Many senior officers made sure their sons or relatives served in their units and received promotions in a timely or expedited fashion. Civilians who transferred to military service usually had their officer epaulettes within one to three years, depending on their previous civilian rank and position. The wait was considerably longer for nonnobles, who usually had to serve between five and seven years to become officers. Noncommissioned officers were in the worst position, because they had usually served over ten years before receiving an officer's rank.

Despite the perennial problem of incompetent officers in the army, the Russian system of military education was surprisingly multifaceted. The highest institutions were the Page Corps, the Tsarskoe Selo Lycée, and the 1st and 2nd

Cadet Corps, followed by the Corps of Foreign Fellow Believers, the Grodno (later Smolensk) Cadet Corps, the Imperial Military Orphan Home, and the Regiment of the Nobility. The quality of instructors and graduates, however, remained poor. Most junior officers came untrained and illiterate, while senior command was largely restricted to the senior aristocracy. A number of relatively competent foreign officers served in the Russian Army throughout the period, but they often had a divisive influence and generated mistrust among the Russian officers and troops. Criminal profiteering in the commissariat and among suppliers was rampant. Medical services were primitive at best.

### Army Command

Under Tsar Paul I, the overall command of military forces was in the hands of the War College. The tsar also had effective command of the army through the War Chancellery. Such duplication of authority often confused matters, and Alexander I considered several proposals to reorganize the command structure. In 1802 the Ministry of Military Land Forces was formed, and the War College was turned into an executive bureau within the ministry. The Imperial War Chancellery continued to operate until 1808. Between 1803 and 1808, the ministry was reorganized and divided into provisioning, commissariat, accounting, legal, engineers, artillery, and medical departments. In 1808–1810 the Ministry of Military Land Forces expanded its authority, subordinating the Imperial War Chancellery. In 1810, the Imperial State Council was established, which in-

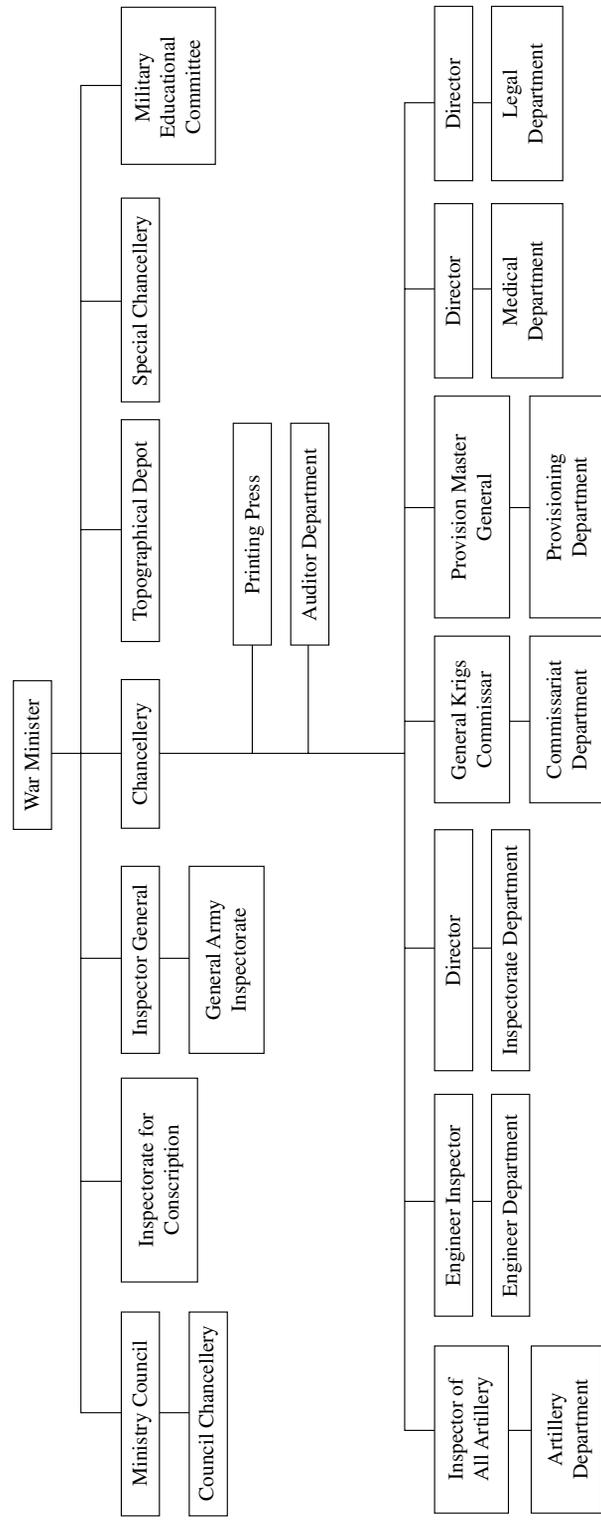


Fig R.1 Command Structure of the Russian Ministry of War, 1811–1815

Source: Data from Beskrovny 1996 and Bezotosny 2000.

cluded the Department of Military Affairs. On 27 January 1812 the ministry was renamed the Ministry of War. A new statute freed the ministry from numerous petty responsibilities and gave wider powers to divisional commanders. The new ministry was governed through the chancellery and the council and was divided into seven departments: artillery, engineers, inspectorate, legal, provisioning, commissariat, and medical.

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars, the Russian Army operated without a separate general staff, and His Imperial Majesty's Suite on Quartermaster Service performed these functions. Organized in 1797, the suite was commanded by the quartermaster general, General Aleksey Arakcheyev, in 1797–1799 and General Paul Sukhtelen in 1801–1808. In 1804, the suite staff comprised 5 generals, 39 staff, and 62 junior officers, as well as 45 column guides (*kolonovazhatii*), who were assigned to local headquarters. After 1807 foreign officers, including Karl von Clausewitz, Karl von Puel, and Ludwig Wolzogen, were accepted into the suite. Under General Peter Volkonsky's leadership, the suite was reorganized in November 1810 and divided into the archive, the Suite Depot (led by General Karl Oppermann), and a chancellery of four sections: the first responsible for current affairs, the second for topography, the third for routes, and the fourth for treasury affairs.

The functions of the suite were further determined during the reforms of 1810–1812. Two main sections were established under the direction of the quartermaster general: the first section was responsible for intelligence gathering; the second section directed the drafting of dispositions, the movement of troops, the selection of positions, and instructions to local commanders. In 1812 the suite staff consisted of 10 generals, 58 staff, and 99 junior officers; over the next two years, the number of officers serving in the suite increased to over 130. In December 1815 Alexander issued a decree establishing the General Staff, which incorporated the suite.

### Organization

Upon his accession to the throne, Tsar Paul launched a series of reforms aimed at transforming the Russian Army. His Gatchina Troops (the tsar's personal guard at the palace of that name), trained in the Prussian manner, became the pattern for the rest of the imperial army. New drill regulations were introduced in December 1796, while new uniforms were issued in the Prussian style, and soldiers were required to wear their hair pulled back behind their heads in tightly braided queues. The officer corps was purged, and 7 field marshals, over 300 generals, and more than 2,000 officers were expelled between 1796 and 1799. Regiments went through a major transformation, as regimental commanders lost their power and regimental *chefs*

(colonel-proprietors) gained virtually unlimited authority over the units. For the duration of Paul's rule, units were designated after the chefs. Ten *Jäger* corps and three separate battalions were soon transformed into separate regiments. Under the 1796 Regulations, heavy cavalry regiments comprised five squadrons, while the light cavalry was organized into two regiments of five squadrons each.

Paul's reforms were most beneficial for the artillery. Lighter artillery pieces were introduced, and specific regulations were adopted for barrels and carriages. New artillery was armed with 12-pounder (medium and small) and 6-pounder guns, and 20-pounder and 10-pounder unicorns (a type of artillery piece unique to the Russians, the unicorn was a compromise between an ordinary cannon and a howitzer). Russian artillery was organized into one horse and ten field battalions, each consisting of five companies. Each field artillery company included four medium 12-pounder guns, four small 12-pounder guns, and four 20-pounder unicorns. The horse artillery company consisted of six 6-pounder guns and six 10-pounder unicorns. Infantry regiments were also assigned artillery pieces.

The Russian Army was divided between fourteen military inspectorates (*inspektsia*). Two inspectors (one each for infantry and cavalry) regularly examined troops in each inspection, while the Inspector of All Artillery supervised the whole branch of the service. Emphasis was put on drilling and parade appearance, rather than on actual tactical maneuvers. In January 1801, the Russian Army consisted of 446,059 men: 201,280 infantrymen, 41,685 cavalrymen, 36,500 artillerymen, 96,594 garrison troops, and 70,000 men in special forces (for example, the corps of Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, prince de Condé, a French emigré).

On the accession of Tsar Alexander, the main military forces comprised the following forces: infantry—three Imperial Guard, thirteen grenadier, sixty-nine musketeer, and nineteen *Jäger* regiments; cavalry—four Imperial Guard, thirteen cuirassier, eleven dragoon, eight hussar, two horse, and three regular Cossack regiments; and the artillery and engineer service—four field and one horse artillery regiments, one pioneer regiment, and eight pontoon companies. The first several years of Alexander's reign saw the gradual transformation of Russian military forces. After the 1802 reforms, an infantry regiment was organized into three battalions of four companies each, and the average strength of units varied between 1,500 and 1,700 men. Although the Russian Army had ad hoc divisions on campaign, the conversion to a divisional system was only initiated in 1806, when the first eighteen divisions were formed. The normal strength of a division was 18,000–20,000 men. By 1812 Russian forces increased to almost 700,000 men, including 362,000 infantry, 86,920 cavalry,

52,500 artillerymen, 75,000 garrison troops, and up to 120,000 irregulars.

The Russian infantry included heavy and light infantry and garrison troops. In 1812, the heavy infantry included four Guard, fourteen grenadier, ninety-six infantry, and four marine regiments, and the Caspian Sea Marine Battalion. The garrison infantry comprised the Life Guard Garrison Battalion, twelve garrison regiments, twenty garrison battalions, and forty-two battalions and four half-battalions of the Internal Guard. Infantry forces also included invalid companies. Each regiment included two to four battalions, each composed of four companies. Regimental *chefs* commanded the regiments, and the 1st battalion was designated as the *chef bataillon* (*shefskii*) and carried the chef's name. In the chef's absence, the regimental commander or commanding officer led the unit. After October 1810 a regular infantry regiment consisted of two active battalions (1st and 3rd) and one replacement (2nd, or *zapasnoi*) battalion; after November 1811 the 4th reserve (*rezervnii*) battalion was assigned to the recruitment depots. The grenadier companies of the 2nd battalions were often combined to establish combined grenadier battalions. The light infantry regiments did not carry flags, while the line infantry units usually had six flags (two for each battalion, except for the 4th battalion). One of the flags was considered regimental and often referred to as "white," while the other were known as "colored."

Infantry regiments were organized into brigades, divisions, and corps. Two regiments comprised a brigade; three brigades (1st and 2nd infantry, 3rd Jäger) made a division. In a grenadier division, all three brigades were composed of grenadiers. Each division had field artillery consisting of one battery and two light companies. Divisions were designated by numbers, and by mid-1812 there were one Guard infantry division, two grenadier divisions, and twenty-four infantry divisions. Later, additional divisions were established to reinforce the army, including the 28th and 29th divisions from the Orenburg and Siberia garrisons forces; the 30th through the 37th divisions were raised from the 2nd battalions of the first twenty-seven divisions and the 38th to 48th divisions from the 4th battalions of the remaining divisions. The light infantry gradually increased throughout the Napoleonic Wars. In 1812 it consisted of two Guard and fifty Jäger regiments and the Guard *ekipazh* (crew). In addition, during the Russian campaign, special jäger regiments and battalions were organized within the *gubernia Opolchenyes* (provincially based, virtually untrained militia). The Jäger regiments had similar organization to the line infantry units. Each infantry division had one Jäger brigade, usually the third.

After the 1801 reorganization, Russian heavy cavalry comprised five squadrons, of which four were active and

one stood in reserve. In 1803, the number of cuirassier regiments was set at six, while the dragoons increased to twenty-two. By 1805 there were four Guard regiments, six cuirassier, thirty dragoon, eight hussar, and three uhlan (lancer) regiments, while in 1812, cavalry included six Guard, eight cuirassier, thirty-six dragoon, eleven hussar, and five uhlan regiments. The Russian Guard cavalry consisted of four regiments of five squadrons each, two heavy (Chevalier Guard and Life Guard Horse) and two light (Hussar and Cossack).

Unit strengths varied greatly; on average, a heavy cavalry regiment consisted of one commanding officer, forty officers, seven NCOs, seventeen trumpeters, and 660 privates. Light cavalry regiments were divided into two battalions of five squadrons each; each regiment included one commanding officer, sixty-seven officers, 120 noncommissioned officers, twenty-one trumpeters, and 1,320 privates. One squadron from each battalion was designated as in reserve, while the remaining units were on active duty. On campaign, the reserve squadron remained in depot and trained recruits for the replacements. The regimental chef commanded each cavalry regiment, and the 1st squadron was usually named after him. In his absence, the regimental commander led the unit. Two or three cavalry regiments were often organized into a brigade, and three brigades (two heavy and one light) were united into a cavalry division. In 1812 divisions were further organized into cavalry corps. Cuirassier brigades had a separate designation from the general cavalry brigades. By 1812 there were one Guard cavalry division, two cuirassier divisions, and eight cavalry divisions. In March 1812 eight new cavalry divisions were formed; the 9th through 12th Divisions were organized from the replacement squadrons, while the 13th through 16th Divisions were raised from the cavalry recruitment depots.

After the 1812 campaign the cavalry underwent major reorganization. Two dragoon regiments were transformed into cuirassier regiments, one dragoon regiment into a hussar regiment, seven dragoon regiments into uhlans, and eight dragoon regiments into horse Jägers. In late December 1812 new cavalry divisions were formed—one Guard cavalry division, three cuirassier divisions, four dragoon divisions, two horse-Jäger divisions, three hussar divisions, and three uhlan divisions. Each division now included four regiments, with each regiment composed of six active and one replacement squadron.

Tsar Alexander also continued his father's reforms of the artillery. Starting in 1802 a special commission supervised its modernization. In 1803 the artillery train, which was previously manned by civilians, was placed under military control. New aiming devices (*dioptre* and *quadrant*) and caissons (ammunition wagons) were introduced in

1802–1803. In 1803, 3-pounder unicorns were distributed to Jäger units. The field artillery was reorganized. Regimental artillery was detached from units and formed into separate light artillery companies. In 1804 the regimental artillery was organized into regiments composed of two battalions of four companies each (two heavy and two light). In 1805 the inspector of all artillery, Aleksey Arakcheyev, launched a series of reforms to modernize the artillery. Known as the 1805 System, these measures introduced standardized equipment, ammunition, and guns. Following the Russian defeat at Austerlitz, however, further changes were introduced in the artillery. In 1806 artillery regiments were reorganized into brigades of two heavy, one horse, and two light artillery companies. Brigades were attached to infantry divisions. New artillery regulations prescribed specific instructions on artillery deployment and firing. By 1812 the artillery comprised the Guard and (regular) army branches. The regular artillery consisted of twenty-seven field artillery brigades (972 guns), ten reserve brigades (492 guns), and four replacement brigades (408 guns). Each brigade included one heavy and two light companies of 12 guns each. Cossack forces also included two horse artillery companies, with a third added in 1813. Artillery companies were armed with 12-pounder and 6-pounder guns, and 20-pounder and 10-pounder unicorns. A squad comprised two guns (*vzvod*) commanded by a noncommissioned officer. Two squads formed a division, and three divisions made one company, led by a staff officer.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Arakcheyev, Aleksey Andreyevich, Count; Austerlitz, Battle of; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Corps System; Cossacks; Division; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Paul I, Tsar; Pfuell, Karl Ludwig August von; Russia; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Russian Campaign (1812)

Decisive campaign between France and Russia, known as the Patriotic War of 1812 in Russia. Following the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807, relations between France and Russia became increasingly tense, and the possibility of another war loomed over the Continent. Tsar Alexander I had not forgotten the painful lessons of the Wars of the Third and Fourth Coalitions (1805 and 1806–1807, respectively) and was aware of the widespread displeasure prevailing in Russia, particularly in the army, over the “ignominious” Peace of Tilsit. Within a year of Tilsit, there was a marked deterioration in Franco-Russian relations. Although Napoleon and Alexander seemed to improve their relations at Erfurt in 1808, the fissures became evident the following year, when Russia took virtually no steps to support France against Austria in the War of the Fifth Coalition.

Russia was particularly concerned by Napoleon’s aggressive policy in Europe, after, in 1810, France annexed Holland, the Hanseatic cities, and the North German states all the way to the river Elbe, including the Duchy of Oldenburg, whose duke was Alexander’s brother-in-law. The Continental System, which Russia was forced to join in

1807, proved extremely disadvantageous to Russian merchants and led to a sharp decrease in Russian overseas trade. The major issue of contention between France and Russia was the Polish question. The ink was hardly dry on the Tilsit agreement when Napoleon created the Duchy of Warsaw under the nominal control of the king of Saxony; the French abolished serfdom and introduced the French civil code, actions that appeared to threaten the Russian Empire. Napoleon's interest in consolidating his control over the Poles was further revealed when, after the defeat of Austria in 1809, he incorporated western Galicia into the Duchy of Warsaw, which, in effect, threatened the western frontiers of Russia.

In early 1811 Napoleon began preparing for war against Russia and took special care in preparing for the "Second Polish Campaign" (the first being in 1806–1807) attempting to ensure rapid victory over Russia. The enormous Grande Armée, of over 600,000 troops and 1,372 field guns, was created. More than half of its troops were furnished by Napoleon's allies, including Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Spain, Bavaria, Poland, and Italy. Anticipating war, both countries sought allies. Each hoped for the support of Austria and Prussia, but the presence of the Napoleonic armies in Germany and the recent defeat of Austria in 1809 left little choice for these states but to submit to the French.

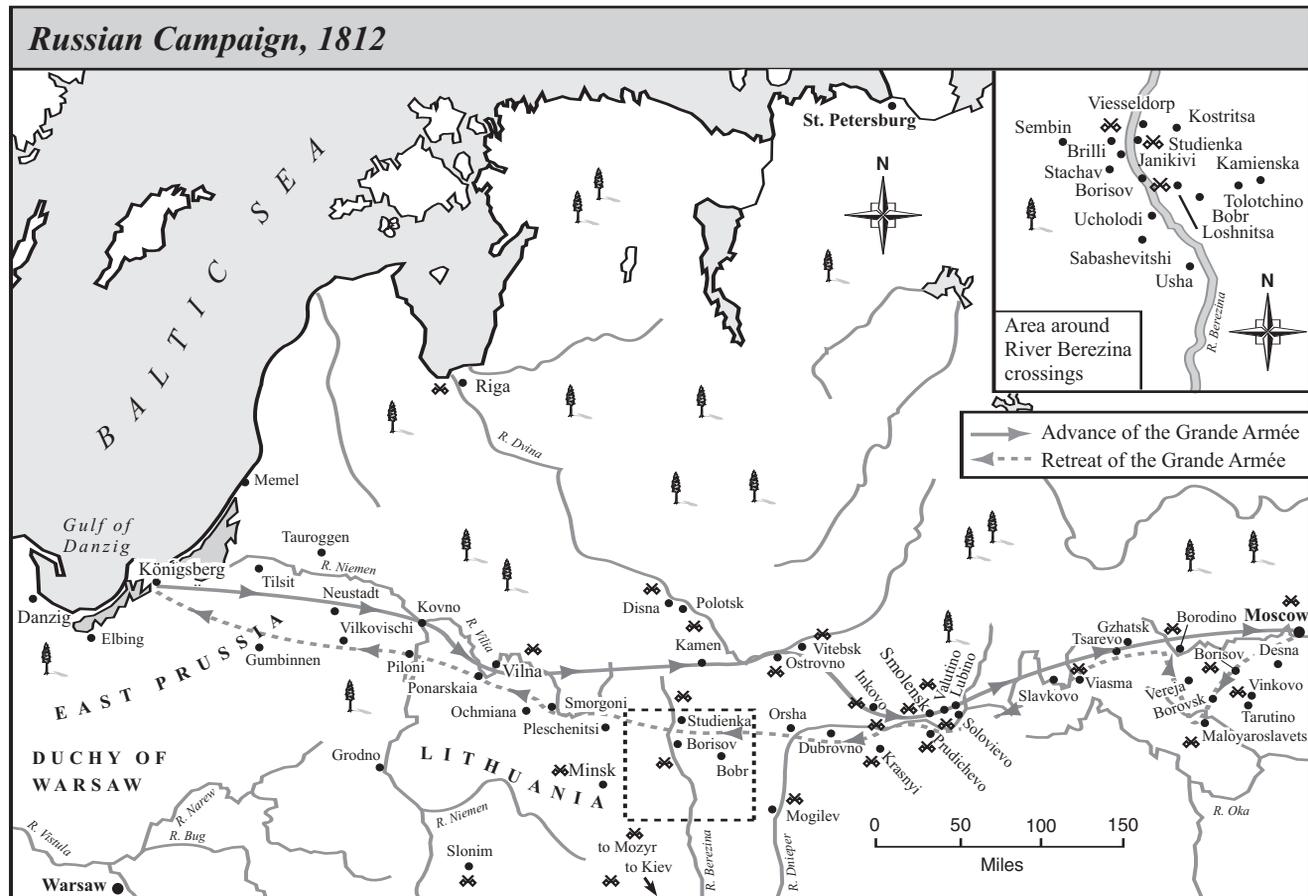
Napoleon's overall strategy for the war ideally included the use of troops from Sweden and the Ottoman Empire to form his extreme flanks. However, Napoleon was unable to exercise influence on either state. Sweden, protected from the French army by the sea, formed an alliance with Russia (April 1812) in return for the promise of Russian assistance in annexing Norway, then in Denmark's possession. As for the Ottomans, by the spring of 1812 they still were at war with Russia and appeared to be natural allies of Napoleon. But their war had been a failure, with their armies defeated by the Russians and their national finances exhausted. By the spring, Alexander managed to achieve a significant diplomatic success by concluding the Treaty of Bucharest (28 May 1812) with the Turks.

By the spring of 1812 Napoleon's gigantic army was deployed in three groups along the Vistula River stretching from Warsaw to Königsberg. The main forces consisted of I Corps under Marshal Louis Nicolas Davout, II Corps under Marshal Nicolas Charles Oudinot, III Corps under Marshal Michel Ney, I and II Reserve Cavalry Corps under Marshal Joachim Murat, and the Imperial Guard under marshals François Joseph Lefebvre and Adolphe Edouard Mortier, totaling about 220,000 men and 628 guns. This force was under Napoleon's direct command. The Central Army, under the command of Napoleon's stepson, the Viceroy of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais, consisted of IV Corps under Eugène and VI Corps under Marshal Laurent Gouvion St.

Cyr, supported by General Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy's III Reserve Cavalry Corps and the Italian Royal Guards, for a total of 70,000 men and 208 guns. The army on the right wing consisted of V Corps under General Józef Poniatowski, VII Corps under General Jean Louis Reynier, VIII Corps under General Dominique Vandamme, and IV Cavalry Corps under General Marie-Victor Latour-Maubourg. These forces amounted to 75,000 men and 232 guns. Napoleon's brother, Jérôme Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, commanded these troops. Marshal Jacques Etienne Macdonald's X Corps guarded the left flank of the army, and 30,000 Austrians under *Feldmarschall* Karl Philip Fürst zu Schwarzenberg covered the right flank.

Russia fielded more than 900,000 men, but these forces were scattered in Moldavia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Finland, and the internal regions, leaving some 250,000 men with over 900 guns to face Napoleon's army during the initial stages of the invasion. The 1st Western Army of General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly (120,000 men and 580 guns) was deployed on the Rossyena-Lida Line in the direction of St. Petersburg. The 2nd Western Army under General Peter Bagration (49,000 men and 180 guns) was assembled in the area of Volkovysk and Belostock, covering the route to Moscow. General Alexander Tormasov commanded the 3rd Observational Reserve Army (later renamed the 3rd Western Army) of 44,000 men and 168 guns in the vicinity of Lutsk, covering the route to Kiev. Besides these three major armies, the Russians also arranged two lines of defense. Along the first line, General Peter Essen's corps was deployed at Riga. Two Reserve Corps under General Egor Muller-Zakomelsky (27,473 men) and General Fedor Ertel (37,539 men) were assembled in a second line in the Toropets and Mozyr regions. The Russian extreme flanks were covered by General Baron Fadey Steingell (19,000 men) in the north and Admiral Pavel Chichagov's Army of the Danube (57,526 men) in the south.

On the eve of the war, the Russian Army considered a few strategic plans and adopted one by General Karl von Pfuël. Pfuël's plan involved a withdrawal maneuver by the 1st Western Army to the Drissa camp on the Zapadnaia Dvina River, where it was supposed to contain the enemy while the 2nd Western Army struck the enemy in the flank and rear from the Volkovysk-Mir region. This plan was flawed for several reasons. It did not take into account the possibility of the French simultaneously attacking from two directions. The Russian armies were divided into several units, each isolated from the others by the almost impassable bogs of Polesye. The limited strength of the 2nd Western Army made an attack on the flank and rear of the enemy unrealistic. Napoleon had only to oppose it with an equivalent force to halt its advance. Another problem facing Russian



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 772–773; and Fremont-Barnes and Fisher 2004, 165.

forces was the failure to establish a centralized command. No commander in chief had been appointed, and generals Bagration and Tormasov were independent commanders only nominally subordinate to the minister of war, Barclay de Tolly, who could issue orders only in the name of the tsar. Moreover, according to the Statute for the Administration of the Large Active Army, the tsar also assumed supreme command whenever he joined the army.

During the night of 23 June Napoleon's army crossed the Russian border at the Niemen River. Despite increasing criticism of Pfuël's plan, the Russian armies began to withdraw toward the Drissa camp. The 1st Western Army reached the Drissa camp on 8 July, where Alexander finally discarded Pfuël's strategy. Urged by his advisers, Alexander then left the army without appointing a commander in chief. Barclay de Tolly then fulfilled the functions of commander in chief, based on his position as war minister. On 14 July Barclay de Tolly abandoned the Drissa camp, leaving General Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein with some 20,000 men to cover the area in the direction of St. Petersburg. Barclay withdrew toward Smolensk, fighting rearguard actions at Vitebsk and Ostrovno. In the south, Bagration's

2nd Western Army withdrew first toward Minsk and then to Nesvizh and Bobruisk, eluding Napoleon's enveloping maneuvers and gaining minor victories at Mir and Romanov. When Davout's forces finally intercepted the 2nd Western Army at Mogilev, Bagration made a diversion to Saltanovka on 23 July and, with a skillful maneuver, withdrew toward Smolensk through Mstislavl. On 2 August he arrived at Smolensk to join the 1st Western Army. The two armies totaled 120,000 men, facing some 180,000 men in Napoleon's main forces.

Simultaneously, the 3rd Western Army defeated Reynier's corps at Kobryn and then pinned down Schwarzenberg and Reynier's corps in the Volhynia region. On 31 July Chichagov's Army of the Danube moved from Moldavia to support Tormasov's army. In the north, Oudinot's corps attacked Wittgenstein, who protected the route to St. Petersburg, and took Polotsk on 26 July. However, in minor actions at Klyastitsy on 30 July–1 August, the French suffered a defeat and withdrew toward Polotsk. Napoleon had to divert St. Cyr to support Oudinot's operations. In the Baltic provinces, Macdonald's corps was pinned down near Riga. Thus, by August 1812, Napoleon's

initial plan to destroy the Russian army in a decisive battle had been frustrated; the Grande Armée suffered heavy losses from strategic consumption (the reduction of forces due to the deployment of garrisons, establishment of depots, protection of lines of communications, and other duties) and desertion.

As their armies united at Smolensk, the Russians faced a crisis of command. This conflict stemmed from political discord between the old Russian aristocracy and the “foreigners,” who had gradually gained power at the court and in the army. The specific reason for the tension was the difference in views on strategy among the senior officers and army commanders who represented opposing parties. Barclay de Tolly was the focal point of the so-called German party, who supported his defensive plans. Opposing them, the “Russian party,” led by Bagration, represented the majority of the Russian army and urged an immediate counteroffensive against Napoleon. Anti-Barclay sentiments were so strong among the senior officers that they openly loathed the commander in chief and intrigued for the appointment of Bagration to supreme command. Some even encouraged Bagration to replace Barclay de Tolly by force. Giving in to pressure, Barclay de Tolly agreed to an offensive from Smolensk to Rudnia and Porechye to attempt to break through the French center and then destroy the remaining corps piecemeal.

However, because of differences of opinion among the commanders and Barclay de Tolly’s vacillation, precious time was lost in futile maneuvering. That gave Napoleon enough time to recognize Russian intentions and counteract them accordingly. In a brilliant maneuver, Napoleon unexpectedly crossed the Dnieper and threatened to capture Smolensk. General Dmitry Neverovsky’s resolute rear-guard action at Krasnyi on 14 August enabled General Nikolay Rayevsky to prepare the defense of Smolensk while the two Russian armies rushed back to the city. On 15–16 August the Russians repulsed French assaults on Smolensk but were nonetheless forced to abandon the city. As the Russians withdrew to Moscow, Napoleon attempted to cut their line of retreat. However, in the Battle of Valutina Gora on 19 August, Barclay de Tolly’s army succeeded in clearing its way to Dorogobuzh.

The surrender of Smolensk further aroused discontent in the army and society. On 20 August, Alexander replaced Barclay de Tolly with General Mikhail Kutuzov, who took command on 29 August at Tsarevo Zaimische. Kutuzov withdrew the troops farther to the east, deploying them near the village of Borodino, where he decided to give battle. On 5 September, the French attacked the Russians at Shevardino and drove them back after a fierce night engagement. The Russians received reinforcements under General Mikhail Miloradovich as well as *opolchenye* (un-

trained militia) forces, increasing their strength to 155,000 troops, of whom 115,000 men were regulars, and 640 guns. Napoleon had some 135,000 men with 587 guns.

The Battle of Borodino took place on 7 September. Napoleon chose frontal attacks on fortified Russian positions (Bagration’s *flèches*—field fortifications in the shape of arrow heads—and the Great Redoubt, also known as the Rayevsky Redoubt, which was a large-scale field fortification built in the center of the Russian positions) instead of flanking maneuvers. In savage and bloody fighting, both sides displayed great bravery and steadfastness. Although the French controlled the battlefield at the end of the day, the Russian army withdrew in good order and remained battle ready. French losses were between 30,000 and 35,000 men, including 49 generals. The Russians lost some 44,000 men, including 29 generals.

During his retreat to Moscow, Kutuzov still considered engaging the enemy in front of Moscow. However, at the military council at Fili on 13 September, Kutuzov ordered that Moscow be abandoned without a fight. The following day, Napoleon’s troops entered the city. However, the same day fires began in Moscow and continued until 18 September, destroying two-thirds of the city. Meanwhile, Wittgenstein achieved an important victory at Polotsk on 20 October and secured the northern approaches to St. Petersburg. Macdonald spent August–December unsuccessfully besieging Riga in the Baltic provinces.

While the French remained in Moscow, the Russian army skillfully maneuvered from the Ryazan road to the Kaluga road, where Kutuzov established the Tarutino camp. Through this maneuver, Kutuzov protected the southern provinces that had abundant supplies and manufacturing enterprises. The Russians also threatened Napoleon’s rear and lines of communication. At Tarutino, Kutuzov began intensive preparations for future operations and increased his army to 110,000–120,000 men, with additional militia forces to come. Kutuzov also encouraged guerrilla operations against the invaders and organized several regular cavalry detachments under Denis Davydov, Alexander Figner, Alexander Soslavin, and Ivan Dorokhov to harass French communications and supply lines. Napoleon made several peace proposals to Alexander, but they were all rejected.

On 18 October Murat’s advance guard suffered a sudden defeat on the Chernishnya River, north of Tarutino. Hearing this news, Napoleon realized he had to abandon devastated Moscow before winter arrived. The French finally commenced their retreat on 19 October. Napoleon’s forces dwindled to some 100,000 men, accompanied by thousands of noncombatants and an enormous train with supplies and loot. He planned to move his forces to the western provinces of Russia, where supply stores had been

prepared in advance. However, the route from Moscow to Smolensk, via Gzhatsk, had been devastated after French forces had fought their way to the Russian capital in August–September. Napoleon therefore decided to advance by the Kaluga route, which would take the army through unharmed regions to the southwest.

Initially, Napoleon successfully deceived the Russian forces about his plan; however, heavy rains made the roads almost impassable and considerably delayed French movements on 21–22 October. During the night of the twenty-third, Russian scouts finally realized that Napoleon was moving his entire army southward. Kutuzov, promoted to field marshal on 11 September, immediately dispatched General Dmitry Dokhturov's corps from Tarutino to the little town of Maloyaroslavets, the only point where Kutuzov could join the new Kaluga road and block the French advance.

In a savage battle on 23–24 October, the French captured the town of Maloyaroslavets but failed to break through the main Russian army. After a council of war on the evening of 25 October, Napoleon began a withdrawal to Smolensk by way of Borodino and Gzhatsk. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets had a crucial impact on Napoleon's campaign in Russia. The French were prevented from

reaching the rich provinces in southeastern Russia and were forced to return to the devastated route to Smolensk. The marching and fighting at Maloyaroslavets consumed seven crucial days; a week after the battle, the snow began to fall, and frost struck.

Kutuzov dispatched Ataman Matvei Platov's Cossacks and General Mikhail Miloradovich's advance guard to pursue the French, while the main Russian army slowly followed behind. In addition, the flying detachments of generals Adam Ozharovsky, Denis Davydov, Paul Golenishchev-Kutuzov, and Peter Volkonsky constantly harassed the French lines of communication. Meanwhile, in the south, Chichagov merged his forces with Tormasov's army and took command of some 60,000 men. Containing Schwarzenberg's corps in Volhynia and leaving General Fabian Osten-Sacken's corps to oppose the Austrians, Chichagov moved north to intercept Napoleon, taking Minsk on 16 November and Borisov on the twenty-second.

In early November the French army finally reached Smolensk, where huge supply depots had earlier been established. However, discipline broke down, and looting became rampant. Napoleon hoped to rally his forces there, but Kutuzov's advance toward Krasnyi threatened to cut



The retreat from Moscow. Remnants of the Grande Armée struggle through subzero temperatures and blinding snow in an epic march of misery and death that claimed the lives of countless thousands. (Print by J. Rousset from *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* by Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 1913)



Marshal Ney, musket in hand, leads the rear guard of the Grande Armée during Napoleon's catastrophic retreat from Moscow. (Engraving by Henry Wolf after Adolphe Yvan from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

his route. On 3 November Miloradovich and Platov attacked Davout near Viazma and captured the town. Napoleon soon abandoned Smolensk, and as the French withdrew, the superior Russian forces attacked three French corps (Eugène, Davout, Ney) while they were marching from Smolensk to Krasnyi. Each corps was temporarily cut off, and Ney's corps even surrounded, but none of them were forced to lay down their arms; Ney was cut off from the main army, but conducted a heroic retreat across the Dnieper River and earned the nickname "the Bravest of the Brave." Nevertheless, French losses were horrendous due to constant skirmishes, cold weather, and lack of supplies. The inadequately clothed French troops began to suffer and die from frostbite and hypothermia and thousands of stragglers were killed or captured by Russian guerrillas. By mid-November only some 49,000 French troops remained under arms, but they were accompanied by tens of thousands of stragglers. The Russian army also suffered severely in the harsh winter conditions, losing some 80,000 men.

As Napoleon retreated westward the Russians had a unique chance of trapping him on the Berezina River. The main Russian army under Kutuzov closely pursued Napoleon's forces, while Wittgenstein's corps converged from

the northeast and Chichagov's army from the southwest. However, Napoleon demonstrated his dazzling military talents by diverting Russian attention to Uchlodi, while his forces crossed the river at Studienka. In desperate fighting, Napoleon extricated part of his army, but suffered 25,000 battle casualties and lost some 30,000 noncombatants. Although Chichagov was held responsible for the Berezina failure, Wittgenstein and Kutuzov also acted indecisively; Kutuzov's faltering actions at Krasnyi and the Berezina served as a basis for the so-called golden-bridge or parallel-march thesis in Soviet historiography, which argued that Kutuzov had refrained from attacking the French in order to preserve his armies and let the winter and hunger do their business.

As the retreat continued, the Grande Armée ceased to exist as an organized military force. On 5 December Napoleon appointed Murat in charge of the army and left for Paris. Five days later, the Russian army captured Vilna and halted its pursuit. By 25 December the last remnants of the Grande Armée crossed the Niemen River.

The Russian campaign had disastrous consequences for Napoleon. His military might was shattered following the loss of up to a half million men in Russia. The French

cavalry was virtually wiped out and never fully recovered during the subsequent campaigns in 1813–1814. Furthermore, Napoleon's allies, Austria and Prussia, took advantage of the moment to break the alliance with France and joined their efforts to the Russian war against Napoleon. The campaign is particularly interesting for its gigantic scope and intensity, as well as the variety of tactics employed. The campaign also had important effects on Russia. The Russian army became the main force in the subsequent struggle for Germany. The war deeply influenced cultural and social life in Russia. Twelve years later, the Decembrists declared themselves “The children of 1812,” as their ideology was influenced by the events of that year.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Borodino, Battle of; Camp Followers; Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich; Continental System; Cossacks; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Davydov, Denis Vasilievich; Dokhturov, Dmitry Sergeevich; Erfurt, Congress of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Guerrilla Warfare; Imperial Guard (French); Krasnyi, First Battle of; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kutuzov, Prince Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevich, Count; Mogilev, Action at; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Moscow, Occupation of; Murat, Joachim; Neverovsky, Dmitry Petrovich; Ney, Michel; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Ostrovno, Battle of; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Pfuël, Karl Ludwig August von; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Poland; Polotsk, Battle of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer, comte; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Russo-Turkish War; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Smolensk, Battle of; Tauroggen, Convention of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Tormasov, Alexander Petrovich, Count; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Vilna, Battle of; Vitebsk, Battle of; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich Graf zu (Sayn-)

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## Russian Navy

After its creation by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Russian Navy became an important part of Russian military forces, establishing glorious traditions that are honored to the present day. Throughout the eighteenth century, Russia waged a series of wars to gain access to major seas: In the Great Northern War (1700–1721), Russia gained a coastline on the Baltic Sea, and the Russo-Turkish Wars in the 1760s and 1770s turned Russia into a major power in the Black Sea. Thus, in the late eighteenth century, Russia's naval force comprised two major fleets, the Baltic and the Black Sea fleets, as well as the White Sea and Caspian Sea flotillas. Each fleet was organized into divisions and brigades; each division comprised three squadrons, the 1st (main), the 2nd (advance-guard), and the 3rd (rearguard) squadrons.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the Baltic Fleet consisted of three divisions and the Black Sea Fleet of two divisions. From 1808 each squadron had ship and rowing crews, and each crew numbered eight companies of 100 men. The Baltic Fleet had 52 ships and eight rowing crews, while the Black Sea Fleet included 31 ships and four rowing crews. In 1810 further changes were made when the Guards Naval Crew was created comprising four (later eight) companies. Naval personnel were not recruited separately: During regular army levies, a specific quota of conscripts was assigned to the navy. Sailors were trained under the 1720 Naval Regulations with emphasis on constant drill and strict discipline. Officers and noncommissioned officers were trained in naval institutions and navigational colleges, including the Naval Academy, Artillery College, Naval Architectural College, and Baltic College in Kronstadt, and the Black Sea Navigational College in Kherson. In addition, Russian rulers sought assistance from abroad by hiring foreign officers, including Samuel Greig, Johann Heinrich von Kingsbergen, Roman Crown, and John Paul Jones. A number of young Russians were regularly sent abroad, mainly to Britain, for training. Throughout the Napoleonic Wars, the length of service in the navy was twenty-five years. By 1812

there were 28,408 sailors and officers serving in the Baltic Fleet and some 12,000 men in the Black Sea Fleet.

The strength of the Russian Navy varied throughout the period. In 1797–1798 the Baltic Fleet included 45 ships of the line, 19 sail frigates, 12 oared frigates, and 132 ships of other classes; while the Black Sea Fleet was composed of 15 ships of the line, 6 sail and 15 oared frigates, and 72 vessels of other classes. The Caspian flotilla consisted of 3 frigates and 24 vessels of lesser class. In 1802 a special Committee to Improve the Condition of the Navy was established to reorganize and modernize the naval forces. Despite finding many flaws, however, the committee made only superfluous changes in the navy. Based on its recommendations, by 1803 the Baltic Sea Fleet included 32 ships of the line, 28 frigates, 4 gunboats, 3 corvettes, 6 brigs, 35 light ships, and almost 300 oared boats. The Black Sea Fleet was limited to 21 ships of the line, 10 frigates, 5 brigs, 20 light ships, and some 190 oared boats.

In reality, however, the navy was often in such poor condition that many fewer ships were actually able to put to sea. In 1807 the Black Sea Fleet, engaged in operations against the Turks, comprised 12 battle-ready ships of the line, 82 gunboats, 1 yacht, and 27 lesser ships. In 1812 the Baltic Fleet officially comprised 41 ships of the line, but only 9 of them actually served in the Baltic Sea, while 11 were in Archangel and 9 in Britain, 9 were unfinished, and 3 were converted to blockships for use in preventing enemy vessels from entering Russian ports.

During the Napoleonic Wars the Russian Navy was involved in several major campaigns. In 1798–1799 the Black Sea Fleet was dispatched to support the Allies in the Mediterranean Sea. Operating under the command of the famous Admiral Fedor Ushakov, the Russian Fleet achieved considerable success, capturing the Ionian Islands and the island of Corfu. In August 1805 the Russian naval squadron in the Adriatic Sea landed Allied troops in Italy and supported them against the French at Cattaro (now Kotor) and Ragusa in 1806. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812 the Russian squadron under Vice Admiral Dmitry Senyavin annihilated the Turkish Fleet in actions at the Dardanelles, Tenedos, and Mount Athos. However, the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 undermined Senyavin's successes and forced him to seek neutral ports at Trieste and Lisbon, where he was blockaded by the (British) Royal Navy in 1808 and forced to transfer his ships to the British. In the north, a Russian fleet helped transport troops to Holland in 1799 and to northern Germany in 1805.

The navy also participated in the Russo-Swedish War of 1808–1809, but its operations were restricted, since the Baltic Sea could be navigated for only a limited time of the year. In addition, animosity between army commanders and the minister of the navy sometimes caused additional

difficulties; thus in the spring of 1808, the Swedes recaptured the key islands of Gotland and Åland after the Russian navy failed to support its land forces. Furthermore, following the Treaty of Tilsit, the Royal Navy directly threatened its Russian counterpart in the Baltic Sea in 1808–1810 and engaged in occasional minor engagements with it. In the east, the Caspian flotilla held firm control of the Caspian Sea and supported the Russian armies during the Russo-Persian War of 1803–1813, which ended by the Treaty of Gulistan on 12 October 1813.

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*See also* Artillery (Naval); French Navy; Frigates; Ionian Islands; Naval Warfare; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Royal Navy; Russian Army; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich; Ships of the Line; Sloops; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## Russo-Polish War (1792–1794)

The Russo-Polish War was one of the last efforts of independent Poland-Lithuania to retain its independence and self-governance. Yet the Polish-Lithuanian armies were no match for the huge Russian war machine. Badly trained, not numerous enough, and badly equipped, Polish soldiers showed incredible bravery and heart for fighting, only to be overwhelmed by their more numerous Russian foes. After the war, Russia and Prussia staged the Second Partition of Poland.

On 3 May 1791 the Four Years' Parliament (*Sejm*) passed the first Polish Constitution. Although not as democratic as the French constitution of September 1791, the Polish Constitution was also influenced by the Enlightenment and promised a well-ordered state. This new, modern document promised important reforms and the strengthening of the Polish-Lithuanian state. At the same time it deprived the nobility of numerous privileges and freedoms that class had hitherto enjoyed. Such changes were not to

be accepted by many Polish nobles, nor by Poland's neighbors, in particular by Russia. A group of Polish aristocrats, with Russian support, signed in St. Petersburg the Act of Confederation against the constitution on 27 April 1792. The act, announced on 14 May in the town of Targowica, declared the constitution void and called for military assistance from the Russian tsarina, Catherine II.

On 18 May Russian troops crossed the Polish-Lithuanian border, aiming to restore the old form of government. They were divided into two groups: General Mikhail Kakhovskii's army invading from Moldavia and Kiev in the south, and General Mikhail Krechetnikov's army entering Lithuania from the north. The former consisted of four corps numbering 64,000 troops and 136 guns, and the latter, 33,000 men and 58 guns. Kakhovskii's plans were to surround the Polish Crown army based in Ukraine near Braclaw and destroy it, or push it back across the Bug River toward central Poland. Krechetnikov's task was to defeat the Lithuanian army, cross the Bug, and possibly cut the Crown army's route of retreat.

The Polish-Lithuanian army was smaller and less experienced than its adversaries, but also divided into smaller groups. Shortly after the war started, Polish strength had risen to 70,000 men, but many were unarmed and ill-trained. In the end only about 40,000 men took part in the struggle. In addition to these disadvantages, the Polish treasury was empty, and all negotiations to secure a loan failed. Prussia, which was obliged to come to Poland's help according to a bilateral alliance, failed to do so. In the Ukraine, a Crown force numbering 17,000 troops under Prince Józef Poniatowski retreated toward central Poland. They were called to do so by the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, who hoped to negotiate peace conditions with the Russians. The Crown troops managed to avoid being outflanked by the numerous Russian army, and on 17 June the first major battle took place at Zieleńce, where the Polish troops defeated the Russian corps.

Despite the victory, the Crown army, facing massive Russian forces, continued its retreat toward the Bug, which it reached on 7 July. It was along this river, between Dubienka and Włodawa, that the united Crown army numbering 25,000 decided to put up a defense. The north wing was defended by Wielhorski's division, the center by Poniatowski, while the south wing, stretching between the river and the Austrian border, was covered by an army under the command of Tadeusz Kościuszko, an experienced general and veteran of the American Revolutionary War.

The engagement, which began with Kakhovskii's attack on 13 July, is known as the Battle of Dubienka. Two of Kakhovskii's corps (General Levanidov's 9,000 troops and Tormasov's 8,000) attacked the northern wing and the center, tying Poniatowski's and Wilehorski's troops in posi-

tion. The main Russian army under General Mikhail Kutuzov and General Dunin (25,000 strong) crossed the Bug on the seventeenth and attacked Kościuszko's 5,300-strong division. Kościuszko managed to hold off the Russian attacks, but at the end of the day, on learning that the other Polish divisions had started to retire toward Warsaw, he ordered a retreat. The Battle of Dubienka remained unresolved—without a victor. Kościuszko had managed to hold back an army five times stronger than his own and retreat in good order.

Yet the campaign was practically lost. Although over 30,000 men stood ready in central Poland, the king, hoping to preserve some of the rights granted by the Four Years' Parliament, decided to join the Confederation of Targowica and cease military operations. The king's decision meant that the war had ended.

The war in the north, in Lithuania, ended even more rapidly. The small Lithuanian force of 10,000 men was badly commanded by Prince Ludwig of Württemberg, who was a traitor and was soon replaced. These scattered troops, lacking proper command, were no match for the stronger and better-trained Russian army. There were no major battles in Lithuania, except for the action at Mir on 11 June, where the defeated Lithuanian army retreated first toward Grodno and then toward the Bug, hoping to join with the Polish Crown armies.

Following the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, and the Russian attempt to diminish by more than half the size of the Polish army, Polish politicians and generals decided to open a new military campaign. An uprising against Russian rule in Polish territories started on 24 March 1794 under Kościuszko's command. The first battle, fought on 4 April at Raclawice, brought victory to the Polish army. Part of the army consisted of peasants armed with scythes. Kościuszko's troops managed to win several minor clashes and Warsaw was liberated from Russian occupation. Yet in May the Russian army, accompanied by Prussian troops, began a counteroffensive. In June and July, insurgent armies lost the battles of Szczekociny and Chełmn. Soon thereafter Prussian troops occupied Kraków, and together with Russian forces began an initially unsuccessful siege of Warsaw.

In August, insurrection in Lithuania died out, while a decisive battle was fought on 10 October at Maciejowice. Kościuszko, who was wounded, was taken prisoner by the Russians. Between 4 and 9 November, General Alexander Suvorov stormed the Warsaw district of Praga, where the civilian population was eventually overwhelmed, with more than 10,000 being massacred by the troops. The last insurgent troops surrendered to the Russian army at Radoszyce on 17 November.

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See also Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Maciejowice, Battle of; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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### Russo-Swedish War (1808–1809)

The Baltic Sea, dominated by Sweden for centuries, was important to Russia for both strategic and commercial reasons. In a series of wars between 1700 and 1791, Russia succeeded in annexing territories in eastern Finland and along the southern Baltic coastline. However, Russian sovereigns sought to secure the free navigation of the Baltic and to protect their capital, St. Petersburg, by annexing Finland, then in Swedish possession. Following the Peace of Tilsit on 7 July 1807, Napoleon consented to the Russian takeover of Finland. Meanwhile, Britain, concerned about the Franco-Russian rapprochement, pressured Sweden to contain Russian interests in the region. In 1807, to prevent the French from acquiring the Danish fleet, a British fleet bombarded Copenhagen on 2–5 September and forced the Danes to surrender their fleet. Tsar Alexander was infuriated by Britain's aggression against Denmark, his ally. In addition, this attack violated the Russo-Swedish agreement on closing Baltic ports to British ships. Concerned about the British presence in the Baltic Sea, Alexander requested King Gustavus IV to expel the British from Swedish ports. Receiving a Swedish rejection on 21 January 1808, Russia considered it a *casus belli*.

Russian preparations for war had already begun in December 1807. A corps of three infantry divisions was deployed near the Russo-Finnish frontiers. General Fedor Buxhöwden assumed overall command, while General Peter Bagration led the 21st Infantry Division, General Nikolay Tuchkov commanded the 5th Division, and Count Nikolay Kamenski led the 17th Division. The Russian divisions were understrength and exhausted by the previous campaign in Poland during the War of the Fourth Coalition. Their combined strength amounted to some 24,000 men. The initial Russian strategy called for the occupation of as much territory as possible before opening negotiations. The 1st Column under Tuchkov was to march from

Neschlodt and Sulkava toward Rantasalmi to prevent the Swedish forces deployed around Outokumpu from supporting their comrades at Tavastheus (Hämeenlinna). Bagration was ordered to Keltis (Kouyola), moving in the general direction of Tavastheus. The 3rd Column under Kamenski was to advance from Fredrikshamn (now Hamina) along the coast toward Helsingfors (Helsinki) to occupy Sveaborg.

The Swedes were able to mobilize some 50,000 men, but of these only some 19,000 men (14,984 regular troops and 4,000 militia [*vargering*]) were under the command of General Carl Nathanael Klercker in Finland. A strong garrison of some 7,000 men protected the fortress of Sveaborg, known as the Gibraltar of the North, on the coast of the Gulf of Finland. Despite all the intelligence on Russian troop movements they received, the Swedish government failed to make any preparations to repel an attack.

On 21 February 1808, the Russian army invaded Finland in three columns. The troops spread proclamations urging the local population not to oppose the occupation and promising to observe order and make payment for requisitions. Russian forces advanced quickly, capturing Kuopio, Tavastheus, Tammerfors, and Åbo, as well as the shoreline between Åbo and Vaasa in March. In addition, the Russian advance guard seized the Åland Islands and the Island of Gotland. As Swedish forces withdraw northward, the Russians also took possession of Jacobstad, Gamlakarleby, and Brahestad.

However, the strategic situation soon changed. The Swedes concentrated their forces in the north, where they were well supplied and reinforced from the mainland. Russian columns, on the other hand, were extended along lengthy lines of communication and supply. Considerable Russian forces were tied up at Sveaborg, and the Finnish population displayed increasing discontent with the Russian presence in the region. In early April, Karl Johan Adlerkreutz, a young and energetic Swedish commander, was appointed second in command to Marshal Klingspor and attacked the dispersed Russian forces, defeating them at Gamlakarleby, Brahestad, Siikajoki, and Revolax.

These successful engagements improved Swedish morale and increased anti-Russian sentiments among the local population. In late April, the Swedes launched an offensive: Colonel Sandels with 3,000 men marched into the Savolax region, where he captured an entire Russian detachment at Pulkkila on 2 May and then seized Kuopio. In the south, the Swedes recaptured both Gotland and the Åland Islands after the Russian navy failed to support its land forces, partly because of animosity between Buxhöwden and the Minister of the Navy, Admiral Pavel Chichagov. On 6 May, however, the Russians captured Sveaborg.

By late spring 1808 the Russian army was organized into three army corps. General Nikolay Rayevsky commanded the first corps in the north covering the approaches to Vaasa. General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly's corps was to advance into the Savolax region and occupy Kuopio. Bagration commanded the troops on the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia protecting the coastline between Björneborg and Åbo. As the Russians launched another offensive in June, Barclay de Tolly occupied Kuopio on 19 June and engaged the Swedish forces around Toivola, suffering from constant attacks by Finnish guerrillas. In the northwest, Rayevsky found himself isolated from Russian reinforcements. As the Swedes counterattacked, Rayevsky resolutely defended Nykarleby and Vaasa before suffering defeat at Lappo (Lapua) in central Österbotten on 14 July.

The same month, Kamenski turned the tide of success. Taking over Rayevsky's corps, he defeated the Swedish army under Lieutenant Colonel Otto von Fieandt at Karstula on 21 August and then achieved a series of victories at Lappfjärd (29 August), Ruona and Salmi (1–2 September), and Oravais on 14 September. The Swedes were in full retreat, pursued by Kamenski. Infuriated by these reverses, Gustavus IV personally led a landing force on the southeast shore of the Gulf of Bothnia to divert Russian forces in the north. However, Bagration successfully repulsed incursions between 15 and 27 September.

An armistice was concluded on 29 September 1808. However, as he traveled to meet Napoleon at Erfurt, Alexander disapproved the cease-fire and ordered a new offensive. In October, the Russian army advanced northward to Uleåborg and, by late December, all of Finland was finally under Russian control. To bring a quick conclusion to the war, Alexander appointed General Bogdan von Knorring to command Russian forces in Finland. The Russians considered a three-pronged offensive into Sweden: Bagration was to cross the frozen gulf to the Åland Islands and then advance directly to the Swedish capital, Stockholm; simultaneously, Barclay de Tolly was to proceed with his corps across the gulf from Vaasa to Umeå, while another Russian corps marched along the gulf shore to Torneå. Bagration advanced his corps of some 17,000 men to the Åland Islands in early March 1809. The Swedes had some 10,000 men (6,000 regulars and 4,000 militia) under an energetic commander, General Georg Carl von Döbeln, who resolutely defended the islands before abandoning them on 18 March. The Russian advance guard under Jacob Kulnev made a daring raid on the Swedish coastline, capturing the town of Grisslehamn, near Stockholm.

Simultaneously, dramatic events occurred at the royal court in Stockholm. Gustavus was unpopular even before the war started, and the military defeats were largely blamed on his ineffective command. With Russian forces

crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, the agitation among the soldiers exploded, and Swedish officers organized a coup d'état on 13 March 1809, establishing a regency under Duke Charles of Sudermania (Charles XIII, 1809–1818).

Meanwhile, Barclay de Tolly and Pavel Shuvalov marched toward Umeå. In late March, Barclay de Tolly undertook a hazardous march across the frozen Östra Kvarken and captured Umeå. In the north, Shuvalov marched with his corps along the gulf coast from Uleåborg and occupied Torneå, forcing the surrender of a Swedish detachment of 7,000 men at Kalix.

With two Russian corps converging at Umeå and Bagration's troops already in the vicinity of Stockholm, the Swedes began diplomatic negotiations to halt the invasion. However, as negotiations dragged on, Alexander appointed Barclay de Tolly as commander in chief and ordered another invasion of Sweden. The Russians resumed hostilities in early May, advancing from Torneå toward Luleå and Skellefteå. On 2 May, General Ilya Alekseyev's advance guard undertook a daring crossing of the Gulf of Bothnia at Skellefteå, where his detachment marched for twenty-six miles up to their knees in the melting ice to surprise the Swedish garrison and capture the town. On 1 June the Russians captured Umeå, defeating Swedish detachments at Savar and Ratan. Diplomatic negotiations began on 15 August 1809 and resulted in the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (now Hamina) on 17 September. Sweden acknowledged the loss of all of Finland as well as the Åland Islands, and Russia secured its position on the Baltic Sea.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich, Count; Chichagov, Pavel Vasilievich; Copenhagen, Attack on; Denmark; Erfurt, Congress of; Finland; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Gustavus IV, King; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Kulnev, Jacob Petrovich; Rayevski, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Sweden; Tilsit, Treaties of; Tuchkov, Nikolay Alekseyevich

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## Russo-Turkish War (1806–1812)

The conflict between Russia and Turkey originated in the late sixteenth century, when the rising Russian state clashed with the Ottoman Empire over the sphere of influence in the Danube valley, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea. Over the next two centuries, they fought six wars, and under Tsarina Catherine the Great, the Russian army achieved considerable successes, annexing the Crimea and a small strip between the Bug and Dniester rivers. In the Caucasus, Russia expanded its influence to the Georgian principalities as well. However, the major goals of establishing Russian influence in the Balkans and the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (also known as the Black Sea Straits) were not achieved. In 1796 Tsar Paul changed his foreign policy and joined his forces with the Turks against France. After his accession to the throne in 1801, Alexander gradually reversed his father's policy.

Russo-Turkish relations soon became strained, particularly after Napoleon approached Sultan Selim III with a proposal of alliance. The possibility of French domination of the Balkans and the Straits concerned Alexander. In addition, Russia sympathized with the Slavic peoples under Turkish domination. When the Serbs began an uprising in 1803, they turned to Russia for protection and received moral and financial support over the next three years. When the sultan expressed his readiness to renew the alliance of 1799, Alexander proposed to expand it to satisfy Russian interests in the region.

Although a new treaty was signed on 23 September 1805, Selim carefully watched the struggle between France and the Third Coalition. After the defeat of the Allied army at Austerlitz in 1805, Selim decided to join the winning side, hoping to recover lost territories from Russia. He acknowledged Napoleon's imperial title and began negotiations for an alliance with France. Furthermore, he declared his intention to close the Black Sea Straits to Russian vessels and replaced the current *hospodars* (princes) of Moldavia and Wallachia with more pro-French princes. He thus violated one of the articles of the Treaty of Jassy of 1792, which had concluded the previous Russo-Turkish war, that required Russia's consent to dismiss or appoint the *hospodars*.

As diplomatic relations ended in stalemate, Russia and the Ottoman Empire began concentrating their troops on

their borders. In October 1806 Alexander ordered the invasion and occupation of Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia (also known as the Danubian Principalities). Over the next three months, a Russian army of some 40,000 men under General Ivan Michelson quickly advanced through the Principalities and drove Turkish forces toward the Danube River. As his army secured control of the Principalities, Alexander reinstated Constantine Ipsilanti as hospodar of Wallachia, announcing that Russian troops had come to protect the local Slav population against the Turks. The Russians also provided substantial financial and military support to the Serbian insurgents. Russian troops laid siege to the fortress of Ismail, while General Mikhail Miloradovich advanced to Bucharest, defeating Turkish detachments at Turbat and Giurgiu in late March.

The Turks meanwhile mobilized their forces and counterattacked. Grand Vizier Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha personally led the Turkish army across the Danube in May 1807. In the same month, however, the Janissaries revolted in Constantinople to overthrow Selim, and this development paralyzed the Turkish army. On 13 June 1807 Miloradovich easily defeated the Turkish advance guard under Ali Pasha at Obilesti, forcing the main Turkish army to retreat beyond the river Danube.

On the Serbian front, joint Russo-Serbian forces defeated the Turks at Malanica and forced them to withdraw to Negotin. A formal agreement between the Russians and the Serbs was signed in July 1807, and Alexander officially recognized the Serbian state. On the naval side, Vice Admiral Dmitry Senyavin, whose squadron operated in the Ionian Islands in 1805–1806, defeated the Turkish fleet in a series of naval engagements at Tenedos, in the Dardanelles, and at Mount Athos in the Aegean Sea to establish Russian dominance over the eastern Mediterranean. In Transcaucasia, the Russians also achieved a series of successes, securing the southern regions of Georgia.

Meanwhile, the Russians suffered a major setback at the hands of Napoleon at the Battle of Friedland on 14 June 1807. The two emperors soon signed a peace treaty at Tilsit, which called for a halt to military operations in the Danube valley while Napoleon offered to act as a mediator. Napoleon's agreement with Russia only exasperated the Turks, who felt betrayed by the French and eventually refused to support French plans against Russia. The Russian commander in chief General Ivan Meyendorff, without Tsar Alexander's knowledge, signed an armistice between Russia and Turkey on 4 September at Slobozia. The treaty called for Russian withdrawal from the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia within a month, while the Turks agreed to remain south of the Danube. Enraged by his general's unauthorized diplomatic negotiations, Alexander appointed as the new commander in chief Field Marshal

Alexander Prozorovsky, with instructions to open an offensive immediately.

By the spring of 1809 Russian forces in the Danubian Principalities had been increased to 80,000 men, spread all over the region. Prozorovsky concentrated his efforts on capturing the fortresses of Giurgiu and Braila; however, both assaults were badly organized and executed. At Braila alone, the Russians lost 2,229 killed and 2,550 wounded. After these failures, Prozorovsky became depressed and refused to take any action for over two months. He then withdrew his forces to the left bank of the Danube and concentrated his resources on capturing the fortresses of Isaccea, Tulcea, and Babadag. The Turks exploited Russian inactivity and quickly launched a brutal reprisal against the Serbs.

In July Tsar Alexander, eager to bring a quick conclusion to the war, dispatched Prince Peter Bagration to assume command of the Army of Moldavia. Bagration, with an army of some 25,000 men, immediately launched an offensive across the Danube, capturing the fortresses of Macin, Constanta, and Girsov, and reaching Cavarna and Bazardjik. On 16 September, he defeated the Turkish army at Rassevat, and on 22 September, he besieged Silistra, one of the key fortresses in the Danube valley. Russian victories forced the Grand Vizier Yussuf to halt his invasion of Serbia and Wallachia and direct his army of 50,000 men to Silistra. Bagration stopped the vizier's advance to Silistra, fighting to a draw a superior Turkish army at Tataritsa on 22 October. However, shortages of ammunition and supplies forced him to lift the siege of Silistra and return to the left bank of the Danube. Nevertheless, in late 1809 he succeeded in taking the fortresses of Ismail and Braila. In March 1810 Bagration resigned his command after a disagreement with Alexander on overall Russian strategy in the region.

On 16 February 1810 Alexander appointed General Nikolay Kamenski as commander in chief of the Army of Moldavia. In the opening of the campaign against the Turks, Kamenski moved his army across the Danube, capturing the fortresses of Silistra, Razgrad, and Bazardjik. He then encircled the main Turkish army of 40,000 men under the grand vizier at Shumla and besieged it after unsuccessful initial assaults. Simultaneously, Kamenski made a disastrous assault on Ruse on 3 August, losing almost 9,000 men. To rescue the grand vizier's army in Shumla, the Turks dispatched reinforcements of approximately 50,000 troops, but Kamenski intercepted and routed them at Batin on 7–8 September 1810. Between September 1810 and February 1811 he captured the fortresses of Ruse, Turnu, Plevna, Lovech, and Selvi. Yet, despite these resounding victories, Kamenski had to withdraw his army to winter quarters on the left bank of the Danube. He became

seriously ill in March 1811 and left the army to recuperate in Odessa.

With the threat of a French invasion looming over Russia, Alexander was concerned about his southern frontiers. In March 1811 he appointed General Mikhail Kutuzov to bring a victorious conclusion to the war as quickly as possible. Kutuzov withdrew garrisons from most of the fortresses and concentrated his army near Ruse on the right bank of the Danube. In June 1811 the Turkish army under Ahmed Pasha launched an offensive against the Russians, but was defeated near Ruse on 4 July. However, concerned about a flanking maneuver by Ismail Bey from Vidin, Kutuzov abandoned Ruse and withdrew his army to the left bank of the river.

In July and August, Turkish forces made several unsuccessful attempts at crossing the Danube. Kutuzov then devised an operation to surround and destroy the entire Turkish army. On 10 September 1811 he allowed the Turkish army under Ahmed Pasha to cross the Danube at Slobodzea, near Ruse. He then dispatched a corps of some 11,000 men under General Yevgeny Markov, who secretly crossed the river downstream and captured the Turkish camp and fortress of Ruse on the right bank. The main Turkish army under Ahmed Pasha was thus surrounded on the riverbank and gradually starved into submission, surrendering on 5 December.

Although diplomatic negotiations had begun in October, the Turks prolonged the process, hoping Napoleon's invasion of Russia would change the political situation. However, thanks to Kutuzov's diplomatic skills, the Turks finally signed a peace treaty at Bucharest on 28 May 1812, relinquishing their claims to Bessarabia and Georgia. The conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War secured the southern frontiers of Russia and allowed Alexander to move the Army of the Danube from the Principalities into the main theater of operations against Napoleon.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Dardanelles, Expedition to the; Friedland, Battle of; Ionian Islands; Janissaries; Kamenski, Nikolay Mikhailovich, Count; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreyevitch, Count; Ottoman Empire; Paul I, Tsar; Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of

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# S

## Saalfeld, Action at (10 October 1806)

The first major confrontation in the 1806 campaign between French and Prussian forces. Marshal Jean Lannes, faced by a smaller force under the command of Prince Louis Ferdinand of Hohenzollern, was given the task of taking Saalfeld. A combination of French tactical initiative and poor Prussian deployment led to the defeat of the Prussian force and to the death of Prince Louis.

Early in the Prussian campaign, Prince Louis commanded the advance guard of Frederick Louis, Prince Hohenlohe's corps of the Prussian army and was given orders to hold Saalfeld. Lannes, conversely, had instructions to take Saalfeld, provided the enemy were discovered to be numerically inferior to his forces. Lannes duly sent out cavalry patrols to ascertain the strength of the enemy. Prince Louis had deployed his force in three lines, outside the town, but he had made little attempt to occupy the villages on his flanks. The ground was also broken up by a number of streams running in steep ravines down to the river Saale. The river itself was directly to the rear of the Prussian position. As Lannes advanced from the wooded hills to the south of Saalfeld, he was able to observe the entire enemy position. Initially he deployed in skirmish order the first of his troops to arrive on the battlefield, and they quickly advanced under the cover of the ravines. He also deployed a battalion composed entirely of the elite companies (grenadiers and *voltigeurs*) of his infantry to pin down the Prussians defending Saalfeld.

The French then seized the villages that flanked the Prussian line and began to issue an effective fire on the exposed lines of troops. This bombardment continued for about two hours. By now Lannes had received reinforcements and was determined to attack the Prussian right wing. Prince Louis, realizing that his line of communications was threatened, weakened his center in order to deploy troops onto a low ridge to the right of his main line, called the Sandberg. He then took the decision to launch an attack in the center against a screen of French skirmish-

ers. The troops in the center were Saxons, and despite their bravery in attack they were repulsed by the skirmishers on their flanks and fresh French troops to their front. Having blunted the enemy advance, Lannes began an artillery bombardment before launching his own assault. French troops attacked the Sandberg, which allowed a combined infantry and cavalry assault to be delivered against the Prussian center. The four Saxon battalions there quickly broke.

In an attempt to stabilize the situation, Prince Louis led five squadrons of his own cavalry forward, in the course of which he was killed in single combat by a French sergeant of hussars. The Prussian force was now broken, and in the cavalry pursuit that followed nearly thirty guns were taken, together with 1,500 prisoners. The Prussian survivors were forced to rally 4 miles to the north of Saalfeld. The French victory began to dispel the myth of Prussian invincibility and provided a vital morale boost for the French army prior to the decisive battles to be fought at Jena and Auerstädt only days later.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Lannes, Jean

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## Sacile, Battle of (16 April 1809)

This battle was the first large-scale engagement between the French and Austrians during the 1809 campaign. Prince Eugène de Beauharnais attacked Archduke John near the town of Sacile after the Austrians had launched a rapid invasion of northern Italy. The French were outnumbered, and with the Austrians threatening their rear, Eugène chose to withdraw over the river Piave. Eugène lost around 6,000 troops, with the Austrians suffering considerably fewer losses.

At the start of the War of the Fifth Coalition, Eugène, commanding the Army of Italy, had been surprised by the rapid advance of the forces of Archduke John. Eugène decided to concentrate his forces at Sacile. Early on 15 April John advanced on the French positions, and his cavalry was able to capture a number of French infantry. On the following day, Eugène planned to attack the Austrians. Although he was outnumbered, he believed that he would receive reinforcements during the day and hoped that a resolute attack on the Austrian line would force them back.

The assault began at dawn against the Austrian left. The initial attack against the town of Porcia failed. The Austrian defenders were then attacked in the flank by the newly arrived troops of General Gabriel Barbou's division. However, Archduke John sent reinforcements to the sector of the field around Porcia, and it was not until noon that the French could claim to have Porcia completely under their control. The terrain around Porcia was quite broken by watercourses and crops, and this slowed up the French assault. Up until this point, Archduke John had been convinced that the attack on Porcia was not the main French objective, but that it was just intended to make him commit his reserves. It was now clear, however, that the Austrians had a numerical advantage and that for the moment no more attacks threatened.

As a result, in the middle of the afternoon Archduke John ordered his forces to launch an offensive to retake Porcia. At the same time he sent a flanking attack to threaten the rear of Eugène's position. This attack was carried out with great spirit, and despite the fact that Eugène sent further reinforcements to the flank, the French could not hold onto Porcia. Eugène realized that he would not receive his expected reinforcements and ordered a general withdrawal. By ordering his cavalry forward to cover this movement and taking advantage of the Austrians' disorganization from the day's fighting, the main French army was able to withdraw unmolested, though around Porcia they had lost a number of prisoners. Eugène marched his army back to Sacile in divisional squares. The French had lost around 6,000 men, over half of whom had been captured, and fifteen guns. The Austrians had lost around 4,000 men and continued to pursue Eugène until he reached the river Adige.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Fifth Coalition, War of the; John, Archduke

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### **Sahagún de Campos, Action at (21 December 1808)**

This engagement took place between British cavalry under Lord Henry Paget and French cavalry who were billeted in the Spanish village of Sahagún. The action saw the destruction of much of the French cavalry, with almost no British loss.

Late in 1808, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore was attempting to advance on Burgos. He had received reports that enemy troops under the command of Marshal Nicolas Soult were in dispersed positions. Moore hoped to surprise them with a rapid advance. It had been reported that two regiments of French cavalry were bivouacked at Sahagún under the command of General César Alexandre Debelle. This force totaled around 500 troops. Paget, commanding the 15th and 10th Hussars, decided to attack this force. He planned to make a night march from his position 12 miles from Sahagún and to fall upon the enemy at dawn. The 10th Hussars under Brigadier General Sir John Slade with two artillery pieces were to attack the village from the west. Paget and the 15th Hussars would place themselves to the east and south of the village in order prevent the French from retreating. The plan was ambitious, and given the poor weather conditions its implementation depended on good leadership and the discipline of the British. The march was conducted in snowstorms, and at times the troopers had to dismount to continue.

Paget arrived at Sahagún just as dawn was breaking, but there was no sign of Slade. At this point the British were seen by French sentries, who raised the alarm. Paget was forced to move his regiment further to the east and discovered that Debelle's force was trying to evacuate the village. Debelle was unsure of whether he was facing Spanish or British cavalry and was slow in responding to Paget's attack. The charge of the British cavalry broke through the first line of the French, which was composed of chasseurs. The second line consisted of dragoons, who withstood the initial charge, and the action now broke down into a series of small combats. Having gained the initial advantage, however, Paget's hussars slowly pushed the French away from Sahagún to the east.

The French retreat now began to dissolve into a rout, and the hussars took many prisoners. In total thirteen officers and 150 men were captured. During the fighting over 120 Frenchmen became casualties, and the chasseurs were effectively destroyed as a unit. British losses were very slight, amounting to two killed and twenty wounded. Slade arrived with his force at the end of the fighting and was criticized for his tardiness. If he had been present earlier, even fewer of the enemy would have escaped. Moore arrived at Sahagún toward the end of the day. When news

came two days later of a massing of French troops north of Madrid, Moore began his disastrous retreat toward Corunna, on the northwest coast of Spain.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Corunna, Retreat to; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of

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### **Salamanca, Battle of (22 July 1812)**

The year of 1812 had begun well for the Earl of Wellington's army, and Sir Rowland Hill's attack on the forts at Almaraz set the seal on a remarkably successful five-month period. British successes were to continue, for in July Wellington achieved one of his and the British army's greatest victories.

The spectacular gains achieved by Wellington during the first half of the year became all the more significant when news began to filter through to him of the steady withdrawal from Spain of a large number of French troops, including the Imperial Guard, who were destined to take part in the fateful invasion of Russia that year. Hereafter, the already hard-pressed and harassed French armies would fight with an increased disadvantage, one which the Spanish guerrillas in particular were quick to seize upon.

The French armies in Spain were placed under the command of Napoleon's brother, Joseph, and it was Marshal Auguste de Marmont's Army of Portugal, some 52,000 strong, that posed the more immediate problem for Wellington, whose own troops numbered just over 60,000. During the first days of June, Wellington began to concentrate his army for a thrust into central Spain against Marmont, a move that would both threaten the main French communications and almost certainly bring French reinforcements rushing to Marmont's assistance. Wellington hoped to prevent this latter eventuality by planning a series of concerted moves and concentrations elsewhere in Spain to keep the French forces occupied. Having satisfied himself that all these arrangements had been made, Wellington, on 13 June, began his advance from Ciudad Rodrigo with 48,000 men and fifty-four guns.

Four days later the Allied army entered Salamanca unopposed, although Marmont had left garrisons in three small forts in the western suburbs of the town. These were besieged and fell on 27 June. For the next three weeks, the two armies were in close proximity to each other, and on

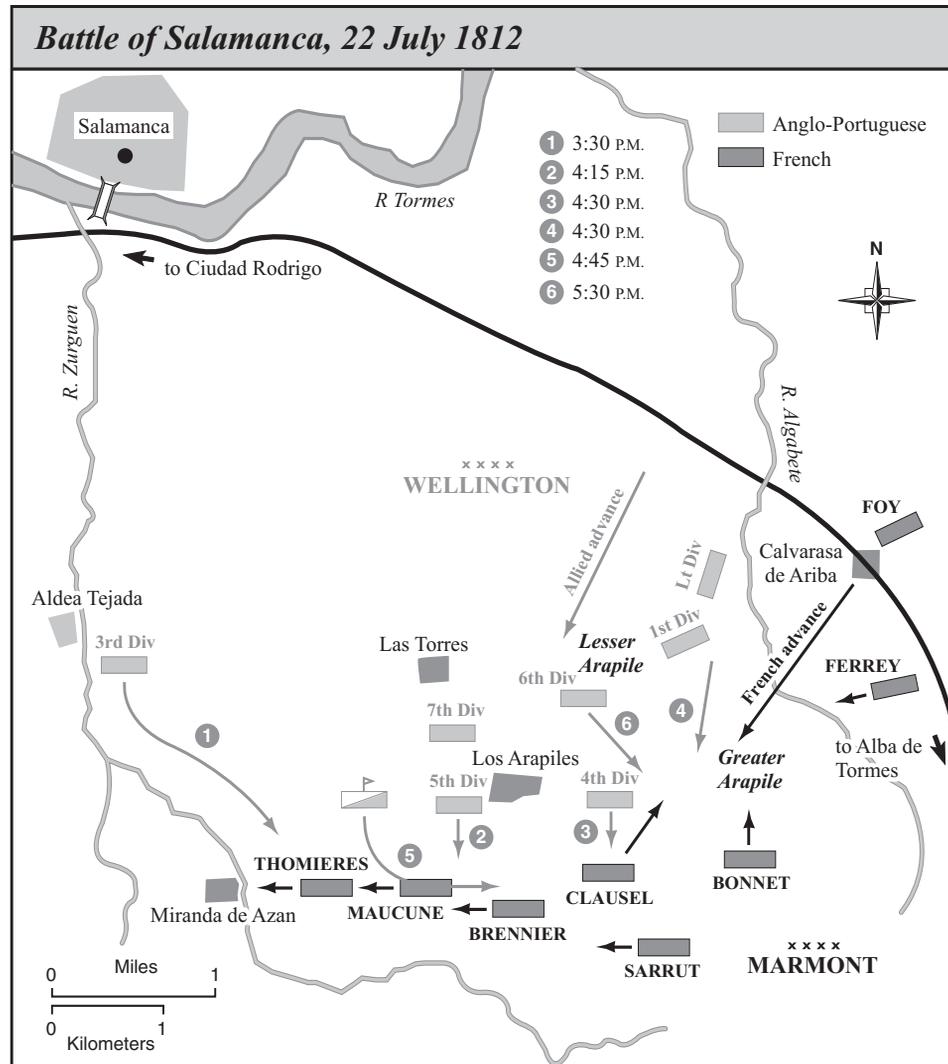
18 July they marched parallel with one other on opposite sides of the river Guarena, the bands of the two armies playing as they marched. This close marching continued for the next two days, and by the night of the twenty-first, both armies had crossed the river Tormes and camped within a few hundred yards of each other.

That night a violent storm broke overhead, and when the moon disappeared behind the inky black clouds, it was left to the silver streaks of lightning to illuminate the surrounding countryside. Several troopers of the 5th Dragoon Guards were killed by lightning, while dozens of horses bolted, charging over their riders as they lay on the ground. A torrential downpour, from which there was little shelter, added to the confusion. These kinds of weather conditions were to be repeated at Sorauren and, more famously, at Waterloo, by which time Wellington's men had come to look upon such storms before battle as an omen of victory.

On the morning of 22 July, both armies resumed their march south, still parallel with each other, the rays of the sun warming the troops on both sides after their soaking the night before. The two armies marched across flat and rolling countryside, with no remarkable features other than two distinctively shaped hills, the first, a rounded ridge to the northeast of the village of Los Arapiles called the Lesser Arapil, and the second, called the Greater Arapil, a box-shaped hill some 100 feet high about half a mile to the south of the Lesser Arapil. These two hills lay in the middle of an undulating plain, about 9 miles long, stretching from the small village of Calvarasa de Arriba in the east, to Miranda de Azan in the west. The village of Los Arapiles lay just to the left of center of the plain.

Marmont's intention was to sever the road leading to Ciudad Rodrigo, along which Wellington had begun to send his baggage and supplies. To accomplish this, Marmont needed to outstrip his opponents and turn west across the head of the leading British columns. At around eight o'clock on the morning of the twenty-second, Marmont's troops became involved in a race with a Portuguese brigade to occupy the Greater Arapil. Some brief but heavy fighting occurred here, but the Portuguese were driven back, and Marmont was left in possession of the Greater Arapil, while Wellington occupied the Lesser Arapil.

Little fighting occurred the rest of the morning as both armies continued their march southwest. Marmont, meanwhile, watched from his lofty position on the Greater Arapil and spotted a cloud of dust rising from behind the Lesser Arapil in the direction of Ciudad Rodrigo, which seemed to confirm his belief that Wellington was retreating. The column was, in fact, Major General Sir Edward Pakenham's 3rd Division, which Wellington had brought forward to Aldea Tejada, either to protect his right flank or to act as an independent force. The French columns were



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 62.

moving faster than Wellington's own men, who had halted around the village of Los Arapiles, and by early afternoon the divisions of generals Jean Guillaume Thomières, Antoine Lewis Maucune, and Bertrand, baron Clausel were well on their way heading west to the Rodrigo road and were strung out in a long line some 4 miles long.

It soon became apparent that the leading French division, that of Thomières, was outstripping Maucune's division, which was following behind, and a considerable gap opened up between them, something that did not go unnoticed by Wellington, who galloped off to Aldea Tejada to order Pakenham to attack immediately.

It was about 3:30 P.M., and the long, dusty columns of French troops were hurrying across the Ciudad Rodrigo road to cut off Wellington's escape route. Thomières himself must have felt fairly safe and secure, and he was certainly unaware of the storm that was about to break around him. That storm arrived in the shape of Paken-

ham's 3rd Division, which suddenly appeared on Thomières's right flank, supported by 1,100 cavalry who scattered the leading French companies. The shock of seeing Pakenham's battalions just a few hundred yards away must have been immense. One moment the French were grasping the initiative, the next they had it wrenched violently from them by nearly 6,000 British and Portuguese infantry who smashed into them, unleashing volley after volley into their packed and panicking ranks.

Thomières's leading column was ripped apart by the ferocity of the attack, which saw hundreds killed and wounded in minutes. Thomières himself was killed, and the casualty figures for the two leading battalions are comparable with those sustained by Lieutenant Colonel John Colborne's brigade at Albuera the previous year; the leading regiment lost 1,031 of its 1,449 men, while the second regiment lost 868 out of 1,123 men. With Thomières gone and the leading regiments destroyed, the

rest of Thomières's division disintegrated and fled in panic to the southeast.

Lieutenant General Sir James Leith's 5th Division, supported by Brigadier General Thomas Bradford's Portuguese, had been launched into the attack about 40 minutes after Pakenham. Advancing directly south from Los Arapiles, the 8,500 Allied troops struck at Maucune's division, which had been following Thomières at a distance. The French, numbering about 5,000 men, were outnumbered, but they expected help shortly from General Antoine Brennier's division, which was hurrying to their support. Maucune had seen the damage that the Allied cavalry had done to Thomières's division and so formed his nine battalions into squares. Unfortunately, on this occasion it was the wrong formation, and when Lieutenant Colonel Charles Greville's and Major General William Pringle's brigades came up, after having advanced through a heavy French artillery barrage, they simply leveled their muskets and unloaded them into the dense French ranks, sweeping away the French squares with three devastating volleys.

The French troops who survived this onslaught broke and fled in the same direction as the survivors of Thomières's division. It was now, more than ever, that they needed to be in square formation, for as they looked back they saw, to their horror, Major General John Le Marchant's brigade of heavy dragoons thundering after them. The fugitives tried to defend themselves as best they could, but the dragoons swept over them with ease, chopping and hacking all around them. Five French battalions were left totally destroyed in the wake of Le Marchant's men, who now saw before them, running to aid Maucune's men, the 4,300 men of Brennier's division.

Brennier's men were exhausted by their hurried, mile-long dash to aid Maucune, and even though they had time to form square, they were not steady enough to resist the power of the dragoons. A ragged volley brought a few horses and riders crashing to the ground, horses that smashed into the squares, causing great confusion and panic. Other dragoons came charging in, and in a few minutes Brennier's division, too, was streaming away toward the woods to the southeast.

Le Marchant's dragoons soon became drunk with success and got completely out of control. Even Le Marchant could not hold them in check. The French ran around in all directions as the dragoons struck wildly in every direction. Unlike other cavalry misadventures during the Peninsular War, there was no effective enemy cavalry force to take advantage of the disorder, and Le Marchant's men went about their business unopposed. Le Marchant himself did manage to keep one squadron in check, however, which engaged some French infantry close to the woods to the southeast of the battlefield. Here Le Marchant met his

death when he was hit by a single musket ball that broke his spine. It was a bitter blow to Wellington, who had seen one of the few capable cavalry commanders taken from him. Le Marchant died knowing his men had done their job, and when they returned, breathless and excited, to their own lines, they could look back over a trail of devastation that had contributed to the destruction of no less than three whole French divisions—all in just 40 minutes.

Farther to the east of Los Arapiles, Wellington's men were not so successful, for when Lieutenant General Lowry Cole's 4th Division advanced to the east of the Greater Arapil, it was flung back in bloody disorder by two fresh French divisions, but not before having engaged a numerically superior enemy in a furious firefight. On the Greater Arapil itself, Brigadier General Denis Pack's Portuguese brigade met with a similar fate. There the French successes combined to provide Clausel—now in command following serious wounds to first Marmont and then General François Antoine Bonnet, who was killed—with the prospect of being able to stem the tide of the battle and possibly even retrieve the situation for the French.

Clausel's counterattack was intelligently planned and executed with flawless precision by 12,000 men of the French 2nd and 8th Divisions who strode doggedly across the plain between the two Arapiles while General Jacques Thomas Sarrut's division held Pakenham's victorious 3rd Division in check on their left flank.

The bold French maneuver was thwarted, however, for Wellington had correctly anticipated the move. He had deployed the two British brigades of Major General Henry Clinton's 6th Division in the by-now standard two-deep line, with Rezende's Portuguese in line behind them. On Clinton's right were Spry's Portuguese, while Anson's brigade, from Cole's 4th Division, was brought up alongside on Clinton's left.

Clausel's men advanced under heavy fire from the Allied artillery on and behind the Lesser Arapil, which mowed down whole files of men. When their columns had got halfway across the plain between the two hills, they came face to face with Clinton's lines, which opened up a rolling volley that engulfed the heads of the columns, sending them staggering backward. For a few brief minutes, the French returned the fire, but their formation was against them. Although numerically superior to Clinton's men, their columns could not match the firepower of the British lines, and they were driven back in disorder.

All but three of Marmont's eight infantry divisions had been swept away, and Wellington's men pressed forward on all sides to complete their victory. The sun had begun to set when Wellington ordered Clinton forward in pursuit of the fleeing French fugitives, but when they had passed the Greater Arapil, Clinton's men came up against



The Battle of Salamanca, where Wellington, finally able to assume the offensive, inflicted a crushing blow against the principal French army in Spain. (Mansell/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

General Claude François Ferey's division, some 5,500 men who had yet to see any serious action during the day. Ferey formed his seven battalions into a three-deep line and, for a change, it was the turn of the red-jacketed British to experience the firepower of such a formation. The French checked the British advance and even forced them back. In fact, Ferey was only forced to retreat when threatened on his flank. Unfortunately for him, Ferey was not among those who fled the battlefield, as he was cut in two by a round shot from an Allied gun.

The battle was as good as over, and thousands of defeated French troops streamed away to the woods to the southeast and to the bridge at Alba de Tormes. After several days of hard marching and due to the rigors of the battle itself, Wellington's men were too exhausted to effect a serious pursuit. However, since the bridge over the Tormes at Alba de Tormes was held by Spanish troops under Carlos de España, Wellington was quietly confident of being able to capture the whole. Unfortunately, de España had withdrawn his troops, much to the annoyance of an exasperated

Wellington, and the French were able to make good their escape, although hundreds of isolated and scattered fugitives were taken by Allied cavalry during the next few days.

The victory at Salamanca had cost Wellington 5,214 casualties, of which 3,176 were British. The exact French casualty figure is hard to determine, although it is fairly certain to have been around 14,000. Twenty guns were also taken. The Battle of Salamanca demolished the belief that Wellington was just an overcautious and defensive-minded commander, and when news of the victory spread throughout Europe, his reputation as one of the great commanders was assured.

On 12 August Wellington's army entered Madrid amid much rejoicing by the people, who could experience the feeling of freedom from French occupation for the first time since December 1808. The following month, Wellington headed northeast to lay siege to Burgos, but here the magic was to desert him, during an operation that he himself was to call the worst scrape he was ever in.

*Ian Fletcher*

See also Albuera, Battle of; Bonaparte, Joseph; Burgos, Siege of; Guerrilla Warfare; Hill, Sir Rowland; Imperial Guard (French); Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Pakenham, Sir Edward; Peninsular War; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Sambre, Battles of the (May–June 1794)

The Battles of the river Sambre were part of the main French campaign of 1794. They culminated in the victory of Fleurus, which removed the most direct threat to Paris, forced the Allies out of Belgium, and laid Holland open to conquest by the Revolutionary armies. The victories on the Sambre also vindicated the *levée en masse* (universal conscription) and the amalgamation of regular troops with those raised by the Revolutionary government.

The failure of French armies to force the Allied armies out of the country in 1793 caused the Convention to declare universal conscription on 23 August. The *levée en masse* was intended to make France a nation in arms. One result of universal conscription was that Revolutionary France created the largest army in European history. By January 1794 about 800,000 men had been called to the colors and were ready for battle. One problem caused by the massive influx of recruits was the tension between the new citizen-soldiers and the old regular army. Many times, the two groups failed to see themselves as part of the same

army. Defeats in 1793 had led to decreased cooperation and mutual blame between them. One solution was to brigade two battalions of volunteers with one of regulars to form a demi-brigade. Progress was slow during 1793. On 10 January 1794 the Convention decreed that amalgamation of volunteers and regulars would be the rule throughout the army. By April, about one-third of the units in the northern theater had been amalgamated. When that summer's campaign began, the French armies were much larger, better trained, and better armed than ever before.

The Committee of Public Safety had the task of deciding how to use this large body of men. Revolutionary doctrine called for a policy of attack wherever possible. The Committee viewed the Belgian theater as key, and a major offensive was planned. French forces along the river Sambre constituted the southern arm of this offensive. Beginning in late April, the Army of the Ardennes under General Louis Charbonnier and the right wing of the Army of the North under General Jacques Desjardins advanced together toward Austrian positions along the Sambre below Charleroi. The Austrian commander, Prince Wenzel Anton Graf Kaunitz, had approximately 30,000 men to the French 50,000.

On 12 May, the united French force captured the Austrian outpost at Thuin on the south bank, then crossed over the Sambre. Kaunitz retreated toward Charleroi and assumed defensive positions. A French frontal assault on 13 May collapsed in disorder, and the invaders were driven back across the Sambre by Austrian cavalry. Representatives of the Committee of Public Safety refused to accept defeat, however, and ordered Charbonnier and Desjardins to attack once more. Neither general was in overall command, and the arrangements were inept. On 20 May they forced a passage over the Sambre once again, but this time Austrian attempts to drive them back on 21 May were unsuccessful. When two divisions under General Jean-Baptiste Kléber were detached to outflank the Austrian positions, Kaunitz attacked again on 24 May. The French were driven back in disorder against the Sambre, and were only saved from disaster by Kléber. Learning of the attack, he returned to the field and fought a creditable rearguard action while the remainder of the army crossed the river.

Remarkably, the combined French force continued to return to fight. After losing 8,000 men in two unsuccessful assaults over the Sambre, Charbonnier and Desjardins wanted to rest their men and await reinforcements. Instead, they were ordered to try again. On 26 May, they surged across once more. After taking a single outpost, the French attack came to a halt. However, the Austrians were in the midst of redeploying. Their new commander, the Prince of Orange, ordered his left wing to fall back on Charleroi. On 29 May, the French pushed forward and

overran the Austrian forward defenses, surrounding Charleroi, their next objective, the next day. A counterattack by Austrian troops on 3 June broke the siege of Charleroi and cost the French 2,000 more casualties.

General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan arrived the next day with a large part of the Army of the Moselle. Jourdan had been originally directed to march on Namur or Liège, but the indecisive fighting on the Sambre caused a change in plans. Jourdan brought 50,000 men with him, giving him a substantial advantage over the opposing Austrians. At the urging of Louis Antoine Léon de Saint-Just, the Committee of Public Safety agreed to unite Jourdan's, Charbonnier's, and Desjardins's troops into one army, with Jourdan as commander on 8 June. The new force became the Army of the Sambre and Meuse.

On 12 June Jourdan led his army across the Sambre to attack Charleroi. Four days later, a smaller Austrian army defeated him and hustled the French back across the river. On 18 June Jourdan tried again. This time he managed to besiege Charleroi while the Prince of Orange gathered reinforcements. The 2,800 men garrisoning Charleroi capitulated on 25 June after a heavy bombardment, this surrender releasing the besieging force for the upcoming battle and furnishing Jourdan with an important reserve.

On 26 June the French and Austrian armies fought the decisive Battle of Fleurus. Jourdan had about 76,000 troops, while the Prince of Orange had only 52,000. Jourdan arranged his men in a convex line to cover Charleroi. Orange believed the city was still holding out, and planned to drive the French back onto it, relieving the place once more. At first, the French left under Kléber was driven back nearly to Charleroi. Kléber managed to mount a furious counterattack that brought the Austrians to a halt. Elsewhere, the Austrians made slow progress, but by early afternoon the line had stabilized, thanks to the presence of the French reserves formerly besieging Charleroi. Around this time, Orange learned that Charleroi had surrendered. Without any further reason for continuing the battle, he broke off the fighting and withdrew.

Although it had been a near-run thing, Fleurus proved to be a decisive French victory. The French were firmly established on the northern bank of the Sambre. Under orders to keep his army concentrated, Orange withdrew to the east. Communications for the Allied forces in Belgium were threatened, forcing them to withdraw to the north. Jourdan quickly followed up his advantage and pushed further into Belgium, where in July and August he quickly occupied the key cities and fortresses. By September, the Army of the Sambre and Meuse had grown to over 160,000 men. The French advanced further north, invading Holland, most of which was conquered by

the end of the year, leaving the coalition against France on the verge of collapse.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Convention, The; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Levée en Masse; Public Safety, Committee of

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### San Giuliano, Battle of (16 May 1799)

Sometimes called the First Battle of Marengo, the engagement at San Giuliano was fought on the plain east of Alessandria, in northern Italy, as French commander in chief General Jean Moreau ordered General Claude Victor to reconnoiter in force the area between the Bormida and Scrivia rivers. In the ensuing action, the French surprised and severely mauled the Austro-Russian advanced guard, before safely retreating back behind the walls of Alessandria.

After the liberation of Lombardy in April 1799, Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov's next goal was Piedmont. According to the plan developed by his chief of staff, *Generalmajor* Johann Marquis Chasteler de Courcelles, two Allied bodies (Prince Peter Bagration with 6,000 and *General der Kavallerie* Michael Freiherr von Melas with 14,000 men) were to cross the river Po at different points between two of its northern tributaries, the Adda and the Ticino. Once on the southern bank, they would move west along the main road from Piacenza, making for the fortresses of Tortona and Alessandria. Two other Austrian columns were to remain on the northern bank of the Po, one operating in Lomellina under *Generalmajor* Fürst Franz von Rosenberg-Orsini, the other, under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Freiherr von Vukassovich, cautiously pushing into northeastern Piedmont. Two smaller columns (Klenau and Ott) were detached on the Tuscan Apennines to protect the army's left flank against the pending threat of General Jacques Macdonald's Armée de Naples from central Italy. On 12 May, the Allies suffered an unexpected reverse at Bassignana, as Rosenberg's hazardous attempt at crossing the Po just east of Valenza was repulsed by Victor. By 15 May, however, Melas's main body arrived before Tortona, with Bagration's advance guard watching the Bormida, just east of Alessandria.

During the night of 15 and 16 May, Victor's infantry division, with some supporting cavalry (in total 7,500), crossed the Bormida over a flying bridge and advanced eastward. The Allied outposts in Marengo, Spinetta, and Cascina Grossa—some Austrian infantry and two Cossack regiments (*sotnia*) under Colonel Adrian Denisov—rapidly gave way before the determined 74th demi-brigade. Later in the morning, Victor's battalions ran into *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Frölich's Austrian division, temporarily led by *Generalmajor* Franz, Marquis de Lusignan. This general deployed his seven infantry battalions across the road to Tortona, some hundred meters west of the village of San Giuliano. Some squadrons of Austrian dragoons were also at hand to oppose the French momentum. Bagration soon arrived with his Russian forces, which he placed under the command of Lusignan. Victor, realizing that he was now facing far superior enemy forces and being satisfied with the results of his reconnaissance, retreated back to Alessandria in good order.

A month later, on 16 June, another engagement took place on the same battlefield, as General Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy's division (4,500), spearheading Moreau's attempt at regaining the Po plain to relieve Alessandria and link with Macdonald, pushed *Feldmarschalleutnant* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde's Austrians from Spinetta and San Giuliano back across the Bormida. Just after this combat, however, Moreau received news of Macdonald's defeat at the Battle of the Trebbia and hastily retraced his steps back into the Ligurian Apennines.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Cossacks; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marengo, Battle of; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Moreau, Jean Victor; Sardinia; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Trebbia, Battle of the; Victor, Claude Perrin

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## San Ildefonso, Treaty of (1 October 1800)

Signed between France and Spain in 1800 and not to be confused with an earlier agreement of the same name con-

cluded in May 1796, the Treaty of San Ildefonso was intended to pave the way for what the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, hoped would be a new colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere.

Of chief importance here was the territory of Louisiana. Ceded to Spain by France in 1762 at the close of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), it stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the present-day Canadian frontier and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Though largely unexplored, and colonized by Europeans only in the extreme south, where New Orleans was a major port and the center of a rich plantation economy, it was quite clear that this vast region was potentially of immense importance. Thus, a valuable source of colonial produce though it was, it was also a convenient source of food and raw materials for France's colonies in the West Indies, all of which Bonaparte was determined to see restored to French rule. And, last but not least, there was the issue of global strategy, for a base in the American West would allow Bonaparte both to apply pressure to the British in Canada and to threaten the United States, which was not the friend and ally of France as France had hoped.

On the contrary, in fact, disputes over French privateering had by 1798 produced intermittent fighting at sea between American and French warships and privateers, known as the Quasi-War, which lasted until 1800. Greatly alarmed at the threat to Louisiana, which was inadequately garrisoned by France's ally Spain, and being defended only by its colonial militia, the French backed down. Conciliatory messages were sent to President John Adams, and on 30 September 1800, relations were put back on a normal footing by the Treaty of Mortefontaine. For the time being, then, the United States was quiescent, but such were the contradictions between the French and American positions that it was clear that trouble was likely to erupt once again in the future. In short, the strategic imperative for the acquisition of Louisiana remained. At the very time, then, that negotiations were in train with regard to the agreement of 30 September 1800, parallel talks were being held in Madrid with regard to Louisiana.

In obtaining the retrocession of Louisiana to France there was little difficulty: the Spanish government regarded Louisiana as more trouble than it was worth and was happy to see France take over the territory, while it also recognized that giving France what she wanted in the Western Hemisphere was a necessary quid pro quo for concessions in Europe (in particular, Charles IV was looking for an Italian throne for his eldest daughter, who was married to the son of the Duke of Parma). On 1 October 1800, then, the Treaty of San Ildefonso handed Louisiana back to France. For the time being, the new arrangement

remained secret, while for a variety of reasons the actual transfer of power did not take effect until 15 October 1802.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Charles IV, King; Louisiana Purchase; Spain; United States

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### San Marcial, First Battle of (1 August 1794)

The First Battle of San Marcial was the most important battle fought during the Franco-Spanish Pyrenean campaigns of 1793–1795 in the western Pyrenees. French forces had been increasing, thanks to the mobilization overseen by minister of war Lazare Carnot. The Army of the Western Pyrenees used the resulting superiority in men and artillery to expel the Spanish forces from France and to threaten key points in the south of the country. The victory ensured that there would be no further invasion in this area and that the important city of Bayonne would be secure.

Shortly after the French Revolutionary government declared war on Spain on 7 March 1793, Spanish forces advanced over the Pyrenees. The theater naturally divided itself into two parts—the eastern and western Pyrenees. French forces were outnumbered, poorly trained, and badly equipped. The Spanish occupied a number of border towns and fortified positions before grinding to a halt. For most of 1793 and 1794, both sides in the western Pyrenees watched each other and diverted their best soldiers to more active theaters. The demands of the brutal campaign against the counterrevolution in the Vendée, for example, imposed a constant drain on the Army of the Western Pyrenees. Minor sparring between the two sides continued, with the French concentrating on training and building up their forces.

In late 1793 General Jacques-Leonard Muller, who had proven himself in fighting in Flanders and northern France, was appointed to command the Army of the Western Pyrenees. Muller was a courteous, almost timid man, but he recognized the need to reorganize the army. He completed the amalgamation of volunteer with regular units and appointed commanders who had acquitted themselves well in battle. His most outstanding subordinate was General Bon Adrien Jannot de Moncey, a future marshal under Napoleon. Muller was under considerable pressure to attack the Spanish forces opposite him in order to complement the successful advance of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees at the other end of the front.

Muller opened his campaign on 24 July 1794, with approximately 30,000 men at his disposal. The Spanish forces were considerably inferior, totaling a mere 20,000 men, half of them poorly trained militia. The Spanish general recognized that Muller would soon launch an offensive. When his request to retreat was refused, he resigned and was replaced by an elderly and feeble favorite of the court. Muller's plan was simple. By night, he marched one column under Moncey toward the center of the Spanish line. The following day, diversionary attacks began to pin Spanish forces on the coast and on the landward flank. Moncey then proceeded on 27 July to move from Elizondo in the Baztan valley and cross the mountains to join a second column at Lesaca in the Spanish rear. The hard-marching Moncey covered over 20 miles through the mountains in only 32 hours. The Spanish fell back to San Marcial, to cover the important town of Irun. By the thirty-first, the French had surrounded San Marcial on three sides. When they opened an assault on 1 August, the garrison quickly retreated. More than 200 guns were captured, along with large quantities of supplies and provisions. Muller's army thereafter poured across the Spanish frontier, capturing San Sebastian on 4 August and Tolosa on the ninth. Although French casualties were light, Muller ceased his pursuit, bringing operations in this sector to a halt for the remainder of the year.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Moncey, Bon Adrien Jannot de; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Vendée, Revolts in the

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### San Marcial, Second Battle of (31 August 1813)

Practically the last field action fought on Spanish soil in the Peninsular War, the second Battle of San Marcial was the result of a last-minute French attempt to relieve the beleaguered fortress of San Sebastian. In brief, the plan adopted by Marshal Nicolas Soult, who held command of all French forces in the western Pyrenees, was to smash through their Spanish counterparts that blocked the main road to San Sebastian at the heights of San Marcial with four divisions, while three other divisions were to cross the river Bidassoa (which marks the frontier) further inland

and break through the mixed force of British, Portuguese, and Spanish infantry that linked the position at San Marcial with those held by the Light Division further south.

In theory, it was a good plan, but many French troops had to be held back to keep watch on the many Anglo-Portuguese units further up the Bidassoa, while the rough terrain also greatly favored the defense. On top of this, the Allied forces also had copious reserves: behind San Marcial were two full divisions of British infantry, together with some other troops. In the event, then, Soult was unsuccessful. Two assaults on San Marcial were beaten off with heavy losses, while at Salain, having initially pushed back the defenders, the French abandoned their advance when Anglo-Portuguese forces that had been stationed further south began to threaten their left flank and rear.

The fighting, however, did not end here. At San Marcial, the attackers had been able to fall back across the Bidassoa without difficulty, but at Salain they had marched deeper into Spain, and by the time they got back to the river they found that a sudden thunderstorm had made the fords by which they had crossed very hazardous. Some troops still got through, but eventually the passage became completely blocked. With four brigades still to cross, the French were in real trouble, but in the end they all escaped. Thus, feeling their way along the river bank, they eventually came to the bridge at Vera. The way was blocked by a company of the 95th Rifles, which put up a fierce fight from the shelter of a house overlooking the crossing, but no reinforcements were forthcoming, and in the end the French burst through. Behind them, however, lay nearly 4,000 dead and wounded; Allied losses, by contrast, scarcely coming to 2,500.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Peninsular War; San Sebastian, Siege of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Vera, Battles of

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### **San Sebastian, Siege of (28 June–31 August 1813)**

The siege of San Sebastian was the third of the three great successful sieges carried out by the Marquis of Wellington's army during the Peninsular War. The siege operations on this occasion were conducted by Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham while Wellington was based at his headquarters in the Pyrenees at Lesaca.

With Marshal Nicolas Soult having been thrown back across the French border, there was no real reason to hurry the siege. Interference from any relieving enemy force was

unlikely, and Graham was able to carry on the operations at a more leisurely pace than at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. (On these latter two occasions, the close proximity of French relieving armies had forced Wellington to commit his troops to the assault before he was entirely satisfied with the condition of the breaches, and as a result heavy casualties were sustained.)

San Sebastian was rather a small town, situated on a low, sandy peninsula, dominated by a rocky mountain called Monte Orgullo, upon which was built a castle. The town was bordered on three sides by the waters of the Bay of Biscay and could only be approached by land from the south. To the east of the town flowed the river Urumea, which at high water formed a sort of wide estuary. The town itself lay at the southern foot of Monte Orgullo and was separated from the castle by a line of defensive works. This meant that even in the event of the town falling to the Allies, the castle was still defensible.

Graham chose the eastern wall of the town, standing about 27 feet high, as the target for his siege guns, which were positioned upon the Chofre Sand Hills away to the east. Having blasted suitable breaches, Graham's men would have to storm the place by crossing the Urumea at low tide.

Graham's 10,000-strong force began its siege operations on 28 June but it was not until 25 July that the first assault was made, by Major General John Oswald's 5th Division and Brigadier General Thomas Bradford's Portuguese brigade, neither of which were able to get inside the place, defended as it was by a brave and determined garrison of about 3,000 French troops under the command of General Emmanuel Rey.

During the next few days, Soult launched his attack across the passes in the Pyrenees, but with the attack having been repulsed, the Allies were able to turn their attention to San Sebastian once more. On 26 August more siege guns arrived from Britain, Wellington now being able to supply his army through the ports along the coast of northern Spain.

After four days of accurate, sustained fire, the eastern wall of San Sebastian was reduced to a crumbling wreck and a practicable breach made, with another, smaller breach being effected farther to the north. Rey's artillery also suffered and was practically silenced, although both the garrison and the Spanish population were kept busy all day and night clearing the rubbish from the walls and repairing defenses in the breaches.

On 30 August Graham was satisfied with the state of the two breaches and gave orders that the place was to be stormed at noon the following day. The timing of the attack was thus quite a departure from the normal practice of storming a town after dark. On this occasion, of course,

the timing was purely dependent on the tide, but what it meant was that Graham's stormers would attack in full view of the defenders and in broad daylight. It was not a pleasing prospect, but the storming of a town afforded the British troops the chance of plunder and drink and of release from army discipline. They had acquired a taste for such things at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and no matter what obstacles were placed in their way they were not to be put off, nor would there be any shortage of volunteers for the forlorn hope, as the initial assault party was called in siege warfare.

Graham's plan involved an attack on the main breach by the 5th Division and Bradford's Portuguese, who were supported by 750 volunteers from the 1st and Light Divisions. Further to the north, some 800 Portuguese volunteers were to wade through the shallow waters of the Urumea and attack the smaller breach.

The morning of 31 August dawned bright and fresh after a night of heavy rain and thunderstorms, and as the columns of British and Portuguese stormers formed up ready to begin the assault, crowds of local people wearing their holiday clothes began to congregate in order to watch. When the signal for the assault was fired, the Allied troops began to pick their way across the beach through shallow rocky pools to make their way toward the breaches, which yawned silent, intimidating, and inviting before them. When the forlorn hope approached the walls, the watching French gunners opened up with a devastating blast of grapeshot that swept away half of the attackers in an instant.

For the next hour or so, Graham watched helplessly as his men were smashed against the defenses while the spectators elsewhere watched in awe. The garrison proved as tenacious as those at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and all manner of shells, grenades, and other combustibles were thrown down to explode amid the columns of Allied infantry. The defenders lined the ramparts and opened up a withering fire into the attacking columns, bringing them grinding to a halt.

At this point Graham issued an order to Colonel Alexander Dickson, commanding the Allied artillery, an order based partly on inspiration and partly on desperation. Graham asked Dickson to open fire over the heads of the stormers and onto the French guns in the town. It was perhaps one of the earliest examples of a creeping barrage and was certainly a gamble, but it worked. The astonished British stormers pushed their faces to the ground as shot and shell screamed just a few feet overhead to crash into the French guns and defenders behind the ramparts. The stormers lay listening to this terrifying but pleasing symphony for about 20 minutes, and when the guns lifted, they stormed forward to carry the defenses, which had been

torn apart by the guns. The breaches had all but been abandoned by the defenders, and when a magazine exploded, killing and wounding a large number of Frenchmen, the town was as good as taken. As Graham watched from the sand hills, he saw with relief his men disappear into the smoke as they drove the remaining French troops from the breaches.

San Sebastian was taken soon afterward, although the castle of La Mota held out until 8 September. Allied casualties were 856 killed and 1,520 wounded. The aftermath of the storming of San Sebastian was much the same as that at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, as the victorious troops embarked upon an orgy of destruction, which was made worse by a fire that engulfed the whole town. There were fierce accusations afterward that Wellington himself had ordered the town to be put to the torch, as it had been continuing to trade with France, accusations that Wellington denied, although he might well have felt justified in resorting to such a measure.

Ian Fletcher

*See also* Badajoz, Third Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Graham, Sir Thomas; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Sánchez García, Julián (1774–1832)

A peasant from Muñoz who had from 1793 to 1801 served as a soldier, on 15 August 1808 Julián Sánchez García joined the militia raised to defend Ciudad Rodrigo in the aftermath of the Spanish uprising. Experienced and courageous, within a few months he was in command of a

squadron of cavalry—the genesis of what was to become the 1st Regiment of Lancers of Castile—and at the head of these men he led a series of raids against the French, his most notable success coming on 21 June 1809 at Almeida de Sayago, where he defeated a much stronger party of French dragoons.

Range far and wide though he and his men did, however, they remained part of the army that was then based at Ciudad Rodrigo under the Duque del Parque: Indeed, when Del Parque went on the offensive in October 1809, Sánchez and his lancers were called in to assist with reconnaissance and outpost duty as “army-level” troops. Badly beaten at Alba de Tormes, Del Parque then went into winter quarters, Sánchez in the meantime busying himself with such tasks as rounding up deserters, gathering in supplies, and skirmishing with the French forces based at Salamanca. In the spring, though, the army moved south and took up positions around Badajoz.

Left behind as part of the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, Sánchez then fought a series of actions with the enemy troops that were closing in on the city. However, no amount of skirmishing could prevent the French from commencing siege operations. Cavalry being of only limited use in this situation, the governor ordered Sánchez to break out, which he did by means of a sudden charge launched at one o'clock in the morning on 23 June 1810. Left to his own devices, Sánchez, or El Charro as he had come to be known, turned guerrilla, and spent his time harassing the communications of the French army that had invaded Portugal following the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo. With the reappearance of Allied troops in the region in 1811, however, this period of independence came to an end. With his forces swollen to a full cavalry brigade, Sánchez was absorbed into the Spanish 5th Army and fought with the Earl of Wellington in the campaigns of Burgos and Salamanca in 1812, before spending the rest of the war in garrison at Ciudad Rodrigo.

Despite being made governor of Santoña, he felt he was never adequately rewarded by Ferdinand VII, and he therefore sided with the liberals in 1820. Captured by the French in 1823, he escaped immediate retribution, but a year later he was accused of conspiracy and imprisoned without trial. Released in 1826, he spent what remained of his life in comfortable retirement.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Alba de Tormes, Battle of; Burgos, Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Ferdinand VII, King; Guerrilla Warfare; Peninsular War; Salamanca, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Santo Domingo

Santo Domingo was the name of the Spanish colony that occupied the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean Sea. Originally inhabited by the Arawaks, the island was controlled by the Spanish after the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492. Columbus had established the settlement of Navidad on the north coast, but the native inhabitants destroyed the initial colony. In 1493 Columbus established Isabela, the first true Spanish town on the island. This effort also failed, and by 1499 Isabela was all but abandoned. Then, in 1496, the Spanish founded the city of Santo Domingo at a site with a good harbor, fertile land, and a large native population to exploit. For the next several decades, Santo Domingo served as the center of Spanish exploration and colonization of the Caribbean.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Santo Domingo began to decline in importance, as the native population decreased dramatically and Spain turned to the conquest of mainland North and South America. Many Spanish settlers left the island. The remaining Spanish concentrated on the eastern end of the island, largely ignoring the western half of Hispaniola. Soon, Dutch, English, and French pirates established themselves in the western part of the island. The French then began to colonize the area, as French settlers developed plantations and began to import African slaves. In 1697, despite British opposition, the Spanish government recognized the French claim to the western one-third of the island. Renamed St. Domingue (later Haiti), the French colony continued to prosper. By the 1780s St. Domingue produced nearly half of the sugar and coffee consumed in Europe and the Americas. It was also a significant producer of other products, such as cotton and indigo. St. Domingue's population surpassed 500,000. At the same time, Spanish Santo Domingo continued to decline. A subsistence economy and contraband supported a population of less than 100,000, as many colonists abandoned the island.

In 1795 Spain ceded Santo Domingo to France as a result of Spanish military defeat in Europe. The former Spanish colony continued to decline under French rule. The advent of French rule marked the beginning of a period of intervention and conflict that lasted until the 1840s. The uprising led by blacks and mulattoes in French St. Domingue greatly affected Santo Domingo. Between 1804 and 1809 the Spanish, French, Haitians, and British fought for control of Santo Domingo. The Haitians occupied much of the eastern

part of the island. However, the Spanish colonists, with the aid of the British, drove out the Haitians. By 1809 Santo Domingo was again under Spanish control. Then, in 1821, a group of colonists deposed the Spanish authorities and declared their independence. Weeks after independence, Haitian troops again invaded Santo Domingo. This time, Haiti, led by Jean Pierre Boyer, occupied the eastern portion of the island until 1842. Santo Domingo did not actually achieve its independence until 1844 under the leadership of Juan Pablo Duarte. The country then became known by its present name, the Dominican Republic.

Ronald Young

*See also* Haiti; Toussaint Louverture; West Indies, Operations in the

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### Santo Domingo, Battle of (6 February 1806)

The naval battle fought off the island of Hispaniola in the West Indies came in the aftermath of the French navy's defeat at Trafalgar. After Napoleon called off the invasion of England, he ordered attacks on British colonies and commerce. Two naval squadrons were dispatched from Brest, both of which initially escaped unobserved by the British in December 1805.

Six ships led by Rear Admiral Jean Willaumez headed for the South Atlantic. Another five ships under the command of Rear Admiral Corentin Urbain Leissègues made their way to the West Indies. Leissègues's orders were to disembark 1,000 troops at Santo Domingo to relieve the French garrison there, which was still holding out. After stopping at Santo Domingo, Leissègues was to attack Britain's West Indian trade.

Initially, two British squadrons attempted to stop the French squadron, but both failed. In the meantime, British vice admiral Sir John Duckworth got word of a French squadron near the island of Madeira. Duckworth had been leading the British blockade of Cádiz in southern Spain. Believing the French squadron to be that of another French commander, Duckworth raised the blockade and set out for Madeira. He briefly pursued Willaumez's squadron, but the French ships outsailed the British. Short of water, Duckworth later steered for the West Indies, stopping first at Barbados and then making his way to the Leeward Islands, where he joined with Rear Admiral Alexander Cochrane. In the Caribbean, Duckworth watered and refitted his squadron.

At first, there was no news of the French squadron, and Duckworth prepared to return to Europe. Soon, Duckworth received word that the French ships had also arrived in the Caribbean. The British initially believed the squadron to be that of Willaumez, whom Duckworth had earlier pursued. In reality, however, it was Leissègues's squadron, which had made the difficult winter passage across the Atlantic.

On 6 February 1806 the British sighted the French squadron anchored at the eastern end of the island of Hispaniola, where they were landing troops and supplies for the French garrison. The French were nearly ready to weigh anchor when the British discovered them. When the ship on lookout signaled that enemy ships were in sight, Leissègues ordered his squadron to make sail. A battle soon ensued. The British approached the French squadron in two columns. Leissègues sailed across the front of the two columns, hoping to concentrate his attack on the nearer column. This strategy failed, however, when the rudder failed on the lead French ship, the *Alexandre*. Duckworth's flagship the *Superb*, supported by the *Northumberland* and *Agamemnon*, closed in on the helpless *Alexandre*. Later, Leissègues's flagship, the *Impérial*, was badly damaged by the *Northumberland*. The *Superb* then engaged and defeated the French flagship. The British succeeded in driving two of the French ships ashore, including the *Impérial*. The British burned both of these ships. Three other French ships were captured. Only the French frigates were able to escape.

British casualties were relatively light, with 74 dead and 264 wounded. The French suffered much heavier casualties, with approximately 1,500 killed or wounded.

Ronald Young

*See also* England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Santo Domingo; Trafalgar, Battle of; West Indies, Operations in the

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### Saragossa, Sieges of (28 June–13 August 1808; 21 December 1808–20 February 1809)

A major city on the southern bank of the river Ebro in Aragón possessed of no defenses other than a medieval



Amid bitter street fighting in which quarter was neither given nor received, French infantry assault the grim defenders of a church during the siege of Saragossa. (Print after Jules Girardet from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3.)

wall, Saragossa was a leading center of the Spanish insurrection of 1808. As such, it was an early target of the French, who mounted their first attempt at its capture on 15 June. A simple escalade, it was driven off by the inhabitants with 700 French casualties, and on 28 June regular siege operations therefore began against the city under General Jean Antoine Verdier. With the defenders distracted by a catastrophic explosion in their main powder magazine, the invaders drove the Spaniards off the heights that dominated the city from the south. With this preliminary move out of the way, on 2 July 3,000 troops attacked the walls, only to find that the defenders, who had by now been reinforced by a regiment of line infantry from Catalonia, again put up a desperate resistance. Indeed, the invaders were once again repelled with 500 killed and wounded, their defeat being accompanied by the emergence of one of the greatest popular icons of the Spanish struggle in the person of Agustina of Aragón—more precisely, Agustina Zaragoza Domenech—a Catalan girl who single-handedly saved a key position from the enemy by seizing a linstock from a dying gunner (reputedly her lover) and firing a cannon into the very faces of the advancing French.

Much discouraged, Verdier now resigned himself to engaging in conventional siege operations. Despite a se-

ries of sorties, by 31 July all was ready for the bombardment of the city. With sixty guns in place, whole sections of the city's flimsy defenses were swept away, and on the afternoon of 4 August the French attacked again. This time there was no mistake: protected until the last minute by their trenches, the assault columns scrambled through the various breaches and poured into the streets. Yet, inspired by the demagoguery of their commander, General José Palafox, the defenders remained as defiant as ever. In the face of furious opposition, the attackers were forced to fight their way yard by yard toward the heart of the city. Had they been able to keep going, they might well have triumphed, but the attack ran out of steam, and the end of the day found the French confined to a narrow finger of territory stretching from the walls deep into the city.

What might have happened next is difficult to say: Verdier's forces were in no fit state to do much more, but the Spaniards were too disorganized to do more than keep up a steady fusillade and make spasmodic rushes at one French position or another. In short, fresh troops might yet have won the day for Verdier, but on 12 August he received news of the French defeat at Bailén and decided to abandon the siege forthwith. By 13 August, then, the invaders

were gone, having lost 3,500 men compared to perhaps 5,000 Spanish.

The French did not, however, forget Saragossa, and on 20 December, 40,000 men appeared before the city. Facing them was a defending force of 32,000 troops, while the city's medieval defenses had been strengthened by a line of earthworks and entrenchments that linked together the various convents and monasteries that lay just outside the walls. Inside the city, meanwhile, streets had been barricaded, doors and windows blocked by obstacles, walls loopholed, and houses linked by tunnels and passageways. But neither these preparations nor the continued braggadocio of Palafox could save the city. By the close of the year it had been closely blockaded on both banks of the river, and considerable progress made on the attackers' trenches and gun emplacements. Nor was much done to stop their progress: Though plenty of troops were available, the only sorties that took place consisted of suicidal rushes by mere handfuls of men.

Very soon, in fact, Palafox was exposed as a mediocre commander. All the troops in Aragón having been concentrated in Saragossa, it was found that there were none left for a relief force, while such was the overcrowding in the city that populace and troops alike soon fell prey to a devastating epidemic of typhus. To the misery of disease was soon added that of bombardment, for on 10 January 1809 the French opened up on the city with their siege batteries. After seventeen days of bombardment, moreover, the walls were stormed. As before, the defenders fought on, but the city was doomed. Despite scenes of desperate heroism—in a foretaste of battles far in the future, the French had to advance into the city house by house, blowing holes in partition walls and methodically slaughtering the defenders of each room—the invaders could not be checked, while the ravages of typhus and starvation very soon brought the city to its knees. On 20 February, then, the guns at last fell silent, the whole dreadful affair having cost the French 10,000 casualties and an unknown number of Spanish. With the fall of the city, the entire population of 54,000 fell into French hands.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Peninsular War; Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José; Siege Warfare

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## Sardinia

At the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars, the Kingdom of Sardinia included Piedmont in northwestern

Italy, Savoy and the port of Nice in geographical France, and the Mediterranean island of Sardinia. Ruled by the House of Savoy, Sardinia participated in the First Coalition against France. After defeat in 1796, Piedmont fell under French influence and, later in 1802, under French administration, while the rulers of Savoy retired to Sardinia until the kingdom's restoration after the Congress of Vienna.

In 1789 the Kingdom of Sardinia was the most powerful *ancien régime* state in Italy and an ally of monarchical France. Not an enlightened reformist sovereign, King Victor Amadeus III ruled his 3.2 million subjects according to the principles of a military-bureaucratic absolutism and drove the state finances into dire straits. The economic crisis of those years brought social discontent in Piedmont, particularly among the peasant masses, who nevertheless in general remained faithful to the Crown. Here and there, Jacobin ideals found supporters among the citizens, to a lesser extent, however, than elsewhere in Italy.

A rapid deterioration of diplomatic relations with France followed the Revolution and led to war in 1792, during which the French occupied the long-coveted territories of Savoy and Nice. With the less than enthusiastic support of Austria, for four years the small, but professional and well-trained Sardinian (often called Piedmontese) army succeeded in keeping the more numerous enemy forces at bay in the northwestern and Maritime Alps.

In April 1796, however, Bonaparte began his first Italian campaign and, by attacking inland from the western Ligurian coast, managed to separate the Piedmontese from the Austrian army. Defeated at Mondovi, Victor Amadeus signed an armistice at Cherasco on 28 April (ratified in Paris on 15 May), whereby Sardinia renounced Savoy and Nice, and allowed the French armies free transit across Piedmont. Victor Amadeus died in October, and two years later King Charles Emmanuel IV gave up Piedmont to the French Directory, abdicated, and sailed to Sardinia. A manipulated plebiscite in February 1799 ratified the French annexation of Piedmont, which played a role in igniting several popular uprisings throughout the country in the following months.

In 1799, the French were defeated, and Piedmont was occupied by Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov's Austro-Russian army. The Allies, however, did not allow the king of Savoy back on the throne, and after the Battle of Marengo (14 June 1800), Piedmont returned to French control. In 1802, Charles Emmanuel IV abdicated in favor of his brother Victor-Emmanuel I, who remained in Sardinia. On 11 September of the same year, Bonaparte, now First Consul, decided to turn Piedmont into six French departments (Dora, Marengo, Po, Sesia, Stura, and Agogna, later suppressed) and the 27th Military District. Alessan-

dria was to become the most important French military depot in northern Italy. Throughout the Napoleonic years, many units recruited in Piedmont fought in the Grande Armée, some restoring their previous martial fame with distinguished records of service.

After the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, the second Treaty of Paris (November 1815) restored Victor-Emmanuel I to his former possessions of Piedmont, Savoy, and Nice, with Genoa and Liguria as welcome additions. On such an enlarged territorial basis, the Kingdom of Sardinia was to reestablish itself as the most important Italian state and ultimately was to take the lead in the movement for national independence.

Marco Gioannini

*See also* Cherasco, Armistice at; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jacobins; Marengo, Battle of; Mondovi, Battle of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Vienna, Congress of

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### Saumarez, Sir James (1757–1836)

British admiral and general of Royal Marines. From 1793 to 1814, Saumarez served in the Channel Fleet, the Mediterranean Fleet, and the Baltic Fleet, distinguishing himself in several actions.

Saumarez was born at St. Peter Port, Guernsey, on 11 March 1757. He first saw active service in August 1770 in the Mediterranean, where he served until April 1775. During the American Revolutionary War, Saumarez served off the American coast from 1775 to 1778. Following the war, he remained on half pay until the conflict with Revolutionary France began in 1793.

Saumarez thereupon returned to active service and was given command of the frigate *Crescent* (36 guns), in which he defeated and captured the French frigate *Réunion* (36) on 20 October 1793. He remained in the Channel Fleet through 1798, where he was primarily employed on blockade duty off Brest and Rochefort. Joining Sir John Jervis (later Earl St. Vincent) in February 1797, he commanded *Orion* (74) at the Battle of St. Vincent on 14 February. Following this action, he remained with Jervis in the blockade of Cádiz, alternating command of the inshore squadron with (the newly promoted and knighted) Vice

Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson. In May 1798, Saumarez accompanied Nelson into the Mediterranean in pursuit of the expedition bound for Egypt under Bonaparte. The fleets met at the Battle of the Nile on 1 August, and although no second in command was specifically designated, Saumarez was the senior captain present and was chosen by Nelson to escort the prizes back to Gibraltar. Afterward, he rejoined St. Vincent in the blockade of Brest.

Saumarez was promoted to rear admiral on 1 January 1801 and on 13 June of that year was made a baronet. Afterward, he was ordered to command the blockade of Cádiz, where he remained until he learned of a French squadron of three ships of the line and one frigate under the command of *contre-amiral* (rear admiral) Charles Durand, comte de Linois, anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar under the guns of their Spanish allies at Algeciras. On 6 July 1801, Saumarez attacked with six ships of the line, but due to Linois's superior defensive position and a lack of wind, he was forced to retreat to Gibraltar after losing one ship to the French. Both squadrons required extensive repairs; Saumarez refitted at Gibraltar, and Linois sent for reinforcements from Cádiz to escort his ships through the straits.

Six Spanish ships arrived early on 12 July, and the Franco-Spanish squadron departed that evening. Saumarez pursued, and in the ensuing encounter off Algeciras he destroyed two Spanish first rates of 112 guns each and captured a French 74. For his turn-around victory, Saumarez was made a Knight of the Bath. Following the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, he commanded the Guernsey station until 1807, when he was promoted to vice admiral and made second in command of the fleet off Brest. In March 1808, he was given command of the Baltic Squadron, a command he held until 1813. He was promoted to admiral on 4 June 1814.

Following the peace, he held the command at Plymouth from 1824 to 1827; he was raised to the peerage as Baron de Saumarez of Saumarez in Guernsey and was made general of marines in February 1832. He died on 9 October 1836.

Jason Musteen

*See also* Algeciras, First Battle of; Algeciras, Second Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Blockade; Middle East Campaign; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; St. Vincent, Battle of; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of

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## Savants

Group of 167 civilian scholars and engineers who accompanied the French army to Egypt during the campaign of 1798–1801. Collectively they made up the Institute of Egypt, a learned society modeled on the French National Institute, which Napoleon Bonaparte established in August 1798 to facilitate research concerning Egypt. Because the purpose of the military campaign was to secure Egypt as a French colony, the savants undertook a detailed, systematic study of all aspects of the region and its inhabitants. Some of the civilians were engineers and students from the Ecole Polytechnique, while others were distinguished scholars. Among the noted luminaries were Dominique Vivant Denon, a prominent antiquarian and art historian; Gaspard Monge, famed for his contribution to descriptive geometry; Joseph Fourier, a mathematician known for his work in calculus; Claude-Louis Berthollet, an eminent chemist; Guy-Sylvain Dolomieu, the mineralogist for whom dolomite was later named; and Etienne Geoffroy St. Hilaire, a talented young zoologist from the Museum of Natural History. The various civilian researchers constituted the Scientific and Artistic Commission.

The Institute of Egypt was a separate body that promoted scholarship by creating an administrative structure for conducting and organizing research, and providing meeting rooms, a library, a printing press, and, importantly, various workshops. Because most of the scientific and technical equipment was destroyed at the Battle of the Nile (1 August 1798) or in the uprising in Cairo (21–22 October 1798), Nicolas Conté, an inventor and chief of the army's balloonists, who managed the workshops, had to produce new equipment for the scholars' work. The more established savants and some of the army generals were made members of the institute, but all who were part of the Scientific and Artistic Commission were welcome to attend meetings and submit research to be reviewed for publication. The institute published two periodicals, *La Décade Egyptienne*, a journal, and the *Courrier d'Egypte*, a newspaper.

The work of the savants was extensive and varied. Projects relevant to health, population, agriculture, manufacturing, geography, cartography, and political and social organization were clearly intended to ease military occupation and build the foundations of colonial administration. Researchers concluded that contemporary Egypt was similar to pre-Revolutionary France, oppressed and enervated by inefficient, corrupt rule, stifled by religious dogma, and very much in need of enlightened government. Investigations of the natural history, flora, fauna, and antiquities were intended to illuminate what Europeans viewed as an exotic and relatively little-

known civilization. St. Hilaire collected and preserved birds, fish, and crocodiles, while Monge explained the nature of the mirage. Berthollet explored the chemical properties of natron.

Excavating the remains of pharaonic temples and tombs captured the imaginations of most of the savants, and served the ideological purpose of attaching some of the grandeur and mystique of a powerful, "lost" ancient civilization to contemporary France and Bonaparte. Denon, the first civilian to accompany the army into Upper Egypt, became known for his enthusiastic description and spontaneous sketches of ancient ruins. Subsequently, contingents of engineers excavated, surveyed, and illustrated various sites along the Nile in Upper Egypt. Because they had military support and resources as well as technical training, they were able to provide architectural drawings and imagined reconstructions of ancient monuments more extensively and accurately than earlier travelers.

The most significant artifact unearthed was the Rosetta Stone, which a military engineer discovered accidentally in the course of work on fortifications at el-Rashid (Rosetta) in the Delta. The savants immediately recognized that the inscription would provide the key to the decipherment of hieroglyphic script. They translated the Greek version of the inscription and made copies of the stone. Its cultural value made the Rosetta Stone so famous that the British claimed it as a trophy of war when the French withdrew from Egypt in 1801. Though the Institute of Egypt disbanded when French occupation ended, the French Ministry of the Interior published the work of the Scientific and Artistic Commission in the elaborately illustrated, oversized, multivolume *Description of Egypt*. This magnum opus was one of the first comprehensive surveys of Egyptology.

Melanie Byrd

*See also* Cairo, Uprising in; Egypt; Middle East Campaign; Nile, Battle of the; Rosetta Stone

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## Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo (1774–1833)

French general and statesman. He was born at Marcq in the Ardennes on 26 April 1774 and educated at the college

of St. Louis at Metz. Savary enlisted in the army in 1790 and took part in actions against Prussian forces in 1792. He later served under generals Charles Pichegru and Jean Moreau on the Rhine River, rising to *chef de escadron* in 1797. He joined Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798 and left an interesting account of the French conquest of that country. Returning to France, Savary supported the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) and served as Bonaparte's aide-de-camp in the Italian campaign of 1800, distinguishing himself at Marengo on 14 June of that year. For his actions, Bonaparte, as First Consul, appointed Savary commander of the elite *gendarmes* unit in charge of his security in 1801. Two years later, Savary rose to *général de brigade* and was employed by Bonaparte in several political missions.

In 1804 he traveled to the western departments of France to investigate Georges Cadoudal's conspiracy and was later involved in the infamous kidnapping of the duc d'Enghien, playing a crucial role in his execution. In February 1805 he was promoted to *général de division* and participated in the campaign of that year against the Third Coalition. That November Savary was sent on a mission to the Allies and used the opportunity to gather intelligence on their forces. In 1806 he distinguished himself at Jena and later that year temporarily commanded Marshal Jean Lannes's V Corps. After the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807) Savary briefly served as the French envoy to St. Petersburg before being replaced by General Armand-Augustin-Louis, marquis de Caulaincourt in 1808. Napoleon then employed him in Spain, where Savary persuaded King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand VII to accept Napoleon's mediation and escorted them to Bayonne, where the Spanish royal family was arrested. In May 1808 Savary was given the title of duc de Rovigo and accompanied the Emperor to Erfurt, where he took part in negotiations with the Russians.

Following the 1809 campaign, Savary replaced Joseph Fouché as the minister of police on 3 June 1810 and became notorious for his strict enforcement of the law. Nevertheless, General Claude-François de Malet's conspiracy (October 1812) demonstrated that Savary, who was arrested by conspirators in his bed, also lacked the acumen of his predecessor. Savary's reputation never recovered from this debacle, though he continued to serve in his position until the fall of the Empire.

In 1814 he accompanied Empress Marie Louise to Blois. A year later, he welcomed Napoleon's return and became the inspector general of gendarmerie and a peer of France. After Waterloo, Savary accompanied Napoleon to Rochefort and sailed with him to Plymouth on board HMS *Bellerophon*. The British authorities refused to allow him to accompany Napoleon to St. Helena and imprisoned him

for several months on Malta. After his escape in April 1816, Savary settled in Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey) and spent several years traveling. Despite being on the proscription list and sentenced to death, Savary returned to France in 1819, though the Bourbons refused his offers of service. He later settled in Rome, where he remained for almost a decade. The July Revolution of 1830 enabled him to return to France. In 1831, King Louis Philippe appointed him commander in chief of the French army in Algeria. However, the ailing Savary soon had to return to France, where he died in Paris on 2 June 1833.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bayonne, Conference at; Brumaire, Coup of; Caulaincourt, Armand-Augustin-Louis de, marquis de, duc de Vicence; Charles IV, King; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Erfurt, Congress of; Ferdinand VII, King; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Lannes, Jean; Malet Conspiracy; Marengo, Battle of; Marie Louise, Empress; Middle East Campaign; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; St. Helena; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## Savoy

Savoy was a duchy owned by the king of Sardinia whose territory is now divided between the departments of Haute-Savoie and Savoie in southeastern France. Between 1789 and 1791 Savoyard émigrés gathered in Paris and conspired to overthrow “Sardinian tyranny.” Secretly funded by the minister of foreign affairs, Charles François Dumouriez and François-Amédée Doppet created the Légion des Allobroges of around 2,000 men in July 1792. During the night of 21–22 September a French army under

General Anne Pierre Montesquiou and the Légion des Allobroges invaded Savoy. The outnumbered Sardinians evacuated Savoy without fighting. In October, the short-lived Assemblée Nationale des Allobroges voted to join France as the 84th Department, under the name “Mont-Blanc.” Upset by the anticlerical measures taken by the Revolutionary government and the *levée en masse* (universal conscription), the inhabitants of the valley of Thônes, east of Annecy, rose up in revolt in early May 1793. Local troops and National Guard units were able to quickly suppress this revolt.

In August 1793 Sardinian forces invaded and drove out the French. In September, French forces under General François Kellermann returned to liberate the department. Minor unrest continued throughout the region. By the Armistice of Cherasco and the subsequent treaty of peace in 1796, King Victor-Amédée renounced his claim to Savoy.

In 1797 Mont-Blanc was one of the forty-nine departments to elect royalists. In August 1798 Savoy was divided in half. The northern portion was combined with Geneva and annexed to the French Republic in April to create the new Département du Léman. Although the concordat between Bonaparte and Pope Pius VI reduced local opposition to the French government, tension still existed between the rural and urban populations. In addition, in the department of Léman, there was tension between the Genevois and the Savoyards.

Initially protected by the neighboring neutral Helvetian (Swiss) Republic, Savoy became threatened once Austria reached an agreement with Britain (partners in the Second Coalition) by which the former could violate the Helvetian Republic’s neutrality, though this was not to come to pass for more than a decade. In late December 1813 an Austrian army of 12,000 men under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Ferdinand Bubna Graf von Litic captured Geneva, moving into northern Savoy in January 1814. In February Marshal Pierre Augereau led a counter-attack that drove the Austrians back to Geneva. The following month, the Austrians launched a new offensive, capturing all of Savoy by April. By the first Treaty of Paris of May 1814, most of Savoy was returned to Sardinia, leaving Chambéry and Annecy to France. During the Hundred Days, Marshal Louis Suchet invaded Savoy, driving out the Sardinians by mid-June. In late June an Austrian-Sardinian army of 30,000 men under Bubna in turn pushed Suchet back, occupying all of Savoy by early July. With the second Treaty of Paris of November 1815, all of Savoy was returned to Sardinia.

*Kenneth G. Johnson*

*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Cherasco, Armistice at; Concordat; Dumouriez, Charles François

Dupérier; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; *Levée en Masse*; National Guard (French); Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Pius VI, Pope; Sardinia; Suchet, Louis-Gabriel

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## Saxon Army

Generally regarded as a mediocre fighting force, the Saxon Army fought extensively throughout the Napoleonic Wars, almost entirely in the capacity of an ally of the French. The army of this impoverished central European electorate played only a minor role in the War of the First Coalition, in which it served on the Rhine front. It did not see action again until 1806, and then only as an uneasy ally of Prussia. Like the army of its much more powerful neighbor, the Saxon Army continued to wear uniforms and employ tactics practically unchanged since the end of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). In 1806 the army numbered 19,000 men, organized into one battalion of the elite Leib-Grenadier Garde and twelve regiments of the line, all dressed in white coats, belts, and breeches, with black gaiters and bicorn hats—straight out of the age of Frederick the Great. The cavalry was variously composed between 1806 and 1815, but at the beginning of this period comprised four heavy (cuirassier) and five light (*chevauléger*, uhlán, and hussar) cavalry regiments. There were also foot and horse artillery batteries, a corps of engineers, and garrison infantry.

The Saxons fought at the decisive Battle of Jena, where they acquitted themselves well, but changed sides after the campaign, joining the group of central European states bound in alliance with France known as the Confederation of the Rhine. As a newly created kingdom, Saxony sent a small contingent to fight in the 1807 campaign against Prussia and Russia, where it performed well at the siege of Danzig, and at the battles of Heilsberg and Friedland.

In 1809 the army expanded with the raising of two battalions of light infantry and one of *Jägers* (riflemen). The entire Saxon Army participated in the campaign of that year against Austria, forming IX Corps of the Grande Armée, and consisting of 15,500 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, and 38 guns, under Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte. The Saxons fought at Linz and at Wagram, where on the first day of action, 5 July, in conjunction with French

units, Saxon infantry ejected the Austrians from Raasdorf before proceeding to Aderklaa, where they were confronted by Austrian cuirassiers deployed for a charge. Inexplicably, while the whole of the Saxon cavalry prepared to counter this threat, about 400 men of the Prinz Clemens Chevauxlégers galloped forward alone, only to be repulsed by their opponents, who met them with pistols at 30 meters. When the remaining Saxon cavalry attacked, the Austrians received them in similar fashion, but were driven off. Curiously, one squadron of Saxon chevauxlégers and a regiment of Austrian cuirassiers shared the same regimental proprietor (*Inhaber*), Duke Albrecht.

Around sundown, however, the infantry ran into trouble. As dusk fell, men from a retreating French division accidentally mistook two Saxon battalions in General Pierre Louis Dupas's division for Austrians (both sides wearing white uniforms) and fired on them, inflicting severe casualties. The two units broke up, some scattering into buildings near Wagram and others fleeing to the rear. This precipitated a rout of both French and Saxon units, which only ended when the retreating mass reached Raasdorf, the position held by Napoleon's Imperial Guard.

When Bernadotte later attacked with IX Corps around 9:00 P.M., great confusion ensued when Saxon units, sent into the streets of Wagram amid burning buildings—dressed in white and calling out in German like their foes—were frequently fired on by friendly units. More Saxon units were sent in at 10:30 under *Generalmajor* Hartitzsch, but, unaware that his countrymen were already fighting in the village, his men, as before mistaking them for Austrians, spent several minutes shooting down friendly troops emerging from the village as fresh Austrians engaged the beleaguered Saxons from the other side. Convinced that they were under attack from both front and rear, cohesion among the Saxons broke down entirely, and they fled in panic to Aderklaa around 11:00, leaving large numbers of their wounded comrades behind.

On the second day of the battle, on 6 July, things deteriorated even further for the Saxons. Before dawn Bernadotte had, without orders, withdrawn IX Corps from its vulnerable position at Aderklaa to a more secure position southeast of the village. This enabled the Austrians to occupy the undefended village around 3:00 A.M. without opposition. Napoleon, furious with Bernadotte for abandoning the place, ordered Marshal André Masséna to retake it. The Saxon element of the attack was to advance between Aderklaa and Wagram. Masséna's attack was initially successful, but the second Austrian line remained steadfast, and issued such devastating musket fire that both French and Saxons retreated for the rear, some taking cover in Aderklaa. Farther to the right, as the

Saxons were withdrawing, Austrian light cavalry charged, causing a panic and flight toward Raasdorf, where the Saxons halted only after Napoleon's personal intervention. The Emperor and Bernadotte proceeded to argue furiously over the circumstances of the retreat, and Napoleon became livid when Bernadotte, in a declaration made to his troops after the battle, not only failed to mention their retreat, but congratulated them on their part in the victory, dubious though it was. Notwithstanding Bernadotte's assertions, the Saxons' reputation was badly damaged by their conduct at Wagram.

In 1810 the Saxon Army was reduced in size to about 14,000 men, including the disbanding of one heavy cavalry regiment. However, 20,000 men took part in the Russian campaign in 1812, nearly all in French general Jean Reynier's VII Corps, with detached units in IX Corps. The superb heavy cavalry—regarded as among the best mounted formations in Europe, consisting of the Garde du Corps and Zastrow Cuirassiers—were brigaded with Poles under General Johann von Thielmann in General Jean Thomas Lorge's 7th Cuirassier Division. A light cavalry regiment of chevauxlégers was brigaded with Bavarians in General Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy's III Reserve Cavalry Corps. The Saxon infantry of Klengel's brigade, numbering about 2,400 men, fought a fierce action on 27 July at Kobryn, where they were surprised and overwhelmed amid the fiery ruins of the town by 12,000 Russians to whom they surrendered when their ammunition was exhausted. Other units fought at Prusznana and Gorodeczno from 10 to 12 August, but it is the conduct of the heavy cavalry three weeks later that is best remembered.

The Garde du Corps and Zastrows greatly distinguished themselves on 7 September at the exceedingly bloody Battle of Borodino, where they lost half their number of 850 men when most of the squadrons charged directly over the breastworks of General Nikolay Rayevsky's "Great" Redoubt, many falling into the ditch or forcing their way through the embrasures. Other squadrons entered the redoubt by the southern entrance and charged Russian infantry in the ravine behind it. When one of Napoleon's staff officers declared the Saxons to be inside the redoubt, the Emperor indignantly attributed victory to the 5th (French) Cuirassiers—almost certainly an unfair verdict.

As VII Corps did not penetrate deep into Russia, the Saxons did not suffer the horrendous losses experienced by most of the Grande Armée. The regiments of heavy cavalry, being attached to other corps, however, were reduced to a mere 20 officers and 7 men, and another 48 lost as prisoners, while the light cavalry lost all but 26 officers and men, the survivors being captured together while attempting to cross the Berezina River.



Rain having rendered small arms fire impossible, Saxon infantry (left) use musket butts and bayonets to defend the churchyard at Grossbeeren against a Prussian onslaught on 23 August 1813. (Painting by Richard Knötel from *Die deutschen Befreiungskriege* by Hermann Müller-Bohn, 1913)

Saxony was unable to field a force for the spring campaign of 1813, Reynier's VII Corps comprising only a single weak French division, even though most of the campaign of that year was fought on Saxon soil. However, by the time the armistice of 1813 was over in mid-August, the 24th Division had been reconstituted under General von Lecoq, still a part of VII Corps, comprising ten battalions of infantry, totaling 5,967 men, plus 12 guns and 452 artillerymen. Action came swiftly for the Saxons, when at Grossbeeren on 23 August in a heavy downpour the Franco-Saxon VII Corps (18,000) under Marshal Nicolas Oudinot was overwhelmed by General Friederich von Bülow's 38,000 Prussians. Sahr's division of Saxons stormed the burning village and forced out three defending Prussian battalions. Perceiving action then to be at an end, Reynier pitched camp, only to find Bülow's artillery raining shot down on him. After a lengthy exchange of fire, two Prussian divisions, well exceeding Reynier's force, attacked Grossbeeren, forcing back the French and engaging some of the Saxons in hand-to-hand fighting near the town's windmill, the rain making musket fire difficult. The Saxon defense collapsed, encouraging French divisions to retreat as well. Reynier retreated, but the Prussians were

too exhausted to pursue. Saxon morale never recovered from Grossbeeren, and their conduct influenced Oudinot's decision to abandon his offensive against Berlin.

The Saxons next saw action against the Prussians at a particularly fierce battle at Dennewitz on 6 September. In the course of the battle, Bülow took the village of Göhlsdorf, which was retaken by the French around 3:30, but when Marshal Michel Ney ordered Oudinot to shift some of his men to Rohrbeck to support Ney's right flank, Reynier strongly objected and called for reinforcements. This call was ignored. Bülow consequently retook Göhlsdorf and drove out the Saxons. The arrival of fresh Russians and Swedes later in the day obliged Reynier to retreat toward Oehna where, together with the rest of Oudinot's army, the retreat disintegrated into a rout, with Saxon morale completely broken.

Reynier's report of 15 September called for considerable reinforcements, emphasizing a particular need for French, rather than Saxon, troops, while Ney warned that the Saxons were likely to switch sides as soon as an opportunity presented itself. As a result of high rates of desertion and heavy losses, the 24th Division was disbanded, and its remnants merged with the survivors of the 25th Division.

Notwithstanding the generally poor quality of line regiments, there was also present the elite Grenadier Guard battalion and the reconstituted Zastrow Cuirassiers and Garde du Corps, who possessed a special attachment to Napoleon, quite in contrast to their compatriots in the infantry and light cavalry.

At the Battle of Leipzig, the resurrected 24th Division (VII Corps), totaling 3,679 men under General von Zeschau, consisted of ten battalions of infantry and sixteen guns. General Lessing commanded the heavy cavalry brigade of eight squadrons of Zastrows and Garde du Corps. The Saxons arrived at the battle on the second day (17 October) from Düben, to be deployed in and around the village of Paunsdorf, between the northern and southern sectors of the battle area. On the eighteenth, without warning, most of the 24th Division, together with the light cavalry in VII Corps, defected to the Allies, soon followed by the Württemberg cavalry and the remaining Saxons. This obliged the French to try to control the damage with a series of cavalry attacks, but the situation could not be stabilized, and the remaining French units in the area withdrew to Stötteritz. This episode did little to affect what had already become a clear Allied victory, but it marked the end of Saxony's military role as a French ally—a decision the Saxons had made two days before—and signaled the collapse of the Confederation of the Rhine.

On 19 October General von Ryssel assumed command of the Saxon division, which was ordered to Torgau, where it blockaded the city with a Prussian corps under General Tauentzien. The city capitulated on 14 November, after which the Saxons marched to Merseburg for reorganization. Thereafter Saxon forces took part in a few minor operations in Germany until the end of the war in April 1814. It must nevertheless be noted that the Saxon heavy cavalry regiments remained fiercely loyal to Napoleon. The Allies' resulting severe reprisals against Saxony in answer to the heavy cavalry's continued service to the Emperor left Napoleon little choice but to discharge the men, who eventually agreed to return home, but not before strong protests and dramatic scenes of lamentation.

After Napoleon returned from Elba the Saxon Army was mobilized, but trouble erupted when Saxon soldiers who had found themselves serving in the Prussian army as a result of the division of Saxony by the Congress of Vienna began to organize a rebellion on 2 May 1815, demanding reunification. To avoid further trouble between Prussian and Saxon units, the latter were reassigned to the (Austrian) Army of the Upper Rhine where, after performing minor services, they returned to Saxony on 20 November.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Armistice of 1813; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Borodino, Battle of;

Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Confederation of the Rhine; Dennewitz, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Heilsberg, Battle of; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Leipzig, Battle of; Masséna, André; Ney, Michel; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer, comte; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Russian Campaign; Saxony; Thielmann, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von; Vienna, Congress of; Wagram, Battle of

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## Saxony

At the outbreak of the great struggle between Revolutionary France and the German states of the Holy Roman Empire in 1792, Saxony was a state of 15,185 square miles with a population of nearly 2 million, comprising several territories that did not form a homogeneous entity. It included two parts of Lusatia, as well as Querfurt, Hennenberg, Naumburg, and Messemburg; each territory had a separate government and diet (parliament). Its ruler, Frederick Augustus, assumed the throne in 1763 as Elector of Saxony, but only started to rule personally in 1768 when he turned eighteen.

In 1785 Saxony joined the Fürstenbund, a German League of Princes under the leadership of the king of Prussia directed against the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II, but remained neutral during the clash between Austria and Prussia in 1790. The following year Frederick Augustus declined the crown of Poland.

In February 1792 Saxony refused to join the league established by Austria and Prussia that sought to restore absolute monarchy in France. Yet after the war broke out in April, the 6,000-strong Saxon Army joined the struggle in October, fulfilling its duty to the Holy Roman (or German) Empire. Even after the Peace of Basle was signed in April 1795, Frederick Augustus continued the war until the Saxons were forced to retreat by the advance of French forces under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, which moved into central Germany in August 1796.

Saxony remained neutral in 1805 during the War of the Third Coalition between France and her allies on the one hand, and Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Britain on the other. A year later, in 1806, Saxon troops joined Prussia in the new coalition against France. Both German powers suffered badly in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, and large parts of Saxony were occupied by the French army, which enforced the introduction of numerous French reforms there. On 11 December Saxony signed the Treaty of Posen with Napoleon, by which Saxony agreed to pay a contribution of 25 million francs and joined the Confederation of the Rhine. Saxony also promised a contingent of 20,000 men to Napoleon. At the same time, thanks to Napoleon, Frederick Augustus was elevated to the title of King of Saxony. In territorial terms, Saxony annexed Cottbus from Prussia, while losing minor lands in the west to the new Kingdom of Westphalia. It is estimated that Saxony's population numbered 2.27 million in 1810.

After the Peace of Tilsit in July 1807, when the Polish state was restored by Napoleon in the rump form of the Duchy of Warsaw, Frederick Augustus became its grand duke. As a loyal ally of Napoleon, Saxony provided troops for his campaign against Russia and Prussia in 1807 and against Austria in 1809. However, Frederick Augustus's loyalty was tried when Napoleon emerged defeated from the Russian campaign in 1812 and the Allied armies entered Saxony—which became the main battleground of the new campaign—in the spring of the following year. Even then the king refused to fight against Napoleon and fled to Prague, although he withdrew his troops from the French army. Following Napoleon's victory at Lützen in May, the Saxon army once more stood at the side of the French emperor. During the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813 a number of Saxon regiments deserted and joined the Allies. The king himself was taken prisoner in Leipzig after the battle.

Thereafter, Saxony was ruled by a provisional government under the Russian prince Nikolay Grigorievich Repnin-Volkonsky, and later the Prussian generals Eberhard Friedrich Freiherr von der Recke and von Gaudi. At the Congress of Vienna, Frederick Augustus was allowed to retain his royal title and rule Saxony, which lost three-fifths of its territory to Prussia. About 7,800 square miles with 864,400 inhabitants were incorporated by Prussia, leaving 5,790 square miles and 1,182,750 inhabitants with Saxony.

*Jakub Basista*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Confederation of the Rhine; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Holy Roman Empire; Jena, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Poland; Russian Campaign; Saxon Army; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of; Westphalia

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### **Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von (1755–1813)**

Prussian general whose work to reform his nation and its army and whose service as chief of staff to Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher helped to vanquish Napoleon and to establish Prussia as the most formidable military power of the late nineteenth century. A liberal intellectual, Scharnhorst sought to bring modernity to Prussia and its army. Although he was unable to accomplish the loftiest of his goals, he managed to take an antiquated army and institutionalize the means by which it regained its vitality and served as a model to future generations of military professionals.

Neither Prussian nor noble by birth, Scharnhorst did not develop the proclivities that prevented the development of a professional outlook in so many Junker officers. Born 12 November 1755 at Bordenau, near Hanover, Scharnhorst had a soldier as a father, but not a commissioned officer. After formal education at the cadet school of Wilhelm Graf von Schaumburg-Lippe, Scharnhorst was commissioned into the Hanoverian Army. As a young officer, he gained a good reputation as a military essayist and as a competent leader. Campaigning in Flanders in 1793–1794 during the French Revolutionary Wars, he won acclaim for his conduct in the defense of Menin. He was rewarded for his services with a promotion to major and the position of chief of staff to the commander in chief of the Hanoverian Army.

In 1801 Scharnhorst sought greater opportunities than the Hanoverian Army could offer and took a commission as a lieutenant colonel in the Prussian Army. Posted to the staff of the quartermaster general, he was fittingly assigned the task of overseeing and improving institutions of military education. In addition to his formal duties, Scharnhorst quickly established the *Militärische Gesellschaft* (a military discussion society) as a forum for serving officers to contemplate the state of their profession. A keen observer of military developments, Scharnhorst was quick to recognize that the French were at the forefront of a revolution in military affairs. Thus, even before Napoleon had reached

the apex of his power, Scharnhorst was aware that Prussia's security was based on a host of outdated practices.

Despite gaining a patent of nobility as a condition of his joining the Prussian Army, Scharnhorst had difficulty gaining wide acceptance for his ideas. Advocating such revolutionary concepts as combined arms divisions, a popular militia, and an expandable national army, Scharnhorst put himself at odds with many of Prussia's career soldiers. To an officer corps dominated by Junkers committed to preserving their place of honor in the army made famous by Frederick the Great, Scharnhorst was an interloper who championed unwelcome changes to the system. Lacking the physical stature or family name requisite for gaining instant respect, he needed the battles of Jena and Auerstädt to give currency to his ideas.

When Prussia went to war in 1806, it did so with a proud martial heritage and little else. The senior command was dominated by old men who were either unwilling or unable to note that the world had changed around them. The army, as Scharnhorst had observed, was mired in antiquated practices and in no way ready for a contest with the most capable fighting force of the time. On 14 October, Scharnhorst was at Auerstädt, serving as chief of staff to Charles William, Duke of Brunswick. Despite commanding the largest portion of the Prussian army and fighting against the numerically inferior corps of Marshal Louis Davout, Brunswick's Prussians were ultimately routed. Scharnhorst had exercised little, if any, influence on the duke, who fell mortally wounded in the fighting.

When the battle ended, however, Scharnhorst was given the opportunity to display his genius for operational matters by assuming the role of chief of staff to General Gebhard von Blücher. The partnership proved effective, and Blücher's retreating force acquitted itself far better than most of the other remnants of the Prussian army. When Blücher surrendered at Ratkau, in the vicinity of Lübeck, on 24 November, both he and Scharnhorst were marched off into a brief period of captivity. Scharnhorst was later repatriated in a prisoner exchange and saw further action at the Battle of Eylau on 8 February 1807. Indeed, in that battle he played a key role in delivering the Prussian attack that prevented the French from achieving a clear-cut victory.

Scharnhorst's most dramatic contribution to the Prussian Army was not his valor in battle, but rather the work he undertook as the leader of the Military Reorganization Commission. After the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, the defects of the Prussian military system were painfully obvious to even the most casual observer. In July 1807, King Frederick William III appointed Scharnhorst, now a major general, to preside over a general reform of the Prussian Army. Scharnhorst, along with Colonel August von Gneisenau, Major Karl von Grolman, Major Her-

mann von Boyen, and the civilian Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein, led a process that reinvigorated the army and established the institutions needed to make it effective. As Prussia abolished serfdom, the reformers sought to appeal to the common man's nascent sense of Prussian nationalism as a means to motivate an army of citizen-soldiers. The reformers abolished the harsh disciplinary measures of the old army and endeavored to end the stifling influence of the Junkers by opening the officer corps to men of talent and basing promotions on merit. They reorganized the various branches of the army into effective combined arms brigades and created the *Landwehr*, a national militia. With the establishment of what would become the Berlin *Kriegsakademie* (War College), Scharnhorst and his followers also set the foundation for the development of a trained and truly modern general staff.

When Prussia returned to war in 1813, it fielded a vastly improved army from the one that had been humiliated in 1806. As chief of staff to Blücher in 1813, Scharnhorst was able to direct the efforts of the force he had essentially created. Although his tenure as chief of staff was brief, he established the standard for the future conduct of that most important post. Wounded during an assault at Grossgörschen on 2 May 1813, at the Battle of Lützen, Scharnhorst died on 8 June from infection.

Charles Steele

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Lützen, Battle of; Prussia; Prussian Army; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum

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### **Schéerer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph (1747–1804)**

A French Revolutionary general, tactician, and war minister, Schéerer was victorious at Loano in 1795 and laid the basis for Bonaparte's first Italian campaign.

Born in Alsace, Schérer volunteered for the Austrian Army in 1760 as an infantry *kadett* (cadet). Wounded at Torgau that November, he rose to lieutenant by 1764. After serving as an aide-de-camp (ADC) from 1770, he resigned in 1775, but joined the French Army as a captain in the Strasbourg Provincial Artillery regiment in April 1780. Permitted to join the Dutch Army in February 1785, he was appointed a major in the Maillebois Legion before becoming an ADC to the Dutch chief of staff from February 1789. Despite promotion to lieutenant colonel, he resigned in March 1790 and rejoined the French Army. Appointed a captain in the 82nd Infantry regiment in January 1792, he was employed as an ADC by General Jean Etienne de Prez de Crassier in the Armée du Midi from May and then by Prince Eugène de Beauharnais in the Armée du Rhin, where he was promoted to *chef de bataillon* and made a staff *adjutant général* in July 1793.

Promoted to *général de brigade* that September, Schérer advanced to *général de division* in January 1794. Transferred to the Armée du Nord in April, he participated in the victory at Mont Palisel on 1 July, before commanding a division in the Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse, which took Landrecies, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé during July and August. Commanding a division, Schérer led the right wing in the victory at Spiremont on 18 September. He led the Armée d'Italie from November 1794 to May 1795, when he took command of the Armée des Pyrénées Orientales (Eastern Pyrenees). After victory over the Spanish at the river Fluvia on 15 June, he was reappointed commander of the Armée d'Italie in September. His autumn advance brought victory against the Austro-Piedmontese army at Loano on 23–29 November. He resigned, but was only relieved by Bonaparte in March 1796, following which he was appointed inspector of cavalry in the Armée d'Intérieur in June and in the Armée du Rhin-et-Moselle from February 1797. During his tenure as minister of war (July 1797–February 1799), he was widely accused of corruption and drunkenness, until he returned to the Armée d'Italie in March 1799. He was victorious at Pastrengo on 26 March, but was defeated in April by the Austrians at Verona and Magnano. On 26 April, defeat by Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov on the Adige River brought his retirement.

His army instructions, drafted over the winter of 1795–1796, formed the basis of Bonaparte's system in 1796. Following General Jean-Baptiste Kléber, he emphasized attacks in massed battalion columns with bayonets lowered. In line, the infantry would fight in two ranks, supported by small flank columns. Schérer was the first French general to establish a formalized military espionage system, directed by an *adjoint* (assistant staff officer).

David Hollins

*See also* Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Espionage; Fluvia, Battles of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Loano, Battle of; Magnano, Battle of; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Verona, Battle of

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### Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von (1776–1809)

A Prussian patriot who rebelled against Napoleon's occupation of his country, Ferdinand von Schill was born on 5 June 1776 at Wilsdorf-bei-Dresden, Saxony, to Johann Georg von Schill, a Prussian Army officer who had served in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Schill attended school in Breslau, in Silesia. He exhibited severe behavioral problems due to his excessive energy and introvert personality. In his boyhood he demonstrated talent with his poetry; he lived in his own rather romanticized world. To rectify this condition, he joined the Brown Hussars of the Prussian Army at age twelve.

As a second lieutenant of the Ansbach-Bayreuther Dragoons, Schill suffered a severe head wound at the Battle of Jena on 14 October 1806 against the French. He escaped and convalesced at Kolberg (Kołobrzeg in present-day Poland), near the Baltic coast. His lengthy convalescence provided Schill with an acute knowledge of the area.

After his recovery, Schill reported to the commander of the fortress at Kolberg, who concurred with Schill's wish to remain in the vicinity to observe and familiarize himself with the area in order to be of use in a future military context. Schill became commander of the Hussar Volunteers. He took part in the heroic siege of Kolberg against the French from 20 March to 2 July 1806.

On 9 July 1807 France and Prussia signed the Peace of Tilsit, France and Russia having concluded their own treaty of peace two days earlier. This humiliating and detrimental treaty led to a loss of over 50 percent of Prussia's territory. Moreover, Prussia had to pay a financially crippling war indemnity. The once-mighty kingdom became a vassal of France.

Schill was promoted to major in 1809 and received command of the 2nd Hussar Regiment, which he formed with his Kolberg troops. Meanwhile, Prussians underwent enlightened social, economic, and military reforms under Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein and General Gerhard von Scharnhorst. These reforms instilled patriotic sentiments throughout Prussia and created a widely held

belief in the imminence of a war of liberation that would free all Germans from the hated French occupation.

Not realizing that this belief was erroneous, Schill left Berlin on 28 April with his 600-strong Brandenburg Hussar Regiment, telling his troops they would aim to reestablish Prussia's glory and engage in a war of liberation against the French. Schill had not received the consent of King Frederick William III, who ordered his return to Berlin. When Schill refused, the king declared Schill and his men deserters. While marching to the river Elbe through Saxony, he frightened the locals, who offered scant support. However, Schill was joined on 2 May by 300 Prussian infantry from Berlin who were disillusioned with the slow evolution of the political situation.

Schill notified the Duke of Anhalt-Coethen that his regiment was an advance guard for the 14,000 troops under General Gebhard von Blücher, whose fanatical hatred of the French was well known. The duke wrote to the King of Westphalia, Jérôme Bonaparte, who in turn ordered General François Kellermann to prepare for a widening revolt. Jérôme later discovered that Blücher was not going to arrive and that Schill had been declared a traitor by the Prussian king.

Meanwhile Schill seized the town of Halle, where the troops stole the payroll. Jérôme was determined that Schill should be stopped. He sent 4,000 Dutch troops to Magdeburg and a Dutch division to Göttingen, while 1,500 troops were stationed between Lübeck and Hamburg.

On 5 May 1809, Schill's troops engaged in a military encounter near Dodendorf with the Westphalian and French garrisons that protected the fortress of Magdeburg. Schill was confronted by 400 Westphalian troops and a French light infantry company. The Prussians gained the upper hand, taking 200 prisoners, but losing 13 officers and 70 men of their own.

On 24 May, however, Schill's men were completely surrounded by 5,000 Dutch and Danish troops at Damgarten near Wismar. After some ferocious fighting, Schill and his force escaped to Stralsund, in Pomerania (an originally Swedish province ceded to France in 1807), which they captured. Jérôme ordered his generals to pursue Schill. On the thirty-first, Schill's regiment was almost completely annihilated during vicious street fighting against Dutch forces. Schill himself was killed by a saber blow. Recapturing Stralsund was an important strategic victory for Napoleon; it prevented the British from using it as a base for a landing.

Only a few of Schill's men escaped to Prussia. The majority of his remaining troops were caught, and many were imprisoned in France. Eleven of Schill's officers endured a military tribunal that found them guilty of desertion. They were shot at Wesel on 16 September.

Schill's body was buried at St. Jürgen Cemetery in Stralsund. However, there had been a 10,000-franc price on Schill's head. It was severed from his body, preserved, and delivered to Jérôme. In 1837 Schill's head was found in the Anatomical Museum in Leiden and returned to Prussia, where it was buried among his officers in Braunschweig. Schill's family name died out after the death of his niece. After Germany was unified, Schill's reputation was rehabilitated, and he was deemed a patriot. His deserter status was revoked. The 1st Silesian Leib-Hussar Regiment was named after him in 1889, and plays were written in his honor. Three monuments to him can be found in Wesel, Brunswick, and Stralsund, respectively. His exploits are remembered in a folk song learned by German schoolchildren.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Jena, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## Schiller, Friedrich von (1759–1805)

Poet, historian, and philosopher; celebrated as the greatest German playwright; along with his friend Goethe, the leading exponent of Weimar Classicism.

When, in 1792, the National Assembly awarded French citizenship to Schiller and other foreign friends of humanity, the gesture acknowledged a shared ideal and concealed a gulf in understanding. Schiller was known for having championed the spirit of rebellion and struggle for liberty in his dramas and historical narratives. Yet, like many German intellectuals who viewed the Revolution as the triumph of enlightened philosophy, he was soon disgusted by its violence. Rather than adopting a

more conservative political outlook, however, he rejected political action as the solution to political problems.

The *Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795) argued that the attempt to proceed directly from the absolutist state based on force to the ideal state based on reason had produced only social collapse and barbarism. In the modern world of specialization and alienation, political conflict arose from the division of human nature into its sensual and rational components. Only the aesthetic could mediate between them and produce the harmonious human being capable of moral action and therefore of living in true freedom. Schiller returned to the problem of the Revolution in several major poems, notably the “Song of the Bell” (1800), which praised industrious order and warned against upheaval. Some commentators have seen allusions to Napoleon (whom Schiller distrusted) in the historical dramas devoted to the rebellious General Wallenstein and the false Dimitri I. At the least, leaders convinced of their own destiny provided a perfect vehicle for his continuing reflections on power, legitimation, ethics, and freedom, a process that contemporary politics may have stimulated.

Schiller’s idealism and passion for liberty made him an icon for both liberals and socialists in the nineteenth century, and the centennial of his birth was marked by international celebrations. At the same time, his emphasis on inner rather than political freedom allowed appropriation by conservatives, and the “Song of the Bell” was for generations part of the canon in authoritarian German schooling.

Although Schiller’s poetry has declined in popularity, his hymn “To Joy” (1785) has retained its appeal, since Beethoven employed it in the choral movement of the Ninth Symphony (1823). An instrumental setting is today the anthem of the European Union, but the humanitarianism of the text—evoking the spirit of fraternity that Schiller, like Beethoven, at first found so attractive in the Revolution—underlies the choice and is present by implication.

*James Wald*

*See also* Beethoven, Ludwig van; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Kant, Immanuel; Staël, Mme Germaine de

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### Schimmelpenninck, Rutger Jan (1761–1825)

Leader of the Patriot Party and grand pensionary (president) of the Batavian Republic (formerly the Dutch Re-

public) from 1805 to 1806, Schimmelpenninck was born on 31 October 1761 in Deventer (in present-day Netherlands). His father, Gerrit, and his mother, Hermanna Koolhas, were Mennonites. The studious young Schimmelpenninck attended the elite Atheneum Illustre at Deventer. He became involved with the Patriot Party while studying Roman and contemporary law in Leiden. Schimmelpenninck graduated on 11 December 1784 and thereafter practiced law in Amsterdam. He married Catharina Nahuys on 26 August 1788. They had a son, Gerrit, and a daughter, Catharina.

By 1794 Schimmelpenninck chaired the Committee of Revolution of the Patriot Party, which was headed by Joan Derk van der Capellen, based in Zwolle, Overijssel. Van der Capellen had written a revolutionary pamphlet that spread Enlightenment ideas and French Revolutionary thought. These were readily accepted and quickly pervaded the Dutch Republic. In the 1794–1795 revolution, the Patriot Party, supported by popular sentiment, ousted William V, Prince of Orange, the Dutch Republic’s general hereditary *stadtholder*.

Schimmelpenninck became president of the Amsterdam city government in 1796 and was an elected delegate to the First and Second National Assemblies (1796–1798) of the newly proclaimed Batavian Republic. In charge of creating a new constitution, he led the moderate group, which fell between the Unitarians and the Federalists. Neither group accepted the new constitution, a circumstance that led to a coup d’état in June 1798 and the establishment of a unitary government.

Schimmelpenninck served as the Batavian Republic’s ambassador to France from 13 June 1798 until December 1802 and then as ambassador to Britain from 8 December 1802 until 14 June 1803, when war broke out between the two countries. He was distraught that he had failed to keep the Francophile Batavian Republic neutral, and on the resumption of war Schimmelpenninck once again became ambassador to France. Napoleon, concerned about political developments and mounting debts in the nearly bankrupt country, and wanting tighter control, forced the creation of a new government. On 29 April 1805, Napoleon appointed Schimmelpenninck councilor pensionary or grand pensionary (president) of the newly named Batavian Commonwealth for a five-year period.

Schimmelpenninck took up residence in Huis ten Bosch (the present-day palace of the queen of the Netherlands) and lived very regally, almost like a monarch, while he worked on numerous reforms. Although he was going blind and had a few other ailments, Schimmelpenninck instituted major reforms that modernized the country. He created a tax system and introduced a general tax to address the dire financial situation. He enacted expansive,

beneficial health reforms, and major agricultural reforms, and he enforced water regulations and sea reclamation guidelines. His principal reform was the very advanced Education Act of 1805, which allowed equal recognition of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish schools.

On 4 June 1806 Napoleon instigated Schimmelpenninck's resignation; the following day Louis Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Holland. He was popular and reigned until 1810, when he was also removed by Napoleon. The country became a satellite of France and adopted French reforms.

Napoleon gave Schimmelpenninck a French baronial title and appointed him to the Senate in France. In 1813 he returned to Holland and served as a member of the First Chamber from 1815 to 1820. He then retired to his estates in Overijssel province. Schimmelpenninck died in Amsterdam on 15 February 1825.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Bonaparte, Louis; Netherlands, The

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### Schliengen, Battle of (24 October 1796)

The Battle of Schliengen was the final major engagement during the French campaign in southern Germany in 1796. Archduke Charles made one final attempt to prevent the (French) Army of the Rhine and Moselle from escaping across the Rhine, but he was unsuccessful. With the close of the battle, campaigning ended in Germany for 1796.

When Charles defeated General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Amberg on 24 August, he was forced to retreat back toward the Rhine River. Charles made sure that Jourdan would be unable to return to Germany during the autumn of 1796, then turned on the southern French army under General Jean Moreau. Moreau was uncertain whether Jourdan had been defeated until 10 September, when he read newspaper accounts of the battle. He realized that he was in danger of being cut off and ordered his army to move back toward the Rhine and safety. Charles ordered various Austrian detachments to try to cut Moreau off. They succeeded in preventing all further supplies from reaching the Army of the Rhine and Moselle, forcing Moreau's men to live off the land and limit their ammunition. Moreau, however, was able to brush off several small-scale attacks. The most serious fighting occurred at Biber-

ach on 2 October. The outnumbered Austrians under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Maximilian Graf Baillet von Latour were routed by the more numerous French, opening the way for the French to pass through the Black Forest. Despite some hesitation by Moreau in deciding which route to take, the French were able to pass without incident through the Black Forest and into the Rhine River valley by 12 October.

When Moreau reached the Rhine at Breisach, he would have been able to pass over without interference, but he wanted to cross farther downstream, near Strasbourg, to block an Austrian attack into French territory. He moved slowly, allowing Charles to concentrate his entire force. While Moreau had been able to escape a few days earlier, he now was in danger of being destroyed. Several days of skirmishing, beginning on 19 October, convinced Moreau that he could not force his way through on the right, or east, bank of the Rhine. Instead, he sent one corps under General Louis Desaix across the Rhine, with orders to move on Strasbourg and threaten Charles's rear. With the rest of the army, Moreau moved upriver toward Schliengen. On 24 October, Charles's pursuit caught up with Moreau at Schliengen. Charles attacked all along the line. On the left, he managed to force the French back. The French right, however, was posted in the nearby hills, preventing the Austrians from making the best use of their well-trained troops. The right gave ground slowly during the day. Fighting ended in the early evening when pouring rain made it impossible for the soldiers to keep their powder dry. A thick fog covered the field and allowed Moreau to break away from the pursuit. His army crossed the Rhine at Hunningen on 26 October, marking the end of the campaign.

Tim J. Watts

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Biberach, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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### Schönbrunn, Treaty of (14 October 1809)

The agreement, also known as the Treaty of Vienna, between the French and Austrian empires that concluded the War of the Fifth Coalition in 1809. Austria ceded western

parts of its empire to France and France's allies in the Confederation of the Rhine, as well as ceding northeastern parts to the Duchy of Warsaw and Russia. Austria agreed to join the Continental System (the French-imposed embargo on continental trade with Britain), reduce its army to 150,000 troops, and pay an indemnity of 85 million francs.

Following the French victory over Austria at Wagram in July 1809, peace negotiations dragged on for three months until the treaty was signed at Schönbrunn Palace on 14 October. Austria ceded the provinces of Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, together with the western tip of Upper Austria, to France for subsequent transfer to Bavaria. The territories France acquired from Austria were added to the former Venetian possessions along the eastern Adriatic Sea (which France had taken from Austria under the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805) to form the Illyrian Provinces as part of the French Empire. These territories were in two parts: First, the county of Görz, the small territory of Montefalcone, the city of Trieste, the province of Carniola with its enclaves on the Adriatic, and the Villach district of Carinthia. Secondly, all the Austrian territories west of the river Save: part of Civilian Croatia, Fiume and the Hungarian Littoral, Austrian Istria and the Adriatic islands, together with the two Military Frontier Districts (Karlstadt and Banal). In addition to the territory, Napoleon gained the six Austrian *Grenzer* infantry regiments based in these Military Districts.

Austria also ceded the Lordship of Razuns, an enclave within the Graubunden (eastern Switzerland) to Napoleon. To Saxony, Austria ceded small Habsburg enclaves inside Saxony, while her gains under the Third Partition of Poland were transferred to the king of Saxony as ruler of the Duchy of Warsaw: western Galicia, except Kraków, together with the district of Zamosc in eastern Galicia, acquired by Austria under the First Partition. The most powerful French ally, Russia, was awarded the Galician district of Tarnopol (around Brody).

Obliged to break relations with Britain and, by joining the Continental System, close her ports to British trade, Austria recognized the changes of monarch in Italy and Spain, together with any future changes in Portugal. Austria was to pay the outstanding balance on the contributions of 200 million francs levied on its territories—set as an indemnity by Napoleon at 85 million francs. The Austrian Army was reduced to 150,000 men for the duration of Anglo-French hostilities, prompting the disbandment of eight infantry regiments.

The French emperor guaranteed Austria's remaining territorial integrity. The treaty was the prelude to the Austro-French alliance of 1810 and Napoleon's marriage to the Austrian emperor's daughter, Maria Ludovika

(Marie Louise). The Russian tsar, however, became anxious about an enlarged Duchy of Warsaw as a base for Polish nationalism.

David Hollins

See also Austria; Bavaria; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Marie Louise, Empress; Poland; Poland, Partitions of; Pressburg, Treaty of; Saxony; Venetian Republic; Wagram, Battle of

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### Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu (1771–1820)

Born into one of the most powerful noble families in the Habsburg Empire, Schwarzenberg initially pursued a distinguished military career before becoming involved in state diplomacy. More a politician than a military commander, by 1813 he was the ideal choice as both Austrian and Allied supreme commander. His victory at Leipzig in October 1813, followed by a steady advance to reach Paris in March 1814, sealed the fate of Napoleon's empire.

Born in Vienna on 18 April 1771, Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg came from one of the richest Austrian noble families. From an early age, he was enthusiastic about military skills and training, building up his own physique while also studying scientific subjects, including mathematics, history, and languages, but he suffered from a weak constitution. Under *Feldmarschall* Moritz Freiherr von Lacy's sponsorship, he bought an *Unterleutnant's* commission in Infantry Regiment 10 in 1787, fighting courageously and actively in the first year of the war with Turkey in 1788 to win promotion to *Hauptmann*. Joining *Feldmarschall* Gideon Freiherr von Loudon's headquarters in 1789, he soon fell ill; when he was promoted to *Major* in 1790, Schwarzenberg briefly was on lighter duties as an officer in the Netherlands Arcieren Ceremonial Guard before returning to Vienna to expand his scientific education. After recovering, he was appointed to the Latour Dragoons in 1791 when aged just 20, but he was coolly received, as the regimental officers considered service in its ranks to be a well-earned honor, rather than a post for the well connected. Nevertheless, he managed to win some respect with his military skills and keen eye.

Promoted to *Oberstleutnant*, Schwarzenberg transferred to the Uhlán Freikorps in the following year. He led his regiment as part of the advance guard of the army com-



Prince Schwarzenberg. Although commander in chief of Allied forces in Germany during the crucial campaign of 1813, he found his authority restricted by the presence of Allied monarchs at his headquarters. (Engraving by Hassell and Rickards, 1814. The David Markham Collection)

manded by *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, notably at Neerwinden in March 1793 and on raids against the French. He proved his cavalry skills as the *Oberst* commanding the Zeschwitz Kurassier at the Anglo-Austrian victory at Le Cateau-Cambrésis in 1794. At the head of his regiment, he led them and twelve British cavalry squadrons in a daring charge through fog to shatter a French corps, inflicting 3,000 casualties and capturing thirty-two guns.

Fighting in Germany in 1796, Schwarzenberg led his regiment in Archduke Charles's victories at Amberg and Würzburg. Following promotion to *Generalmajor*, Schwarzenberg led formations of light infantry and cavalry in raids against the French. During the War of the Second Coalition, he again fought under Archduke Charles in 1799, leading the advance guard of the army's center at Ostrach and Stockach, before playing a key part in the storming of Mannheim. After several actions against the French general Michel Ney, he was again afflicted by illness and only returned to military service in late 1800 after promotion to *Feldmarschalleutnant*. In the defeat of Hohenlinden on 3 December, Schwarzenberg commanded a division on the right wing and courageously led them in breaking out

of imminent encirclement by the French. His prompt action led to his appointment as rearguard commander, once Archduke Charles had taken over the remains of the army later that month, but it was rather wrecked by the defeat at Hohenlinden and Charles felt he could do nothing much with it. Schwarzenberg's leadership of this rear guard, which included rescuing the artillery park, was rewarded with an additional appointment as *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of the 2nd Uhlán Regiment.

Back in Vienna, he rejoined the diplomatic circle and on the accession of the new Russian tsar, Alexander I, in 1801, Schwarzenberg was sent to St. Petersburg as representative of Emperor Francis II (from 1806 changed to Francis I of Austria) for the Holy Roman Empire and Austria. Briefly appointed vice president of the Hofkriegsrat (the supreme military administration) in March 1805, he commanded a korps in Germany in the War of the Third Coalition, fighting at Günzburg and the victory at Haslach on 11 October, which was decided by his charge with two regiments of cuirassiers. Three days later, as Napoleon's Grande Armée began to encircle the Austrian army under the de facto command of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, Schwarzenberg commanded twelve cavalry squadrons when the nominal army commander, Archduke Ferdinand d'Este, abandoned Mack and led what cavalry he could muster away from the imminent disaster. In a difficult march through enemy lines, Schwarzenberg commanded the rear guard until the survivors reached Cheb in Bohemia on 21 October. Summoned to Vienna from his sickbed, Schwarzenberg accompanied Emperor Francis II to Moravia, where he often spoke out against any hasty plans for an early battle and was vindicated by the Allied defeat at Austerlitz.

In virtual retirement because of ill health until late 1808, Schwarzenberg supported Archduke John in creating the *Landwehr* (reserve militia), which he believed was vital to raise enough manpower to defeat the French. Later that year, his political career again came to the fore as he returned to St. Petersburg as ambassador. His mission was to persuade Alexander either to join an alliance with Austria or to at least remain neutral in any future war between Austria and France. Despite his persuasive skills and tact, Schwarzenberg was only able to return with a message from the tsar advising Austria to act with caution.

When war broke out again in 1809 with Russia and France, Schwarzenberg returned from St. Petersburg in June, reaching the emperor's headquarters two days before the Battle of Wagram (5–6 July), in which he was assigned the command of a Reserve Korps cavalry division. His expert handling of the rearguard actions in the subsequent retreat to Znaim won him promotion to *General der Kavallerie* on 22 September. Selected as Austrian ambassador to

Paris, he deployed his natural charm to ingratiate himself with Napoleon and assist the new Austrian foreign minister, Klemens Graf Metternich, in negotiating the marriage of the French emperor to Emperor Francis's eldest daughter, Maria Ludovika (Marie Louise). Schwarzenberg hosted a ball at his Paris residence in honor of the bride on 1 July 1810, but the event tragically ended in a fire, which killed his sister-in-law.

After negotiating the arrangements for the 30,000-strong (Austrian) Auxiliary Korps to join Napoleon's 1812 invasion of Russia, Schwarzenberg was the natural choice as its commander after Archduke Charles refused the appointment. Commanding the korps on the southern flank of the Grande Armée, Schwarzenberg was promoted to *Feldmarschall* on Napoleon's recommendation and would be the only Austrian general ever to use a French-style baton. He was soon given additional command over the defeated VII (Saxon) Corps by Napoleon and rallied his forces to beat the Russians under General Alexander Tormasov at Podubnic (Gorodechnya) on 12 August. After holding larger Russian forces at bay that autumn, Schwarzenberg led his men back across the Pripet Marshes on the retreat following Napoleon's disaster at the Berezina River. Reinforced by reserve Austrian troops, Schwarzenberg counterattacked and was able to winter at Pultusk to protect Warsaw. After withdrawing on Kraków in February 1813, he handed over command to *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Frimont and returned to Paris as Austrian ambassador.

Austria initially hesitated over its next move following Napoleon's catastrophic defeat in Russia. In April 1813 Schwarzenberg attempted to dissuade Napoleon from continuing the war, but he was unable to prevent the conflict from resuming, involving Russia and Prussia against France, and returned to Vienna to join the negotiations with the Allied powers. As Austria's participation in this, the War of the Sixth Coalition, looked likely, Schwarzenberg was on 13 May appointed commander of the (Austrian) Army of Bohemia, with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Joseph Graf Radetzky von Radetz as his chief of staff and the Saxon *Generalmajor* Friedrich von Langenau as head of the Operations Directorate. When Austria opted for war on the Allied side, in August, Schwarzenberg was again the natural political choice as commander in chief of the Allied armies, holding the rank of *Feldmarschall*. However, having to please three sovereigns attached to his headquarters, while leading his own army in accordance with the Austrian political policy of defeating—but not destroying—the French army, was a tricky task.

The actual operational planning had to be left to Radetzky and Langenau, who with their Allied counterparts devised the Trachenberg Plan: Each Allied army

would try to defeat in succession the smaller French formations without a direct confrontation with Napoleon until the armies could mass together with total forces of about 250,000 men. Napoleon initially advanced toward the Prussians under General Gebhard von Blücher, but then turned south to engage Schwarzenberg's army as it advanced into Saxony. The Allies assembled 80,000 men outside Dresden in late August, but the cumbersome council of war of 25 August prevented Schwarzenberg from mounting anything more than five poorly coordinated columns in demonstration attacks. Napoleon, who had arrived in the city that evening, was able to counterattack and defeat Schwarzenberg in a two-day battle over 26–27 August. Napoleon then tried to defeat the Prussian and Swedish armies, giving Schwarzenberg the opportunity to guide his own army, now reinforced with Russian troops, northward and with the other Allied armies, concentrate against Napoleon at Leipzig in mid-October.

On 14 October a large French cavalry force engaged the Austro-Russian advance guard cavalry in an indecisive action at Liebertwolkwitz. Schwarzenberg's army faced the Grande Armée alone two days later in several actions, which halted the French counterattack, while Blücher arrived from the north with the (Prussian) Army of Silesia. Reinforced by Crown Prince Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte and his 60,000 Swedish troops from the Army of the North, Schwarzenberg tightened his grip around Leipzig and resumed the battle on 18 October to achieve a decisive victory. The overwhelming Allied onslaught forced the Grande Armée to retreat on 19 October, leaving 33,000 prisoners.

Showered with honors, Schwarzenberg pressed for a determined pursuit but was slowed by Metternich's political policies, which attempted to bring Napoleon to terms. Nevertheless, in late December, the Allies crossed the Rhine and advanced into France. By 23 January 1814 Schwarzenberg's troops had occupied Langres, Chaumont, and Châtillon-sur-Seine. On 1 February Schwarzenberg and Blücher launched a successful combined attack at Brienne, but Napoleon recovered to win three victories during 10–14 February against the Allies. Meanwhile, Schwarzenberg had defeated Marshal Claude Victor at Bray-sur-Seine but was then defeated by Napoleon at Montereau on 17 March, which forced him to retreat to Troyes. Napoleon continued to pursue Schwarzenberg, but left Paris open to Blücher. The French emperor divided his forces, which allowed Schwarzenberg to resume his advance. His victory at Arcis-sur-Aube over 20–21 March led to the capture of Paris on 31 March and forced Napoleon's abdication on 6 April.

Appointed president of the Hofkriegsrat in May, Schwarzenberg led the (Austrian) Army of the Rhine during the Hundred Days in 1815. Soon after, following the

death of his beloved sister Caroline, he fell ill. A stroke causing severe paralysis disabled him in 1817. In 1820, while revisiting the Leipzig battlefield, he suffered a second stroke and died on 15 October.

In his book *On War*, Clausewitz praised Blücher for his willingness to take risks with a smaller force, while criticizing Schwarzenberg for his timidity and hesitation in failing to pursue Napoleon in 1813 and bring about the final defeat of the French. However, Schwarzenberg's primary mission was to work within the political objectives set for him by Metternich and Emperor Francis. His army comprised most of the forces that Austria could field in central Europe and so he could not take risks. As a diplomat, Schwarzenberg had been less successful, but he had proved to be the right "political" field commander and raised Austrian prestige by his victory at Leipzig and the capture of Paris.

David Hollins

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amberg, Battle of; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Armistice of 1813; Austerlitz, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brienne, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Dresden, Battle of; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; France, Campaign in; Francis I, Emperor; Germany, Campaign in; Hohenlinden, Battle of; John, Archduke; Leipzig, Battle of; Liebertwolkwitz, Action at; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Mannheim Offensive; Marie Louise, Empress; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst; Montereau, Battle of; Neerwinden, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Ostrach, Battle of; Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, First Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tormasov, Alexander Petrovich, Count; Ulm, Surrender at; Victor, Claude Perrin; Wagram, Battle of; Würzburg, Battle of

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## Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832)

Poet, editor, critic, and translator, Sir Walter Scott initiated the writing of Romantic narrative historical novels, mainly about Scotland. Scott was born in Edinburgh on 15 August 1771. He was the third son and ninth child of lawyer Walter Scott and Anne Rutherford, whose father, John Rutherford, was chair of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh. At age 18 months Scott suffered from infantile paralysis in his right leg, which left him lame for the rest of his life. His parents sent him to his grandparents' farm Sandy Knowe, where young Scott grew up listening to Scottish ballads and stories, which instilled him with nationalistic pride as well as with enthusiasm for romance and history.

In 1779 Scott returned to his family in Edinburgh and studied at local schools. From the age of 15, Scott worked as an apprentice in his father's law office and studied for the bar at the University of Edinburgh, where he passed exams and was accepted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1792; he remained a practicing lawyer for the next four decades.

While vacationing in the English Lake District, Scott met the daughter of a French royalist émigré Marguerite Charlotte Charpentier, whom he married in December 1797. The couple eventually had four children: Sophie, Walter, Anne, and Charles. In 1799 Scott was appointed sheriff deputy of the county of Selkirk, which brought an annual salary of £300.

Scott was a firm Tory and supported the Act of Union of 1801. He abhorred popular insurrection and opposed the French Revolution. However, he also believed individuals were entitled to dignity that was denied many people during the Industrial Revolution. Scott's memories of childhood stories became the basis of his future novels.

Scott's passion for collecting ballads led to his first translations of German ballads that appeared in 1796 and 1799. In 1802 he established his literary reputation with his two-volume *Minstrels of the Scottish Border*, a collection of Scottish Border stories and ballads. In 1805 appeared the wildly popular *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, whose success determined Scott to make literature his principal undertaking. Thereafter he wrote historical novels such as *Rob Roy*, *Ivanhoe*, and *Heart of Midlothian*—all hugely popular. *Marmion* and *The Works of John Dryden* were published in 1808, and the *Lady of the Lake* in 1810. He also edited the works of Jonathan Swift, John Dryden, and other writers. In 1814 he began his series of *Waverley* novels, which were published anonymously before Scott acknowledged his authorship in 1827. He completed *Ivanhoe* in 1819, *Kenilworth* in 1821, *Quentin Durward* in 1823, and *Woodstock* in 1826. In 1827 he published *The Life of Napoleon Buona-partie* in nine volumes, followed by *The Maid of Perth* in

1828, *Anne of Geierstein* in 1829, and *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* in 1832.

The success of his novels brought great fame to Scott, who became by far the most popular of Scottish poets. He was given a baronetcy in 1818. He helped found the boys' school, Edinburgh Academy, in 1823 and managed the state visit of George IV to Edinburgh. However, Scott's fortunes changed with his wife's death in 1826. His involvement in his friends James and John Ballantyne's publishing house led to near bankruptcy in 1826. The debt was only cleared in 1847 when Scott's copyrights to his novels were sold. In 1831 Scott sailed to the Mediterranean to improve his health but suffered a severe stroke in Naples. Returning to Scotland, he died on 2 September 1832 and was buried beside his wife at Dryburgh Abbey.

Annette E. Richardson

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Keats, John; Romanticism; Union, Act of; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Southey, Robert; Wordsworth, William

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## Second Coalition, War of the (1798–1802)

After the Peace of Campo Formio (17 October 1797), Bonaparte, the victor of the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, received orders to prepare to invade Britain. He, however, suggested an alternative campaign. He realized the very great challenges in crossing the English Channel in the face of a superior enemy navy. Egypt, on the other hand, seemed to him to be the crossroads of the world, and a hinge for the British Empire in the East. He therefore proposed taking a force across the Mediterranean to invade the land of the pharaohs. In mid-May 1798, Bonaparte left the port of Toulon with some 36,000 men. The French managed to evade a British naval force, and landed at Malta where, on 10 June, they took the island from the Order of the Knights of St. John. Shortly thereafter, Bonaparte left a small garrison force and with the majority of his army proceeded to Egypt where his troops landed near Alexandria on 1 July.

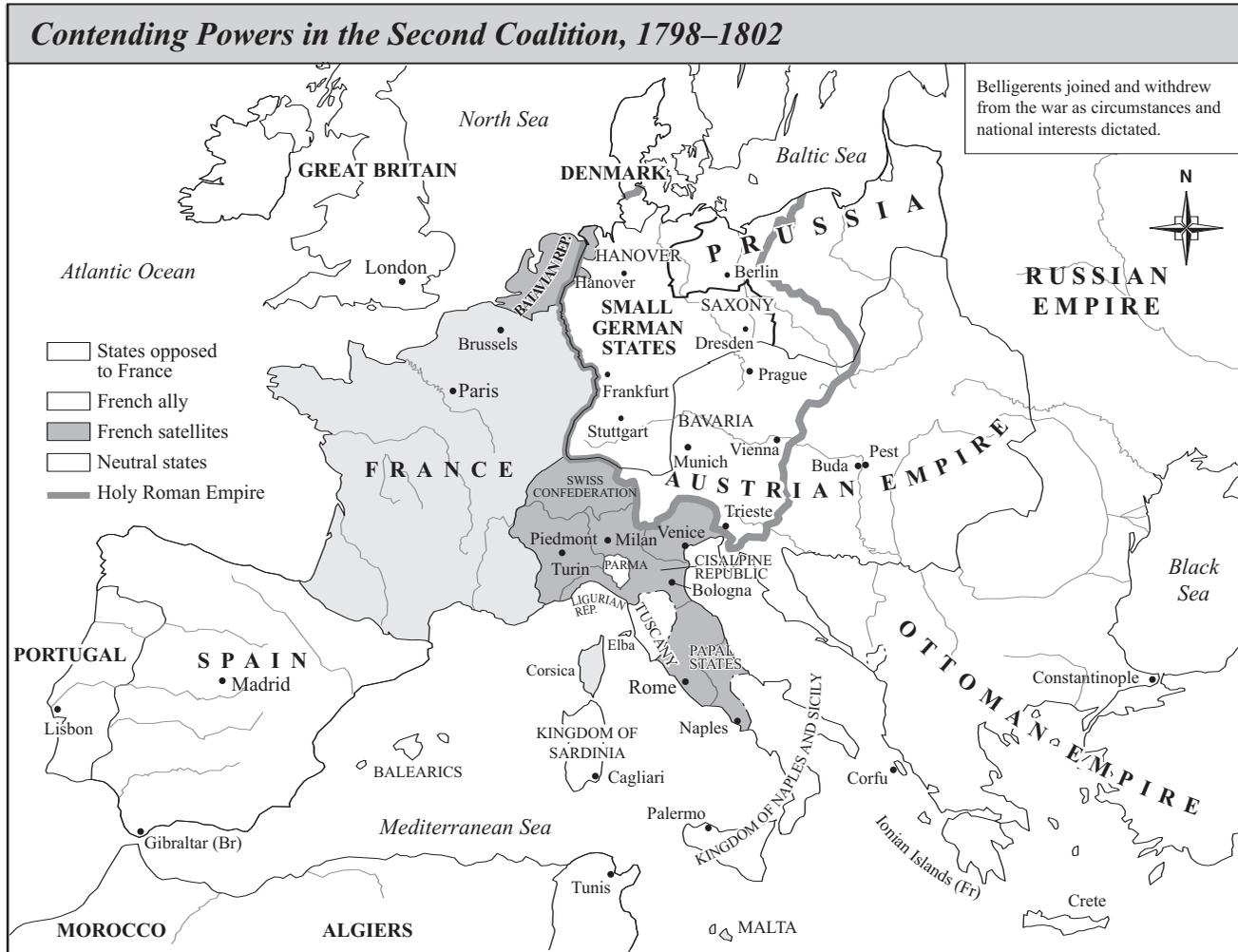
Bonaparte then fought a series of battles with the Mameluke rulers of Egypt. On 2 July, he seized Alexandria, and nearly three weeks later, on the twenty-first, the French fought a force of 6,000 Mameluke cavalry, together with a large army of local levies—perhaps as many as 54,000 infantry, though many of these sat out the battle. The Mamelukes attacked the French on the west side of the river Nile near the Pyramids. The French infantry, deployed in squares, held fast, and their firepower easily repulsed the repeated charges of their opponents. Bonaparte was so impressed with the Mamelukes' courage that he recruited some of them into his own units. Thereafter the French took Cairo. Bonaparte seemed to have achieved his goals.

As an aside, Napoleon and his troops made a remarkable discovery in the form of what was to become known as the Rosetta Stone, which later enabled scholars to understand Egyptian hieroglyphics, the language of official and religious writing in ancient Egypt.

At the height of this seemingly triumphant campaign, the fleet that had transported Bonaparte's army to Egypt suffered a catastrophic defeat on 1 August in Aboukir Bay by a British force commanded by Commodore Sir Horatio Nelson. The French ships had anchored in this bay, one of the entrances to the Nile delta, where Nelson brilliantly divided his force of thirteen ships in two, sending four vessels to attack on the landward side of the French and the remainder to attack on the seaward side, thus subjecting his enemy to bombardment from the port and starboard sides simultaneously. When the night battle ended, the British had captured or destroyed all but two ships in the French fleet. The victory at the Nile cut off Bonaparte's communications with France, and thus condemned his troops to ultimate defeat.

Bonaparte tried to escape the consequences of the naval defeat in Aboukir Bay and to preempt a Turkish offensive after Sultan Selim III declared war on France. He moved out of Egypt to invade Syria, brushing aside ineffective Turkish resistance at Jaffa and besieging the port city of Acre. The small garrison, led by the British admiral Sir Sidney Smith, and buoyed by two British ships anchored offshore, held on despite the presence of superior French forces outside the town. For a month, from mid-March to mid-April 1799, the French tried but failed to break into the city, and when plague struck his troops, Bonaparte had no choice but to raise the siege.

Meanwhile, once Austrian armies in Italy had largely reversed the gains Bonaparte had made in his brilliant campaigns of 1796–1797, Bonaparte decided to abandon his troops in Egypt. Moving secretly by frigate, he, several senior officers, some scientists, and about 200 troops, sailed for France on 22 August. The small group reached



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 51.

France on 9 October, and within a week Bonaparte had reached Paris to review the situation.

The military situation in Europe was in a fluid state. While Napoleon had been fighting in Egypt, the Second Coalition had come into being. Austria, Russia, Turkey, the Papal States, Portugal, Naples, and Britain had joined together to try to contain Revolutionary France. Despite its combined military power, the coalition's fundamental weakness proved to be its failure to compel all coalition partners to remain faithful to the alliance and not conclude a separate peace. In time, Bonaparte was able to pick apart the coalition, exposing its lack of genuine unity.

While Bonaparte was campaigning in Egypt, fighting had resumed on the European continent in 1799. There were three main theaters of conflict. A combined Anglo-Russian army was threatening North Holland, while Austrian armies with Russian support were moving through southern Germany to the Rhine and across northern Italy to reverse Bonaparte's great victories in the campaign for

Mantua of 1796–1797. The center of gravity of this broad campaign was northern Italy, and its outcome determined the fate of the Second Coalition. At first, the French assumed the offensive when Lazare Carnot, in charge of the overall French military effort, formulated a strategy that called for an attack on all three fronts. After some early successes, it seemed that Carnot's plan had proven overambitious. On 25 March 1799, at Stockach in southern Germany, the Austrians defeated a French army led by General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, who first retreated across the Rhine, and then conceded his command to General André Masséna. As part of the Allies' strategy, another Austrian army commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova moved into northern Italy and on 5 April, at Magnano, south of Verona, it met General Barthélemy Schérer's army, halted its attack, and broke the French right flank, whereupon Schérer's troops retreated westward, followed closely by the Austrians reinforced with a Russian army.

At Cassano, just east of Milan, the combined Austro-Russian army attacked on 27 April. Troops under Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov stormed the French position along the river Adda, and, despite hard-fought resistance from the badly outnumbered French, the Austrians seized the position, and soon thereafter occupied Milan and, later, Turin in late May. The French, for their part, retreated across northern Italy to Genoa.

To assist General Jean Moreau, whose army had retreated, the French government sent another force, commanded by General Jacques Macdonald, to northern Italy. Suvorov, realizing he could become trapped between the converging French armies, moved to attack Macdonald at the Trebbia River on 18–19 June. After two days of savage fighting, Macdonald retreated toward Moreau near Genoa, and it appeared that the Allies had reconquered Italy. The final battle took place north of Genoa at Novi, as General Barthélemy Joubert tried to stop Suvorov on 15 August. The larger Allied army seized the heights from the entrenched French defenders, leaving Joubert and four divisional commanders among the dead. Moreau then led the retreat back to France.

French forces managed to resist the Allied offensive on the northern front. A combined Anglo-Russian army landed in North Holland, and French forces under General Dominique Vandamme attacked on 19 September at Bergen op Zoom. While the British resisted the French surge, the Russians broke, and the Duke of York had to retreat north, ending the Allied threat from that theater.

The Allies also threatened southern Germany and Switzerland in the third offensive of its three-pronged assault. Between 4 and 7 June 1799, the Austrians and French clashed at Zürich in French-controlled Switzerland in a four-day battle that caused many casualties and forced the French under Masséna to retreat. The Austrian commander, Archduke Charles, became ill, and command devolved upon Suvorov, who continued the advance. He divided his army, sending different parts through the various mountain passes, where Masséna managed to hold up some columns while savagely beating others. As he maneuvered back and forth near Zürich on 25–26 September, Masséna dealt Suvorov such a terrible defeat that, disgusted with the strength of France's resistance and the weak Allied effort, Tsar Paul I withdrew Russia from the Second Coalition in late October.

By this point Bonaparte had returned from Egypt and sought to restore France's crumbling position in northern Italy. He helped to engineer a coup, claiming that the Directory, which had led France, was not up to the challenge. What became known as the coup of Brumaire took its name from the date in the short-lived Republican calendar on which it occurred: 9–10 November (1799), or 18–19

Brumaire, Year VIII. The new government, the Consulate, first established three consuls in emulation of the Roman Republic, with Bonaparte ultimately establishing himself as First Consul. Now firmly in charge of the government at home, he moved to gain control of the war effort. He realized that the Austrians were the key, and the Italian front was the center of gravity. He intended to have French forces hold back the Allies on the other two fronts while he fought for decisive victory in northern Italy.

As Masséna tried to defend Genoa, Bonaparte gathered forces, and moved from Switzerland through the Alpine passes in late spring 1800. Masséna surrendered Genoa on 4 June, and Austrian troops under *General der Kavallerie* Michael von Melas occupied the city. Meanwhile, Bonaparte began a rapid march through the St. Bernard Pass to confront Melas who, though cheered by his victory at Genoa, remained concerned about Bonaparte's approach. The French vanguard fought the Austrian rear guard near Montebello on 9 June and forced the Austrians back, as more and more French troops moved to concentrate east of Alessandria and south of the river Po.

The result was the Battle of Marengo, fought on 14 June 1800. Realizing that Bonaparte had concentrated on his rear—his line of retreat and communications through Italy to Vienna—Melas attacked, surprising Bonaparte and driving the outnumbered French back several miles throughout the morning and early afternoon. As more forces arrived, Bonaparte continued to commit troops to halt the attack. Meanwhile, Melas retired to Alessandria that afternoon and turned over command to a subordinate. The Austrians then paused, giving Bonaparte time to reorganize his troops, and to commit 6,000 late-arriving French cavalry, whom he sent crashing into the Austrians' flank. The reinvigorated and strengthened French army transformed a near defeat into a decisive victory: Melas agreed to a truce, and withdrew north of the Mincio River and east of the Po, while Bonaparte returned to France.

As Bonaparte was reestablishing French supremacy in northern Italy, and as the fighting stalled in Holland, the French regained the initiative in southern Germany. Moreau followed up his victory, the second Battle of Stockach, on 3 May, moving from Baden into Bavaria. Pursuing the retreating Austrians, Moreau attacked on 19 June with such determination that his opponents, though outnumbering his own forces, could not organize a coordinated defense below Höchstädt, on the Danube, and after eighteen hours had to abandon the town.

Bonaparte's victory at Marengo led to six months of armistice talks between France and Austria. Fighting had ended in Holland, and both Bonaparte and Moreau halted after their victories at Marengo and Höchstädt. As negotia-

tions ebbed and flowed, the Austrians built up their army facing Moreau to more than 130,000, while Bonaparte reinforced Moreau to 119,000. On 3 December, the Austrian commander, Archduke John, seeking to turn Moreau's left flank, attacked him east of Munich, near Hohenlinden, only to be decisively defeated. In the course of fifteen days, the Austrians retreated nearly 200 miles, all the way to Vienna.

Two other French armies maintained the pressure on Austria. Macdonald moved from Switzerland into the Tyrolean Alps, and another army commanded by General Guillaume Brune completed the task of pushing the Austrians out of northern Italy. By this point, the Austrian emperor, Francis I, realized the futility of his position, and signed the Treaty of Lunéville on 8 February 1801, which meant that Britain remained France's only significant opponent.

Undaunted, Britain took advantage of Bonaparte's preoccupation with the fighting in northern Italy to confront the remaining French forces in Egypt. On 8 March 1801, Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby landed an army at Aboukir Bay, site of Nelson's great naval victory several years before. As the British force marched to Alexandria, French general Jacques Menou (successor of General Jean Kléber, who had been assassinated) came out to oppose it. Ferocious fighting on 20–21 March resulted in a British victory, and the subsequent French surrender of Cairo and Alexandria, in June. All other French forces followed suit and were returned to France in British ships.

Britain also maintained its control of the seas. As the Second Coalition teetered toward defeat, many of the Baltic countries came together in the League of Armed Neutrality (consisting of Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Russia) in order to protect themselves from Royal Navy vessels sent to the Baltic to interdict neutral commerce with France and her allies. On 2 April 1801, a British fleet under Nelson sailed into Copenhagen harbor, severely damaging twelve Danish warships in a fierce struggle. Denmark quickly agreed to peace with Britain and a withdrawal from the league, and when Tsar Paul was assassinated, his successor, Alexander I, adopted a decidedly pro-British policy. Thus ended any further threat posed by the Baltic states.

After about a year of inaction, during which time Britain found itself powerless to contest French power on the Continent, and France, conversely, proved itself unable to challenge Britain's mastery of the seas, the two belligerents signed a treaty at Amiens on 25 March 1802, ending the War of the Second Coalition. This peace was to last a mere fourteen months before Britain and France once more went to war in what contemporaries in Britain called "the Great War," now known as the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815).

Charles M. Dobbs

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Aboukir, Battle of; Acre, Siege of; Albeck, Battle of; Alexander I, Tsar; Alexandria, Battle of; Algeciras, First Battle of; Algeciras, Second Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Armed Neutrality, League of; Bergen, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Cairo, Uprising in; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Cassano, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Consulate, The; Copenhagen, Battle of; Directory, The; El Arish, Convention of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Francis I, Emperor; Genoa, Siege of; Heliopolis, Battle of; Höchstädt, Battle of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); John, Archduke; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajoval; Lunéville, Treaty of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Magnano, Battle of; Malta, Operations on; Mannheim Offensive; Marengo, Battle of; Masséna, André; Melas, Michael Friedrich Benedikt Freiherr von; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussey, baron; Middle East Campaign; Montebello, Battle of; Moreau, Jean Victor; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; North Holland, Campaign in; Novi, Battle of; Ostrach, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Pyramids, Battle of the; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Rosetta Stone; San Giuliano, Battle of; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Shubra Khit, Action at; Smith, Sir William Sidney; Stockach, First Battle of; Stockach, Second Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Trebbia, Battle of the; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Verona, Battle of; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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### Ségur, Philippe Paul, comte de (1780–1873)

French general, diplomat, and historian, Philippe Paul Ségur wrote the first widely published eyewitness account of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, *History of Napoleon and the Grand Army in 1812*. The book's accuracy has been called into question ever since it first appeared. Ségur may have been prone to exaggeration, but in action he was a brave officer, and he was wounded several times in the service of Napoleon.

Born 4 November 1780 into a noble military family, Ségur joined the cavalry in 1800, enlisting in the Bonaparte Hussars. The fact that he was the grandson of a marshal and the son of a general smoothed the path of promotion, and he was quickly made an officer. Ségur ultimately proved himself capable on his own merits. When the Bonaparte Hussars were disbanded in 1801, Ségur became an aide-de-camp to General Jacques Etienne Macdonald. He was attached to General Géraud Duroc's staff serving Napoleon in 1804. Ségur negotiated the terms of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich's surrender to Napoleon at Ulm in 1805. In 1806 he served at the siege of Gaeta in Naples. In 1807, while with Napoleon's main army in Poland, Ségur was wounded and taken

prisoner by the Russians. Released after the Treaty of Tilsit, Ségur again served as an aide-de-camp. He received two wounds at Somosierra in Spain, on 30 November 1808, courageously charging along with the Polish light cavalry of Napoleon's bodyguard against strong enemy positions. Promoted to colonel for his gallantry, he was made a count in 1809, and was then sent on diplomatic missions to St. Petersburg and Vienna.

Ségur was promoted to general in 1812 and accompanied Napoleon on his disastrous invasion of Russia, thus gaining inspiration for the famous book. In early 1813, Ségur helped to organize new cavalry regiments for the Imperial Guard, and fought at Leipzig and Hanau later that year. In 1814, he served in the defense of France during the Allied invasion. Commanding a brigade of Imperial Guard cavalry, he fought at Montmirail on 11 February. Leading his brigade at Rheims, on 13 March, he was in the thick of the fight, suffering musket ball and bayonet wounds.

Ségur rallied to Napoleon during the Hundred Days and retired from service when the Bourbons returned again, despite his status as a member of the old nobility. He reentered the army in 1818, and in 1824 published his memoirs on the Russian campaign. The book was very successful, but many veterans of the campaign fiercely criticized the work. The controversy resulted in a duel fought between Ségur and General Gaspard Gourgaud, during which Ségur was wounded. Ségur embraced the Revolution of 1830, and was made a peer of France by King Louis-Philippe. He retired from the army after the Revolution of 1848. He wrote several histories, none as popular as his work on the 1812 campaign. Ségur died on 25 February 1873.

Ralph Ashby

*See also* Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de Frioul; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Gaeta, Sieges of; Germany, Campaign in; Hanau, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Leipzig, Battle of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Montmirail, Battle of; Peninsular War; Rheims, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Somosierra, Action at; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Ulm, Surrender at

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### Semaphore

The French Revolution has long been hailed for its scientific and technological advances, but one that impressed

contemporaries is today virtually forgotten. The semaphore, or optical telegraph, of Claude Chappe solved the age-old problem of quick and accurate communication over long distances, and moreover permitted bidirectional and secure transmission of complex messages of unanticipated content. The Revolution provided the demand and thus the resources for the experiment, which flourished and spawned imitations in other countries until the advent of electrical telegraphy more than half a century later.

In the mature system, highly disciplined pairs of operators transmitted a sophisticated code between elevated stations (on natural heights, existing structures such as churches, or towers built for the purpose) spaced 8 to 10 kilometers apart along painstakingly chosen routes. At the top of each station, a post supported a crossbar, or “regulator,” at each end of which was a shorter “indicator.” By means of pulleys, the operator rotated the three arms so as to form any of ninety-eight configurations, ninety-two of which carried content. Each of these two-part signals referred to one of ninety-two codes on one of ninety-two pages in a codebook (a vocabulary of 8,464 terms, which supplements tripled by 1799). Chappe achieved speed and accuracy by encoding words or phrases rather than letters and sending them down the line one at a time rather than all at once. Security was ensured because only the “directors” at either end of the line knew the codes.

Ideological as much as technical factors persuaded the Convention to authorize funding in 1793. By shrinking social and geographical distance, the telegraph, like the departmental system, promised to unite the disparate groups and regions of the new nation. Above all, though, the system administered by Chappe and his brothers provided valuable military information in real time. In the summer of 1794, the first line carried news of victories from Lille to Paris in an hour. New lines gradually radiated outward from the capital to the major cities of France and its conquered territories. Under ideal conditions (daylight and clement weather), one signal could travel 760 kilometers to Toulon in 12 minutes, versus three days for a rider and more than a week for a coach. Napoleon, who for a time demanded to review every transmission in advance, extended the system even to Amsterdam and Venice. In response, the British created a counterpart for the Admiralty (1796–1814) and one in Spain during the Peninsular War.

After the Restoration, the Chappe network continued to grow within the reduced borders of France, but as before, it remained under the control of the state. By the 1830s it comprised over 1,000 employees and 500 stations along some 4,800 kilometers of lines between twenty-nine cities.

*James Wald*

*See also* Chappe, Claude; Convention, The; Peninsular War

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### **Senyavin, Dmitry Nikolayevich (1763–1831)**

Russian admiral. Born to a noble family from the Kaluga *gubernia* (province), he studied in the Naval Cadet Corps and began service in the Baltic Fleet in 1778, becoming a midshipman in 1780. He took part in a cruise to Portugal in 1780–1781 and transferred to the Black Sea Fleet, where he commanded a packetboat in 1786. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1788–1792, becoming adjutant general in 1788 and commanding the ship of the line *Navarkhia* in the Battle of Cape Kaliakria. In the 1790s, he served under Admiral Fedor Ushakov and took command of the ship of the line *St. Peter* in 1796. In 1798–1799, he took part in Ushakov’s expedition in the Mediterranean. Returning to Russia, he became the commandant of the Black Sea port of Kherson and later rose to rear admiral and commandant of Revel, on the Baltic. In August 1805 he became a vice admiral and took command of the Russian naval squadron in the Adriatic. He fought the French at Cattaro (Kotor) and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in 1806.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812, he defeated the Turkish Fleet at the Dardanelles, Tenedos, and Mt. Athos. However, the Treaty of Tilsit undermined his successes and forced him to seek neutral ports at Trieste and Lisbon, where he was blockaded by the Royal Navy in 1808. Senyavin was forced to place his ships in British custody and returned to Russia in 1809, where he was reprimanded for losing his ships. Senyavin served as commandant of the port of Revel in 1810 before retiring three years later. Tsar Nicholas I recalled him to active duty in 1826–1829, when Senyavin commanded the Baltic Fleet.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

- See also* Russian Navy; Russo-Turkish War; Tilsit, Treaties of
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### **Sérurier, Jean Mathieu Philibert, comte (1742–1819)**

Sérurier was one of four officers to receive the honorific title of Marshal of the Empire. He had been a soldier during

the Seven Year's War (1756–1763), and it seemed his military career had ended before the French Revolution had begun. During the Revolutionary period, however, he fought in Italy from 1795 and helped Bonaparte in the coup d'état of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799). From this point he entered political life and was governor of the Invalides.

Sérurier's early career had led him through the Seven Years' War, and at the start of the Revolution he commanded a regiment stationed in Corsica. In 1791 he was moved to Perpignan, in southeastern France on the Pyrenean front, and was employed in putting down royalist elements. In the political climate of the time he was accused of royalist sympathies and was only saved from imprisonment or worse by the intervention of Paul Barras, a prominent member of the Convention. Having avoided arrest, he was recommended for promotion, and by 1794 he was a *général de division* in Italy. In 1795 he fought under the command of General André Masséna at Loano. He then captured Ceva early in 1796 and at the Battle of Mondovi effectively put Piedmont out of the coalition against France.

Sérurier then fought at Borghetto and was given the responsibility by Bonaparte of conducting the siege of Mantua. He was ordered to break the siege in response to the attack by the Austrian *Feldmarschall* Dagobert Graf Würmser, but did not take part in the Castiglione campaign due to illness. In 1797 Sérurier defeated an Austrian force commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Giovanni, Marquis di Provera at La Favorita during his attempt to relieve Mantua. Sérurier had the honor of accepting the surrender of Mantua on 16 January 1797. He fought at the Piave and Tagliamento later in the year, and then ill health returned and rendered him unable to hold a field command. He managed to return to Italy in August 1798, but was forced to surrender to the Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov at Verderio in April 1799.

Sérurier was granted parole, and on returning to Paris he played a part in the coup d'état of Brumaire. In recognition of his help, Bonaparte made him a senator, recognizing the fact that active command was now beyond him. He was vice president of the Senate in 1802 and in 1804 was appointed governor of the Invalides. In May of that year he was made a Marshal of the Empire; in Sérurier's case this was effectively an honorific title. In 1808 he became a Count of the Empire. He carried out the duties of governor of the Invalides to the best of his capacity, and when Paris was in imminent danger of occupation in 1814 he ordered the destruction of many trophies of war and captured colors. Upon the restoration of the monarchy, he was made a peer, a title recognized by Napoleon on his return from exile in 1815. However, in the second restoration he was replaced at the Invalides and died in 1819.

Ralph Baker

*See also* Borghetto, Battle of; Brumaire, Coup of; Castiglione, Battle of; Ceva, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Loano, Battle of; Mantua, Sieges of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Mondovi, Battle of; Sardinia; Second Coalition, War of the; Standards, Flags, and Eagles; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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## Seventh Coalition

*See* Waterloo Campaign

## Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792–1822)

British Romantic poet, author, Classical scholar, and philosophical Revolutionary.

Shelley was born in West Sussex on 4 August 1792, during the infancy of the French Revolution. Too young to experience the change it ushered in, his emergence into adulthood coincided with Napoleon's defeat, making him witness to the conservative backlash that accompanied it. Shelley became one of the greatest members of what may be considered the second generation of the Romantic movement, the one that flourished after the reestablishment of conservative political and religious rule throughout Europe following the Congress of Vienna. Purportedly representing the triumph of reason over superstition, the French Revolution built upon the Enlightenment and defeated the last vestiges of feudalism that had once supported Romanticism and chivalry. Nevertheless, Revolutionary art and literature celebrated Romanticism, and for many, Shelley defines the Romantic movement.

Shelley began his education at Eton College at the age of twelve, where he discovered the works of the anarchist philosopher and Revolutionary author, William Godwin, and developed an affinity for the ideals of the French Revolution. In 1810, he began his studies at Oxford, but the tradition and conformity he found there proved too confining for the young poet, and he was eventually expelled for publishing *The Necessity of Atheism*, condemning compulsory state Christianity.

Following his expulsion, Shelley married Harriet Westbrook and spent two years in various places, including Ireland, where Shelley's Revolutionary tendencies grew

even stronger and where he published a *Declaration of Rights*. In 1813, Shelley wrote the radical *Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem*, reflecting his socialist tendencies and his disdain for political and religious authority. The poem was not published until 1821, long after the British Revolutionary fervor of the 1790s had waned, but its impact as a mixture of romance and Revolutionary utopianism could not be ignored, particularly by the increasingly radical working class.

Shelley left Harriet and his two children in 1814 for Godwin's daughter, Mary, and the two fled to the Continent, where they met Lord Byron and began a strong attachment that continued until Shelley's death. Three weeks after Harriet's apparent suicide in December 1816, Shelley and Mary Godwin were married. The couple soon became a part of the great corps of British Romantics in Italy, including Byron, Leigh Hunt, and the ailing John Keats. During this last phase of his life, Shelley published many of his most important works, including the lyrical *Laon and Cythna*, or *The Revolt of Islam*, which advocated radical, yet bloodless reform and *Prometheus Unbound*, a celebration of the individuality of man, who serves no master, political or religious.

After four productive years in Italy, Shelley drowned in July 1822 at the age of thirty, already arguably the greatest of the Romantic poets of his generation. For Shelley and his circle, unlike earlier authors such as Sir Walter Scott, who were drawn to the romance of the chivalry of the Middle Ages but repelled by revolutionary politics, revolution and romance were intertwined; the politics of the one were present in the language of the other. They drew their utopian vision of what should be from what Shelley called "the master theme of the epoch—the French Revolution," and sought through words and action to bring about their own revolution.

Jason Musteen

*See also* Blake, William; Byron, George Gordon Noel, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Keats, John; Romanticism; Scott, Sir Walter; Southey, Robert; Vienna, Congress of; Wordsworth, William

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## Ships of the Line

In the age of fighting sail, ships of the line constituted the most powerful warships, those capable of taking up a position in the main battle line in a sea fight and absorbing the punishment from enemy fire, as well as making a contribution to destroying the opposing line. Such ships were also known as line-of-battle ships, a designation that gave the name to the modern battleship. Heavily armed and manned, they conveyed great national prestige. They were square-rigged ships with three masts and two or three gun decks. They were rated according to the number of guns they carried, from 64 to 120 guns or more. Ships of the line consisted of first through third rates. First rates mounted 100 guns or more, second rates had 90–98 guns, and third rates carried 64–80 guns.

When large, long-range guns were introduced aboard warships, boarding and ramming declined as tactics. The first guns at sea had been positioned high in the ship, but naval architects soon discovered that the safest way to arrange the heavier cannon was to place them low in the hull, complete with gunports, to facilitate fire in the form of broadsides. Since the ships' most powerful guns were mounted in their sides, the most effective tactic in battle was a line ahead formation (ships placed end to end following the same course). Battles at sea between squadrons and fleets became stately affairs with the opposing sides proceeding in parallel lines and blasting away at one another. The line ahead tactic also had the advantage of protecting the vulnerable, more lightly armed bow and stern and preventing the ship from being "raked" by an opponent, during which enemy shot could conceivably travel down the entire length of a deck.

By the time of the French Revolutionary Wars, the smallest ship deemed capable of standing in the battle line was the third-rate 64-gun warship, although many held that the 74-gun should be the smallest warship in a battle line. The British kept their 64s in service longer than did the French because, given their extensive empire, numbers of ships were more important than their individual strength. The 64-gun ship was also cheaper to build and maintain than the 74.

The 74-gun ship of the line, developed first by the French and Spanish, was actually the most numerous of its type in the Royal Navy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. An excellent compromise, it combined superior sailing ability with strong firepower (it was the smallest ship capable of carrying 32-pounders on its lower gun deck). In addition to service in the battle line, it performed numerous other duties, including detached service and convoy protection. In many respects, it was the workhorse of this period at sea. The French had larger

two-deckers in 80-gun ships of the line, but they were expensive to build and maintain, and they were at the limit of ship length possible with the wooden construction of the period.

The largest ships of the line were the first rates with three-gun decks, mounting 100 guns or more. They were usually the fleet flagships. They tended to be ponderous vessels (the 100-gun HMS *Victory* could make only 8 knots), but this was not a serious drawback when a fleet moved at the speed of its slowest vessels. The French initiated the construction of even larger first rates of 110 guns or more, which the British were then obliged to follow.

Ships of the line required the largest pieces of timber, were immensely complex and technologically challenging, and took years to build. As such, they were the most expensive ships per ton to construct. The *Victory*, Vice Admiral Viscount Horatio Nelson's flagship at the Battle of Trafalgar (21 October 1805), displaced about 3,500 tons. To build her took about 100 acres of woodland (principally oak), and her standard and running rigging alone ran about 27 miles in length. Although such ships required large crews (the *Victory* at Trafalgar had 821 officers and men) and were costly to maintain, they were generally well maintained and tended to have long service lives. The *Victory* was begun in 1759, launched in 1765, and commissioned in 1778. She went through extensive repairs during 1800–1803 but remained in active service until 1813 (and technically is still a commissioned Royal Navy warship).

The French produced some excellent ships and lengthened them to allow them to carry more guns, leading the British to follow suit. The *Ville de Paris*, completed in 1795, was 190 feet long on her gun deck, compared to 186 feet for the *Victory*. The largest ship of the line of the period, however, was the Spanish *Santísima Trinidad*, which carried 130–136 guns on four decks. She displaced some 4,000 tons and had a crew of approximately 1,100 men. Attacked by four British ships of the line at Trafalgar, she was badly damaged and forced to strike her colors, but sank in the great storm following the battle.

Armament of ships of the line varied considerably. By the Napoleonic period, ships rated at 110 and 120 guns each usually mounted 32-pounders on their lower deck, 24-pounders on their middle deck, and 18-pounders on the upper deck. Carronades, including 68-pounders—only in use by the British and Americans—were not included in the rating armament but were often mounted on the forecastle and quarterdeck, along with a few long guns. At Trafalgar, for example, the *Victory* mounted thirty 32-pounders, twenty-eight 24-pounders, thirty 12-pounders, twelve quarterdeck 12-pounders, and two 68-pounder carronades.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* Artillery (Naval); Blockade; French Navy; Frigates; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Royal Navy; Sloops; Spanish Navy; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Shrapnel

Innovative form of antipersonnel ammunition employed by the Royal Artillery. Officially known as spherical case, shrapnel soon came to bear the name of its inventor, Lieutenant Henry Shrapnel, who invented this novel device in 1784. Shrapnel was accepted into British service in 1803 and first used in action against the Dutch in Surinam the following year. From 1804, when its inventor was appointed senior assistant inspector of the artillery, the Royal Artillery adopted shrapnel as a standard form of ammunition, along with existing forms of ammunition: round shot, canister, grape-, and case shot.

The shrapnel shell consisted of a hollow metal sphere or casing, with a thinner body than that of an ordinary exploding shell, which it resembled. It could be fired from ordinary field pieces or howitzers, and in its original form, it was packed with carbine balls mixed with a charge of gunpowder, though it could also contain scraps of metal. With the use of a timed fuse, explosion could be delayed until the shell arrived over its target, and on bursting it would shower its contents at high speed and with theoretically devastating results, especially against tight formations of infantry and cavalry. A 6-pound shrapnel shell had a spread of 250 yards at point-blank range.

Nevertheless, shrapnel's effectiveness very much depended on, above all, the gunner's meticulous care and skill in timing, which meant correctly adjusting the length of the fuse, so calculated to explode above the target. Failure could produce two different, equally disappointing, results: the trajectory might be correct, but the fuse might be set too short, in which case the explosion cast the contents in front of the target. Conversely, the timing of the fuse

could be correct, but the trajectory might be incorrect, in which case the shell burst behind the target. There were also all-too-frequent occurrences of shells exploding in the barrel when gunners used too much powder in the charge, though this did not result when they fired shrapnel from howitzers or mortars. Shrapnel could also be used in Congreve rockets, which when fired took an erratic flight path and exploded, causing considerable alarm to the enemy.

The British enjoyed exclusive use of shrapnel during the Napoleonic Wars, and widely employed it in the Peninsular War, from the Battle of Vimeiro (21 August 1808) onward. It was, however, the focus of initial skepticism from a number of officers, including Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington, who after the Battle of Busaco (27 September) questioned its effectiveness until gunners substituted musket balls, with satisfactory results, inflicting far higher casualties than any other form of ammunition effective at an equivalent range (over 600 yards). Shrapnel was particularly employed at long ranges in order to compensate for the lighter field pieces usually employed by the British Army, which had a shorter range than their heavier French counterparts. Indeed, over time shrapnel became an important component of Royal Artillery ammunition, and it continued to be used in Spain and in the Waterloo campaign, by which time it accounted for 15 percent of all stocks of field piece ammunition and as much as half of howitzer ammunition. The French remained ignorant of this novel weapon until after the Napoleonic Wars.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Artillery (Land); British Army; Busaco, Battle of; Congreve Rockets; Peninsular War; Vimeiro, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Shubra Khit, Action at (13 July 1798)

A minor engagement between French forces under General Napoleon Bonaparte and Mameluke troops under Murad Bey near the town of Shubra Khit, in Egypt.

The (French) Army of the Orient landed in Egypt on 2 July 1798 and quickly captured the city of Alexandria. After resting his troops, Bonaparte led five divisions under

generals Jean Reynier, Louis Desaix, Charles Dugua, Honoré Vial, and Louis Bon across the desert to the Egyptian capital of Cairo, while a flotilla under Captain Jean-Baptiste Perrée sailed upstream on the Nile. French troops suffered severely from heat, sickness, and thirst before reaching El Rahmaniya on 10 July and resting on the banks of the Nile, where they eagerly threw themselves into the river to satisfy their burning thirsts and feasted on watermelons that later spread diarrhea in the army. That same day, Desaix's advance elements had a skirmish with a Mameluke detachment led by Muhammed Bey el-Elfi. Bonaparte soon learned that a Mameluke force of some 4,000 cavalrymen and several thousand infantry supported by a flotilla was approaching the town of Shubra Khit, 8 miles south of El Rahmaniya.

All French forces therefore marched at once to Shubra Khit, where they arrived at dawn on 13 July. Bonaparte deployed each division in square, six ranks deep on each side and with artillery at the corners. The Mamelukes, meanwhile, formed a semicircle around the French squares and waited for an opportune moment to attack. The action initially began on the Nile, where the French and Mameluke flotillas engaged in an artillery duel around 9:00 A.M. Soon after, the Mameluke cavalry charged the French, but, unfamiliar with European-style tactics, they suffered heavy casualties every time they approached the squares. After over an hour of indecisive attacks, the French division switched to the offensive and forced the Mamelukes to return to their initial positions. Bonaparte diverted part of his troops to the Nile, where the Mameluke flotilla threatened to overwhelm the French ships by 10:30 A.M. French reinforcements arrived in time to contain enemy attacks. Finally, Perrée's flagship (a *xebec*, a shallow-draft, three-masted vessel, often with lateen sails, commonly used in the Mediterranean and on the Nile) *Le Cerf* scored a hit on the main Mameluke ship, which, as it was carrying ammunition, exploded and forced the remaining ships to flee. The Mameluke cavalry also withdrew in their wake. Bonaparte resumed his advance on Cairo the following day.

The French infantry divisions suffered no casualties, while the French flotilla lost some 30 men, mostly wounded. Precise Mameluke casualties remain unclear and are estimated at some 400–500 men. The location of the battle is often referred to as Chebreiss in French.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Middle East Campaign; Murad Bey; Ottoman Army; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer, comte

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### **Shuvalov, Pavel Andreyevich, Prince (1776–1823)**

Russian general and corps commander. Shuvalov was born to a noble family and enlisted as a cornet in the Life Guard Horse Regiment in 1786. He became a sub-lieutenant in January 1793. Shuvalov served in the Russo-Polish War, distinguishing himself at Pragain in 1794. Promoted to colonel on 29 August 1798, Shuvalov was discharged from the army on 16 April 1799. However, he volunteered for the campaign of 1799 in Italy and Switzerland, where he distinguished himself at the St. Gotthard Pass. He was officially restored to the army with the rank of major general on 27 September 1801.

Shuvalov became *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Glukhovsk Cuirassier Regiment on 23 June 1803, *chef* of the Serpukhov Dragoon Regiment on 5 September 1806, and again *chef* of the Glukhovsk Cuirassier Regiment on 17 October 1806. During the 1806–1807 campaigns in Poland, he served with the 9th Division in General Ivan Nikolayevich Essen's 1st Corps. During the Russo-Swedish War of 1808–1809, Shuvalov commanded a corps and captured Torneo in the spring of 1809, for which he was promoted to lieutenant general on 1 April 1809 and adjutant general on 19 July 1808. He completed several diplomatic missions to Vienna between December 1809 and May 1811.

During the 1812 campaign, Shuvalov commanded the 4th Corps in the 1st Western Army but was replaced because of poor health by General Alexander Osterman-Tolstoy on 13 July 1812. After recuperating, he attended Tsar Alexander I during the campaigns in Germany and France in 1813–1814 and distinguished himself at Kulm, Leipzig, Brienne, Arcis-sur-Aube, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre. Shuvalov took part in the negotiations for the surrender of Paris in March 1814 and, as the Russian representative, accompanied Napoleon to Elba. After the war, he resumed his work in the diplomatic service until his death on 13 December 1823.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Elba; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Italian

Campaigns (1799–1800); Kulm, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; St. Gotthard Pass, Actions at the; Switzerland, Campaign in

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### **Sicily**

Since 1738, the political fate of the realm of Sicily had been linked to that of Naples under the Spanish House of Bourbon. King Ferdinand III (IV of Naples) ruled Sicily throughout the Napoleonic years, with a short interlude under his son Francis from January 1812 to July 1814. The Napoleonic Wars in Italy exacerbated preexisting political tensions on the island between the Neapolitan court and the autonomist bent of Sicilian feudal barons. At the same time, the key role of Sicily in the Mediterranean theater led the British government to keep the island under military control and heavily interfere in her domestic affairs.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the seeds of discontent were flowering among Sicilian noble landowners, who felt menaced by bleak economic prospects and Neapolitan centralizing policies, with restrictions on their feudal privileges and tax immunities. Such tensions grew stronger in 1799 and from 1806 to 1815, when the French occupation of Naples forced the king and his court to flee to Sicily, under the protection of the British fleet. Ferdinand did not abandon his profligate lifestyle and spent most of his time at the royal hunting lodge near Corleone. His wife Maria Carolina, daughter of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa, possessed a much more active interest in politics, sometimes with a pro-French bias. Both, however, continued to ignore Sicilian particularism, the recovery of Naples being their only concern. Toward this end, new taxes were imposed, which considerably reduced the profits the barons were expecting from the British military occupation of the island (1806–1815) as well as from the exploitation of Sicily's sulfur mines. At various stages, the princes of Cassaro, Belmonte, and Castelnovo took the lead in the baronial political revolt against the court.

After 1806, the nobles actively cooperated with British diplomatic representatives, who were suspicious of the Bourbon intrigues and wanted to keep a tight hold on Sicily. By maintaining a garrison of over 17,000 men on the island, the British discouraged any French landing. The British also employed local manpower to raise new units,

notably the Sicilian Light Infantry Regiment, which in 1807 fought against the Turks in Egypt, and the Calabrian Free Corps, which distinguished itself in Catalonia, in eastern Spain, in 1812–1813. Three other regiments of Italian levies were formed in Sicily; all saw action in Spain in 1812 and in Italy in 1813–1814.

In 1811, Major General Lord William Bentinck was appointed military commander of Sicily. In the course of pursuing his own ambitions—which often put him at odds with the British government’s instructions—Bentinck feared that the conflict between the barons and the court could threaten British control of the island. Politically a Whig, he caused growing concern among the local feudal lords over the issue of constitutional rights. With Bentinck’s support, the barons summoned a new parliament in 1812 to approve a “liberal” constitution. According to the Constitution of July 1812, the king of Naples allowed Sicily a greater degree of political and fiscal autonomy, while the barons renounced most feudal privileges, a rather paradoxical conclusion to a process that had begun with the claim of constitutional rights in defense of those very privileges.

The Sicilian constitutional experiment did not, however, last long. After the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), King Ferdinand was allowed to return to Naples. In 1816, the Neapolitan and Sicilian realms were reunited under the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

*Marco Gioannini*

*See also* Ferdinand IV, King; Naples; Vienna, Congress of  
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## Sickness and Disease

Sickness and disease killed and incapacitated far more soldiers than did enemy fire during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Even soldiers wounded in battle were at greater risk of dying through infection than of the wound itself. The principles of hygiene were not fully understood, and the science of microbiology did not emerge until later in the nineteenth century; thus the spread of infection was a mystery to medical practitioners of the period. Conflicting theories as to the source of disease included an imbalance in the body’s humors and a miasma emanating from marshy and foul-smelling areas. The sheer scale of disease within an army often overwhelmed the medical services, and army doctors often succumbed to the illnesses they were treating.

Of all soldiers who died during the period between 1792 and 1815, two of every three died of disease, and these diseases were many and varied. However, while armies suffered greatly from sickness and disease, it should not be forgotten that civilians also succumbed to life-threatening illnesses, exacerbated by poor living conditions, poor hygiene, and lack of effective antibiotics. Epidemics of disease swept through both military and civilian populations.

Dysentery was present in all the armies involved, and one estimate is that in the late eighteenth century, 30 percent of an army would be suffering from this disease at any one time. It was a problem for armies that spent long periods encamped in one place, as water supplies became contaminated with the sewage from thousands of men and horses. This illness killed and incapacitated troops in all theaters of the war.

Next to dysentery, typhus was a major killer of soldiers, a disease spread via the body louse. Close bodily contact and the sharing of infested clothing and bedding disseminated this infection throughout the armies of the period. The disease was known as gaol fever and ship fever, and during the Peninsular War there is no doubt that Spanish fever was in fact typhus. Typhus was a significant killer of French troops during Napoleon’s retreat from Moscow in 1812.

The West Indies was a major theater of conflict, and many thousands of soldiers went to their graves there. Of 89,000 British officers and men who served there between 1793 and 1801, nearly 45,000 died, mainly from yellow jack or black vomit, descriptive names for yellow fever. The West Indies was a posting that inspired dread in soldiers, and some British units even mutinied on being told they were going there in 1795. It was noted that black soldiers had a much lower sickness rate from the disease than did those of European origin, undoubtedly due to an acquired

immunity. A French army under General Charles-Victor Emmanuel Leclerc was sent to St. Domingue (Haiti) in 1801, but both the French commander and 25,000 of his troops succumbed to yellow fever. The mortality rate for the disease in this theater was undoubtedly increased by the soldier's propensity for alcohol, as yellow fever affects the liver, and so alcohol abuse may have increased the mortality rate.

Malaria was a disease described at the time under the general term *fever* or *ague*, but one that also had a significant impact upon armies. It was present in the West Indies, but was also prevalent in the Iberian Peninsula and the Low Countries. In 1809, a British expedition sailed to the island of Walcheren in the Scheldt estuary, where an army of 40,000 men was defeated, not by the enemy, but by "Walcheren fever." Of this army, over 40 percent were struck down by the disease, resulting in 3,900 deaths and many thousands more permanently debilitated. Only 100 were killed by enemy action. Modern medical opinion suggests that Walcheren fever was a combination of malaria, typhus, typhoid, and dysentery, acting together upon a susceptible soldiery.

Other diseases that Napoleonic troops encountered included bubonic plague in Egypt during Bonaparte's campaign there in 1799, a disease that had a considerable effect on the morale of the French army as well as a physical effect. Both British and French troops suffered from ophthalmia in this theater, many becoming blind. Throughout the wars, epidemics of measles and smallpox ravaged armies, especially those troops in barracks. The latter infection, however, could be controlled by vaccination, introduced by Edward Jenner in 1796, and this preventative measure was enthusiastically embraced by many nations at the time, particularly France. Venereal disease and alcohol caused problems for soldiers with little education, and scurvy appeared among some troops, despite it being known that citrus fruits and vegetables would combat this disease, caused as it was by a deficiency of Vitamin C. Lack of access to such foods still caused outbreaks, as the Grande Armée found on its retreat out of Russia in 1812.

Lack of understanding about hygiene and antiseptics meant that wounds became infected and soldiers died of gangrene or tetanus. In many military hospitals, especially on campaign, soldiers with simple wounds were placed in the same wards (and often the same beds) as men with infectious diseases.

Despite the lack of knowledge about disease, treatments were available, although many of these were based upon local folklore and "quack" medicine. Peruvian bark, or cinchona bark, was used to combat fevers. This bark contains quinine and so is effective in cases of malaria.

Mercurous chloride (calomel) was used to treat syphilis, and other commonly used agents included acetate of lead, antimony, camphor, arsenic, and ammonia, either administered singly or in combination. Less toxic treatments included warm baths, clean clothing and bedding, and improved diet. Bleeding and the administration of purgatives were still popular among the medical profession, although these treatments were more injurious than beneficial.

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*See also* Haiti; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Losses (French); Medical Services; Middle East Campaign; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Santo Domingo; Walcheren, Expedition to; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Siege Warfare

Form of combat based on the attack and defense of fixed points. These points may be various population centers, such as towns, cities, and fortifications. This type of warfare dates back to ancient times, and has developed an entire lexicon of its own terminology. The practice of siege warfare, however, underwent a series of profound changes with the introduction of gunpowder and artillery at the end of the Middle Ages. While siege warfare is not commonly associated with the French Revolutionary or Napoleonic Wars, some major sieges did take place during both series of conflicts.

Siege warfare is based on the encirclement of one force (the besieged) by another (the besieger). Though an ancient form of fighting, siege warfare underwent a series of important developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, a period often described as the Military Revolution, which influenced the way this method of warfare was conducted between 1792 and 1815. These changes reflected the development of workable gunpowder weaponry, and fundamentally transformed the architecture of military and civic defenses. Briefly, these changes included lower and thicker walls, built on a more angular as opposed to a linear pattern. The use of angles was important for two reasons. First, it presented a smaller target for the attacker's artillery than linear walls. Second, it allowed for the use of crossfire between two of the bastions. Thus the defenses were mutually supporting, making assault in the open suicidal on the part of the attacker. This design came to be known as the *trace italienne*, since it was first developed in Italy in the sixteenth century. In order to attack a fortress or town surrounded by this sort of defense, it became necessary to dig a fairly intricate series of trenches. The development of this architecture came in response to the French use of artillery during their invasions of northern Italy.

French siege warfare developed to its highest points during the reign of Louis XIV. His chief engineer, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, mastered siege warfare in both its offensive and defensive aspects. He was known to have designed several fortresses deemed impregnable by contemporaries. Likewise, he conducted some of the most successful sieges of the period, and he established the methods by which a later generation of French commanders conducted sieges during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

In the form of siege warfare that had emerged by the late eighteenth century, artillery played the predominant role. French artillery, after the reforms of Count Jean-Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval, which were put into effect in 1776, was recognized as the best in Europe.

If a siege followed the prescribed methods of the day, the first step was for the besiegers to surround the point they wished to capture. Often, two lines were used to surround the point. One, referred to as a line of circumvallation, encompassed the outer reaches of the area under siege. The line of circumvallation protected the entire besieging army from attack. Then an internal line was established, known as a line of contravallation. This line faced toward the besieged, and served as the launching point for the siege. Laying out the lines for a siege was the work of the engineers. Once both lines were established, a process made more difficult by Frederick the Great of Prussia, who began the practice of building forts outside the walls, the defenders were called upon to surrender. If they refused, the besiegers began to entrench their positions.

The first parallel approach trench was opened at night. Speed and secrecy were of paramount importance in this

operation, so as to prevent the besieged from launching a counterattack or sortie while those who were digging the trench were exposed. Once the first parallel was complete, the garrison was again asked to surrender. If they refused, the process of moving the parallels closer to the besieged continued. Each parallel was connected to the one behind it via a communications trench, often dug in a zigzag pattern so as to reduce the danger of the besiegers coming under concentrated enemy fire, or being enfiladed while moving forward.

As the lines continued to approach the besieged, thousands of sandbags, gabions, and planks had to be brought forward as well. These would be used in the final assault on the besieged in order to fill in their outer ditch defense. Likewise, the heavy artillery used in a siege was moved forward at night, and had to be in position to begin a fresh bombardment by daybreak.

When the artillery was considered to be close enough, the work of blasting a breach in the defender's walls began in earnest. Usually, 24-pounder cannon were utilized in the work of blasting gaping holes in the defenses. Eighteen-pounder guns, while considered useful for dismounting a defender's guns, were considered too light to make an effective breach in the walls. Once the artillery created a breach large enough to make an assault practical, a storming party was assembled. This body of men was referred to as the forlorn hope. The party usually consisted of a subaltern, two sergeants, and about twenty-five privates. One last call to surrender was issued to the besieged. If this were refused, the forlorn hope attacked, usually at night so as to minimize casualties.

The mission of the forlorn hope was to capture the breach and hold it until the main assault party could move in and support them. Even under the best of circumstances, this presented no easy task. If the attackers took the breach and succeeded in taking the town, the town and its garrison could expect no mercy. However, up to this point—prior to the storming of the city itself—if the besieged surrendered, the civilians could expect some protection from the worst ravages an army could unleash.

Knowing this, the garrison fought furiously. Once the forlorn hope captured the breach, the main assault force moved in with scaling ladders, bags of leaves, and grass to fill the defenders' ditch, and axes to cut through any obstacles laid in the path of the attackers. For their part, the defenders did their utmost to make the breach and ditch a death trap. They rained hand grenades and small-arms fire down on the attackers, and rolled barrels of powder with lit fuses down the walls. If they had the time while waiting for the forlorn hopes to get in position, the defenders cleared the ditch of rubble and placed obstacles in it such as *chevaux-de-frise*. These were long poles with



British infantry attempt to scale the walls of Badajoz, the site of one of several horrific sieges conducted during the Peninsular War. (Unsigned engraving from *British Battles on Land and Sea* by James Grant. London, Paris & New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, n.d.)

blades attached to impale the attackers as they attempted to take the ditch. Mines were likewise set to detonate when the assault parties had gained control of a certain area.

The savagery of combat could escalate further if the garrison fought house to house within the town. This type of combat was always bloody and chaotic, with houses burning and brutal combat raging in narrow streets, further heightening the level of destruction.

Considering the violence often associated with the final stages of a siege, it is little wonder that some of the worst atrocities came in the wake of storming a town that refused to surrender. This was particularly the case after the British stormings of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, in January and April 1812, respectively. As the above makes clear, the final stages of a siege could be extremely violent and confused. Some historians of this period have discussed how this could bring about a psychotic state, due to the heightened stress of combat. The indiscriminate rape and bloodshed that occurred afterward constituted a stress release for the attackers, who had undergone such intense fighting.

It has often been said that the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars witnessed the abandonment of the

type of positional warfare that had lent itself to sieges in favor of a more mobile form of campaigning. While there is some truth to this observation, it can be misleading if taken to extremes. Furthermore, it is worth recalling that Bonaparte first gained the attention of the Committee of Public Safety for his work at the siege of Toulon in 1793, though it must be stressed that he was not himself a senior commander and did not initiate the siege.

With respect to sieges conducted during the period 1792–1815, each operation developed in its own manner, and no general description can completely and accurately explain the process. Still, some fundamental observations are possible. In general, sieges were costly in lives both to the attackers and to the defenders. French armies did not, as a general practice, carry with them the large and cumbersome siege trains (vehicles carrying specialized equipment and ammunition for this type of warfare) that so often burdened the armies of Louis XIV. Over time, the various powers opposing the French followed the example of their enemy and abandoned their siege trains as well. This meant, however, that important points were often besieged using much more makeshift means.

The practice of conducting sieges was not abandoned altogether, but it was certainly less frequently employed as a method of war than in the past, and it was employed in a more haphazard fashion. In some cases, heavier caliber guns were taken from naval vessels when available in order to provide the firepower necessary to form breaches in the walls. Likewise, the lack of a proper siege train often meant that, when important points had to be taken, the attackers had to resort to various ruses and subterfuges. Sometimes the gates of a fortress were simply rushed, in the hope that the attackers could gain entrance before the guards shut them out. This naturally could lead to excessively high casualties on the part of the attackers. At other times, garrisons were subjected to intense bombardment, in the hope that this would frighten the defenders into surrender. Likewise, the bombardment could inflict heavy casualties on the defenders, as well as any civilians unfortunate enough to be caught in it. The British often used rockets for this purpose, and they were known to create quite a stir among the defenders and civilians within a garrison.

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*See also* Acre, Siege of; Almeida, Sieges of; Artillery (Land); Badajoz, First Siege of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Burgos, Siege of; Cádiz, Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Congreve Rockets; Gaeta, Sieges of; Genoa, Siege of; Gerona, Siege of; Gribeauval System; Lyons, Siege of; Magdeburg, Siege of; Mainz, Siege of; Mantua, Sieges of; Pamplona, Siege of; Public Safety, Committee of; San Sebastian, Siege of; Saragossa, Sieges of; Stralsund, Siege of; Tarragona, Sieges of; Torgau, Siege of; Toulon, Siege of; Valencia, Siege of

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## Siegès, Emmanuel Joseph, comte (1748–1836)

Siegès played an important role in both the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. A former clergyman taken by the idealistic ideas that formed the intellectual basis of the Revolution, Siegès promoted the use of those ideas to improve conditions for common Frenchmen.

“The Abbé Siegès,” as he was generally known, was elected a representative of the Third Estate of Paris in the Estates-General convened by King Louis XVI. In a pamphlet he published in early 1789, he voiced the concerns of the day: “What is the Third Estate? Everything. What was it until today? Nothing. What does it want? To become something” (quoted in Sewell 1995). He later helped form the radical Jacobin Club and played a major role in writing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the basic statement of rights and protections that is often compared with the Bill of Rights in the U. S. Constitution.

Siegès voted for the death of the king, became a member of the Convention, survived the Terror by keeping a low profile, and helped bring about the downfall of Maximilien Robespierre. He then held a succession of important positions in and for the government, including the presidency of the Council of Five Hundred. He became a member of the Directory in early 1799.

Siegès was greatly concerned for the stability—indeed, the survival—of a government that could withstand the forces of both the Left and the Right. He had little use for the Directory of which he was a member, and became involved in a number of plots to bring about its overthrow. He understood that any successful coup needed the support of the army, and planned to have General Barthélemy Joubert serve as his “sword,” but Joubert’s death at the Battle of Novi left Siegès looking for another “sword.” He found one in the young General Napoleon Bonaparte, fresh back from what was generally conceived to have been a successful campaign in Egypt and the Holy Land.

Siegès was an idealistic but shrewd politician, determined to save the nation from itself. Bonaparte was an ambitious and astute politician, convinced that only he was capable of saving the nation. They collaborated in the coup d’état of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799) along with Joseph Fouché, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, and others. Bonaparte and Siegès, along with Pierre Roger

Ducos, became the ruling consuls of the new government, known as the Consulate.

Sieyès had been the mastermind of the coup, but Bonaparte quickly became the most powerful man in France, with the other consuls playing largely ceremonial roles. Sieyès was eased into retirement, where he lived in luxury. During the period of the First Empire (1804–1814), after Bonaparte assumed an imperial title and became known as Napoleon I, the Emperor always recognized Sieyès's importance and later made him a count. But having been instrumental in ushering in both the Revolution and Bonaparte, Sieyès's active role was over, and he lived the rest of his life in relative obscurity.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; French Revolution; Jacobins; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Louis XVI, King; Middle East Campaign; Novi, Battle of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Terror, The

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## Six Days Campaign (February 1814)

The Six Days campaign refers to a series of battles fought in the second week of February 1814 during the campaign in France, namely, Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, and Vauchamps. French victories in all of these battles rallied Napoleon's forces and reignited Allied resolve to defeat Napoleon in the subsequent weeks.

In the Battle of Champaubert on 10 February, Napoleon's troops routed the outnumbered forces of General Zakhar Dmitrievich Olsufiev and captured the general as well. That victory divided the (Russo-Prussian) Army of Silesia and allowed Napoleon to push on to Montmirail to defeat generals Johann von Yorck and Fabian Osten-Sacken, while leaving Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher isolated to the east. The Battle of Montmirail on 11 February was lost by the Allies, largely because Sacken did not meet up with Yorck's forces near Château-Thierry before the battle, and because Yorck was subsequently slow to come to Osten-Sacken's rescue. The Battle of Château-Thierry followed soon after on 12 February, too soon for the Allied forces to be able to regroup properly, although it

was not the absolute victory that Napoleon sought. The campaign changed direction after Napoleon received word that the (Austrian) Army of Bohemia under *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg was making inroads along the Seine. After sending part of his forces south to bolster the French line near Montereau, Napoleon and General Emmanuel Grouchy faced Blücher, who had advanced from the east in order to prevent Napoleon from assisting his forces on the Seine. The subsequent Battle of Vauchamps on 14 February broke up the whole of Blücher's forces, and Blücher fled east toward Châlons.

Later commentators noted that in this campaign Napoleon achieved unexpected and extraordinary results, including the elimination of approximately 20,000 troops of the enemy total—which nearly halved the forces in opposition. This was partly due to the nature of the campaign: Napoleon's troops were greatly outnumbered, and so he fought by means of careful maneuvers and tactics, rather than using the sort of brute force characteristic of earlier French victories. For Napoleon, the victories improved his troops' morale and ensured the support of Paris a while longer.

But the campaign rallied the fractious Allies and helped to end their bickering among themselves: they rediscovered their joint purpose to fight France until Napoleon was defeated. They also confirmed this commitment in the Treaty of Chaumont, dated 1 March. The treaty pledged that no nation would sign a separate peace with Napoleon, and that the Allies sought both the 1791 French borders and, potentially, Napoleon's abdication. Success in the Six Days campaign indicated that Napoleon would not give up without fighting to the end, but it also ensured that the Allies would not halt until they reached Paris.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; France, Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Montmirail, Battle of; Osten-Sacken, Fabian Vilgelmovich, Prince; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Vauchamps, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Sixth Coalition, War of the

*See* France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in

## Slave Trade

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars mark a watershed in the history of the Atlantic slave trade. Originating in the sixteenth century, the trade had reached its high point during the dramatic expansion of the Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century, and for slaving nations like France, it was thriving as never before. At the same time, abolitionist movements in Britain and France, nurtured by the universalist ideas of human liberty and dignity espoused by the Enlightenment, were exerting increasing pressure on public opinion. This movement, along with the specific military-diplomatic conjuncture of the wars, enabled Britain—the international leader of abolitionism—to press the European slaving nations to take action against the practice. While Britain's efforts did not result in an immediately effective abolition of the actual trade, they did bring about, at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, its first unequivocal and public denunciation on humanitarian grounds. This declaration, signed by all participants of the Congress, was to pave the way for more successful efforts during the course of the nineteenth century, ultimately leading to general abolition.

The main European slaving nations on the eve of the French Revolution were the old colonial powers Spain and Portugal, and the colonial newcomers of the seventeenth century, Britain and France. Only the latter, however, had by this time genuinely developed any significant abolitionist societies. The British Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, having obtained abolition of the trade within the British Empire by 1807, was more effective than the French *Société des Amis des Noirs* (Society of the Friends of the Blacks), that, though counting influential members in the National Assembly, was hampered by the even more powerful colonial lobby of the Club Massiac, many of whose members owned West Indian plantations. Later, under Napoleon, the so-called Creole Party, led by Empress Josephine, represented the interests of sugar planters and shippers, so that pragmatic economic considerations continued to dominate the politics of the French slave trade.

The National Convention had abolished the bounty system in 1793, a minor victory for the *Société*. The 1794 abolition of slavery was, however, rather more an *ex post facto* recognition of the reality of the St. Domingue uprising than an initiative taken on true humanitarian grounds, and it was never implemented. With the French abolitionist movement resting on such a shaky foundation, it comes as no surprise that Napoleon—who himself appears never to have had any strong convictions on the matter—reconsidered the issue and shifted policy, for a combination of economic and strategic reasons. He was ever the pragma-

tist, and first planter interests, then the changing diplomatic situation, dictated his decisions. Thus, after a brief period of vacillation during which he attempted to introduce an unworkable mixed regime of free and slave islands, on 12 May 1802, Napoleon not only restored slavery and the slave trade throughout the French colonies, but also reinstated much of the Code Noir (Black Code), the old colonial slave code dating back to the days of Louis XIV. As a final symbolic gesture, St. Domingue's former *ancien régime* administrator was even returned as governor of that island.

With Napoleon's defeat and abdication in 1814, Britain was able to bring pressure on France to move against the trade. The issue was complicated by the fact that British abolitionists adopted a hard-line position, demanding that the British representatives at Paris, and later at the Congress of Vienna, make French abolition of the trade a requirement for the return of their lucrative West Indian colonies. The Foreign Office, in contrast, took the position that forced abolition would destabilize the restored French monarchy and with it the newly won peace. Aware of these difficulties, France—aided by Spain and Portugal—strung Britain out as long as possible, in the hope of gaining maximum concessions. In the end, France regained its key islands and, in Article I of the five "Additional Articles between France and Great Britain" in the first Treaty of Paris, merely undertook to abolish the trade within five years, giving the French ample time to replenish their depleted slave stock. These terms were a clear victory for the wily French diplomat, Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand. France, finally, further pledged to work with the British for general abolition, at the upcoming congress to be held at Vienna.

On 8 February 1815, the Declaration of the Powers relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade was signed by Britain, Russia, Sweden, France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia and annexed to the General Treaty of the Vienna Congress as Act XV. It denounced the trade in no uncertain moral terms as an utterly repugnant bane to humanity that needed to be eradicated for the benefit of all mankind. Important qualifications were made, however, respecting the right of individual nations to determine their own timetable for actual abolition. Still, even though in practical terms the declaration was little more than a moral statement, it contributed greatly to raising public awareness of the issue, and made the position of those powers that persisted in the trade increasingly untenable on ethical grounds.

On 29 March 1815—less than a month after his return from Elba—Napoleon abolished the slave trade in the French colonies not only for French, but also foreign traders. This astonishing about-face from his previous

policy was, in the view of most scholars, probably no more than a cynical attempt to play on British opinion and divide Britain from the other Allies, though some argue he may have been motivated by a desire to punish the rather Anglophile French ports. After Waterloo, the British were able to invoke not only the terms of the first Treaty of Paris and the Vienna declaration, but also, ironically, Napoleon's 1815 abolition, against the again-restored Louis XVIII. Still, while Talleyrand had been more or less coerced into honoring Napoleon's decree, the second Treaty of Paris only foresaw further discussions on abolition. So the French (clandestine) trade continued, and the British renewed their efforts at the Congress of Verona in 1822.

*William L. Chew III*

*See also* Convention, The; Haiti; Martinique; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Santo Domingo; Slavery; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Vienna, Congress of; Wilberforce, William

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## Slavery

By the time of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, slavery in the New World had already existed for more than two centuries, above all in the West Indies, the majority of whose islands—the most lucrative being Jamaica—were controlled by Britain, and in the southern states of America, specifically Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. By 1790 some 700,000 slaves lived in the United States.

At the same time, there was also an important French presence in the Caribbean, most notably perhaps in the plantation colony of St. Domingue, present-day Haiti. St. Domingue was home to approximately 40,000 Frenchmen and about half a million blacks, the majority of whom were

slaves. They provided labor for sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations on the island. Connections with trade and investment, including the slave trade, made many Frenchmen back in their home country interested in the political situation in St. Domingue and the question of slavery in general. There were also about 28,000 free blacks and mulattoes in St. Domingue, most of whom owned slaves of their own.

Before the French Revolution, slaves and their owners were subject to the Code Noir (literally, "Black Code"), a slave code written in 1685. The code provided for the education and baptism of slaves into Catholicism, as well as excluding Jews from the colonies. Slave status, according to the code, was to be passed down through the mother rather than father. While most of the code dealt with religious, heritage, or punishment issues, it also placed responsibility for the care of sick and elderly slaves on the slaveholder.

Even before the Revolution, the Société des Amis des Noirs (Society of Friends of the Blacks) had been agitating for the abolition of slavery. Pamphlets were one of the main methods used by abolitionists to spread their message, arguing either for full abolition, or for improvement in the situation of slaves. Olympe de Gouges wrote one of the most famous pamphlets on this subject, *Reflections of Black People*. The Amis des Noirs based their arguments for abolition on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and the granting of political rights to religious minorities. Their membership included prominent revolutionaries such as Jacques-Pierre Brissot, the marquis de Condorcet, the marquis de Lafayette, the comte de Mirabeau, and Emmanuel Sieyès, among others. Perhaps the best-known champion of the abolitionist movement of the time was Abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire.

In some cases abolitionists argued not for full abolition of the slave trade, but rather for abolition of that segment of the slave trade that transported Africans to the French colonies. They also suggested that a slave revolt might take place in St. Domingue, an insinuation that would later lead some to accuse them of fomenting the revolt.

Despite the efforts of these abolitionist groups, the French public was largely uninterested in the question of abolition, since slavery had already been abolished in France and the slavery of the French West Indies was both distant and profitable.

The shift in the political mood of the Revolution in France led both slaves and their colonial owners to approach the National Assembly to argue for their respective positions regarding the repeal of slavery in the colonies. As they discussed the issue in Paris, unrest in the colonies became more pronounced, with blacks and mulattoes agitating for full rights, and slave owners and colonists opposed abolition for fear of losing their livelihood.

The first major agitation was seen among black slaves on the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Inspired by tales of white slaves' freedom in France, in late 1789 black slaves on the islands unsuccessfully staged their own revolt. In October 1790, the first major slave revolt on the island of Haiti began with 350 mulattoes. The rebellion was suppressed relatively quickly and the organizers executed, including Vincent Ogé, one of the most outspoken leaders and mulatto property owners on the island.

On 15 May 1791, the National Assembly voted to award full political rights to free blacks and mulattoes born of free mothers and fathers. While the law only affected a few hundred individuals on the island, the planters and slave owners were so opposed to it that they refused to follow the new edict. Several months later, on 22 August 1791, a second, larger revolt took place in St. Domingue, commonly recognized as the first successful slave revolt in history. In response, the National Assembly revoked the rights of free blacks and mulattoes in September 1791. This move only increased the violence of the revolt, as slaves burned plantations and murdered their owners. The revolt brought to the fore the talented Toussaint Louverture, who stood as the leader of the black slaves in St. Domingue during their struggle.

In order to maintain order in their most lucrative colony, the Legislative Assembly dispatched commissioners to St. Domingue. The Montagnard Convention followed up the move in September 1792 with the dispatch of commissioners and troops to the island in the face of continuing unrest. These commissioners and troops provided support to those slaves opposing those white plantation owners who were willing to accept British intervention to restore their positions. Sonthonax, the Jacobin delegate, offered partial emancipation of the slaves in August 1793, which was confirmed by the Convention in February 1794.

As First Consul, Bonaparte attempted to restore the colony to its productive past through the reimposition of slavery in a failed military expedition to the island in 1802–1803. A force under General Charles-Victor Leclerc arrived and tricked Toussaint Louverture into returning to France, where he was confined to prison and left to die of cold and starvation. The slave revolt continued on the island, despite the death of Toussaint Louverture. Bonaparte then sent a larger force to the island, but the ravages of yellow fever left a mere 7,000 alive by the time they arrived. General Donatien Rochambeau, head of the mission, chose to surrender to the Royal Navy, which was supporting the slave insurrection. After a bloody vengeance on the remaining French on the island, St. Domingue declared its independence as Haiti on 1 January 1804. Bonaparte did, however, reestablish slavery in France's remaining colonies by a law of May 1802, which was written into the Civil

Code of 1807. After his return from exile on Elba, however, Napoleon outlawed slavery in the colonies in support of his more liberal imperial policy. After Napoleon's downfall in 1815, the Congress of Vienna condemned slavery in the French West Indies, and by doing so contributed to its ultimate demise.

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*See also* Civil Code; Convention, The; Haiti; Leclerc, Charles-Victor-Emmanuel; Martinique; Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, comte; Slave Trade; Toussaint Louverture; Vienna, Congress of; Wilberforce, William

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## Sloops

Ships of the Royal Navy were divided into rates that reflected the size of the ship. These ran from first rate down to sixth rate. Below the last rate were numerous unrated ships, and it was in this broad unrated category that sloops were found. A sloop was the largest type of unrated vessel, with a “master and commander,” or simply “commander” in charge, rather than a captain. The rank was between lieutenant and post captain commanding a rated vessel. All navies had ships classed as sloops.

The term sloop covered a range of vessels, but generally meant a ship carrying from ten to eighteen guns. The largest resembled miniature frigates, with a quarterdeck and forecabin, three masts, an armed upper deck and unarmed lower deck. These ships were armed with fourteen or sixteen 6-pounder guns. In the early years of the French Revolutionary Wars, they were also armed with twelve or fourteen swivel guns. Later sloops of this type were armed

with carronades, usually 12-pounders, but later vessels were armed with 32-pounders.

Most sloops were flush-decked, that is, with no quarterdeck or forecastle, because sloops with this design were considered more weatherly than quarterdeck sloops. They were often as large as the quarterdeck vessels, and carried the same amount of armament, usually 24- or 32-pounder carronades. Brig sloops were similar but had only two masts. A number of captured French vessels of that type were employed as sloops in the Royal Navy.

Sloops were not usually employed by the main fleets, and were certainly not used in front-line roles. They were not weatherly enough to be used for blockade duties, and they were not fast enough or sufficiently armed to act as scouts for main battle fleets. Sloops were regarded as the smallest viable ship for independent cruising and patrol work, and were often used to escort merchant convoys. The war in the Iberian Peninsula necessitated large supply convoys, which were attacked by French and American privateers, and here the brig sloop was used very successfully for escort and inshore support duties. They were also considered especially useful in defending the southern coast of England against the threatened French invasion, and they often captured enemy privateers and merchantmen.

Captain Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* with a crew of eighty-four men and six officers, armed with 12-pounders, cruised successfully in the Mediterranean and captured a mass of enemy shipping; the war with Denmark in 1807 was fought in the narrow coastal waters of the Baltic between Danish gunboats and British brig sloops, and during the War of 1812, both the Royal Navy and the United States Navy employed sloops on the Great Lakes. The Americans used sloops in the Atlantic, and one, the *Wasp*, was sent to operate in the English Channel, where she captured a number of British merchantmen.

*Paul Chamberlain*

*See also* Artillery (Naval); Blockade (Naval); Danish Navy; England, French Plans for the Invasion; French Navy; Frigates; Naval Warfare; Peninsular War; Privateering; Privateers (French); Royal Navy; Ships of the Line; United States Navy; War of 1812

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### Smith, Sir William Sidney (1764–1840)

One of the most colorful and charismatic naval figures of his age, Smith is comparatively unknown, eclipsed by the deeds of Nelson. A man of unbounded vanity, he was dar-

ing to the point of recklessness, blindly arrogant, tirelessly energetic, self-promoting, petulant, a superb leader of men, and dismissive of higher authority. Exceedingly ambitious, and a masterful self-publicist, Smith was not only admired but loved by his men.

He was born William Sidney Smith (though he generally referred to himself by his second forename) on 21 June 1764 into a military and naval family with connections through marriage to the great family of Pitt. Smith joined the Royal Navy at the age of thirteen and first saw action in the *Unicorn* in 1778 against an American frigate off Boston. A year later the *Unicorn* captured or destroyed three French frigates. On 25 November he went aboard Sir George (later Lord) Rodney's flagship, the *Sandwich*, on the Channel station. On 8 January 1780, while the fleet was escorting a large convoy to Gibraltar, Minorca, and the West Indies, it fell in with a Spanish convoy and took one ship of the line from the escort and all twenty-three merchant ships. Later, on 16 January, he served at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent (not to be confused with the action of the same name, fought in 1797). Smith also fought in three encounters with Admiral Luc Urbain de Bouexic, comte de Guichen, including Dominica (17 April 1780), and two other actions on 15 and 19 May.

Although still short of the required age of nineteen, Smith passed his examination and was commissioned a lieutenant aboard the *Alcide* on 25 September of that year, and served at the Battle of the Chesapeake (9 September 1781). He later fought at St. Kitts (25–26 January 1782), at Dominica (9 April 1782), and at Les Saintes (12 April). In February 1784 he was placed on half pay and, like many other officers, decided to go abroad and study a foreign language that might be of use in his future career. From the spring of 1785 until 1787 Smith lived in France, where he perfected his command of the language and conducted amateur espionage. Peace with France precluded active service, so Smith looked for adventure elsewhere.

In 1787 he traveled through Spain to Gibraltar, and on surmising that, owing to the emperor's belligerent threats, a war with Morocco was likely, Smith traveled through that country gathering intelligence on the coasts, harbors, and military and naval strength, without any hindrance from the authorities. On the completion of his tour in May 1788, he submitted his findings to the Admiralty, including a description of the emperor's naval force. Smith then decided to fight as a mercenary in a country not at war with Britain. He therefore took six months' leave of absence and went to Stockholm in the summer of 1789, for Sweden had been at war with Russia since July the previous year; this was principally a naval affair fought in the Baltic, and Sweden was after experienced leaders. Without any authorization from his government, Smith served in an undefined

capacity as a volunteer, sailing a yacht that trailed the king's galley, the *Seraphim*. Gustavus soon granted him command of a squadron of small frigates, floating batteries, and oared galleys, and addressed him as "colonel."

At Styrusudden on 3–4 June, the Russians drove the Swedes into the Bay of Viborg and blockaded them, and within a few days the king gave Smith command of a squadron that numbered eight small vessels, twenty galleys with 4,000 marines, and seventy-two gunboats. With this force, Smith took part in bitter hand-to-hand fighting with the Russians inside the bay. When, on 9–10 July at Svenskund, the Swedish fleet emerged from the bay and, partly with oared vessels that harked back to Lepanto two centuries before, directly confronted the Russians, the Swedes emerged victorious, in part due to Smith's contributions in training and raising the morale of his crews. He returned to Britain with the sincere thanks of Gustavus and a knighthood in the Order of the Sword, formally conferred on him by George III on 16 May 1792. As Smith was granted permission to use this title, he assumed the name "Sir Sidney," which his naval colleagues often belittled by calling him "the Swedish knight."

War between Austria and Prussia on the one hand and France on the other appeared imminent in early 1792, and as the British government desired an officer to gather intelligence in the Near East, the Admiralty and Foreign Office sent Smith to Constantinople. He was to carry out intelligence gathering in the waters around the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Ionians, with freedom to do so by a naval commission from the Turks, who were then at war with Russia. Yet a far greater threat emerged when in February 1793 Britain declared war on Revolutionary France, an event of which Smith did not even become aware until the end of the year, while he was at the port of Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey). He, in common with all British military and naval officers abroad, was immediately recalled home to report for duty.

With his own resources, he bought a small lateen-rigged vessel, which he renamed the *Swallow*, and took aboard about forty men. He proceeded to sail for the principal French naval base in the Mediterranean, Toulon, that, along with Lyons and Marseilles, had declared for the monarchy and appealed to Britain for help. Lord Hood duly arrived with a fleet and began a blockade of Toulon by sea, landing a force of mixed nationalities to defend the perimeter of this vital anchorage. When, however, the overwhelming presence of forces loyal to the Republic concentrated against the perimeter defenses rendered further Allied operations untenable—sealed by the young captain Napoleon Bonaparte's strategic placement of artillery to command both roadsteads—Hood ordered an evacuation of Allied troops and as many royalists as possible. Of vital

importance was the fate of the French fleet moored or penned up in the dockyard, including thirty-two ships of the line and fourteen frigates. As most of the sailors, now imprisoned in the harbor, were sympathetic to the Revolution, Hood lacked enough crews to take away the ships.

The only alternative, Smith observed while a guest aboard Hood's flagship, was to burn them, a thought that had already occurred to Horatio Nelson, then captain of the *Agamemnon*, only a fortnight before. Hood issued Smith orders to burn every ship that could not be carried away, together with the arsenal, the enterprise to be achieved with a flotilla of gunboats and twenty-four officers and men. Spanish gunboats reluctantly followed him, but by the time Smith reached the shore, all these save one had abandoned the scene. Many of the prisoners, no longer under guard, had by this time freed themselves, threatening Smith's mission. Some of his vessels had to train their guns on the French while parties went ashore under fire in order to place combustibles among the stores and ships.

By nightfall republican forces were well within musket range and had to be kept at bay with grapeshot. By the time the charges had been laid to the combustibles and a fire ship towed into position, the French were at the dockyard gates. When the time agreed on with the governor arrived, the fuses and fires were set, the powder train to the fire ship was lit, and the landing parties were brought off. However, two of Smith's gunboats were sunk by the explosion of a French frigate supposed to have been sunk by the Spanish. Other Spanish parties had failed to penetrate the boom (a heavy chain laid across a harbor entrance to bar access to enemy vessels) to the inner harbor where lay further French ships, and though Smith joined the Spanish in a second attempt to get past, by then musketry from the docksides and the French flagship rendered this impossible. Instead, Smith and his men made for the ships of the line anchored in the inner roadstead, and set fire to a number of these.

Meanwhile, as the harbor began to be consumed in flames and clouds of smoke, fuelled by burning tar, hemp, oil, and the ships themselves, another explosion sent a mass of debris into the air, though this one caused no damage to his little vessels. Having set fire to everything possible in light of the enemy's presence, and having exhausted their supplies of combustibles, Smith and his weary men now evacuated some of the troops of the rear guard and rejoined the fleet, past the fire of forts now under enemy possession. Despite his original plan, Smith was unable to evacuate any more civilians in addition to those thousands already aboard Hood's fleet. The remainder were, immediately and in the days of fury that lay ahead, massacred in their thousands, as republican troops entered the town shooting and bayoneting as they went,

driving others into the sea or executing them after brief imprisonment.

All told, Hood had preserved and sailed off with four ships of the line, eight frigates, and seven corvettes. Smith and his men had burned or sunk ten ships of the line, two frigates, and two corvettes. However, this left eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and three corvettes intact and reserviceable. Most of these the Spanish had been assigned to destroy, and there is strong evidence that treachery lay behind their preservation. Nevertheless, Smith's achievement was impressive, destroying as he did more ships than could be expected in a major fleet action. Still, though Hood praised him in his dispatches, Smith's great ego, the fact that he enjoyed no official capacity, and, of course, his failure to complete the task, left him open to criticism from many in the navy who desired a convenient scapegoat. In fact, blame should have fallen on Hood and the Spanish commander, Admiral Don Juan de Langara.

Smith's exploit met with only partial success, but the mere fact that Hood had accepted his services—in a purely voluntary capacity—combined with Smith's own vainglorious ego and campaign of self-promotion, generated considerable antagonism against him in the fleet. Nevertheless, he had served Hood's purpose, and in recognition the admiral sent Smith back to the Admiralty with dispatches announcing the destruction of at least a portion of the Toulon fleet. This distinction led to Smith's appointment to the frigate *Diamond* (38 guns), attached to the Channel Fleet. At about this time he spoke to Lord Spencer, the first lord of the Admiralty, and wrote to William Windham, the secretary of state for war, outlining the need for flat-bottomed boats that could be used to harass the French coast. He also laid out plans for a full-scale invasion to take an army all the way to Paris, using the Seine as the principal line of communication.

He spent most of 1794 in the North Sea, and much of 1795 and 1796 cruising off the north coast of France, where, in command of a small number of vessels in the squadron of Commodore Sir John Warren, he managed to capture or destroy so many French naval and merchant vessels as to bring a virtual end to local seaborne commerce. Smith entered the mouth of the harbor and closely monitored the major naval base at Brest. At the beginning of 1795 he disguised his ship as a French frigate, made modifications to his officers' uniforms, and approached the port for observation, passing several enemy frigates in the process and narrowly escaping detection by a suspicious vessel by boldly offering it assistance (it had sprung a leak). In March 1795 he was given command of an inshore flotilla of small craft to be used to harry French coastal shipping, and with these he caused havoc among French ships attempting to shelter in shallow water and among

shoals along the Norman and Breton coasts. He also sent in a number of landing parties.

In March 1796 he followed a convoy into the harbor at Herqui, on the coast of Brittany, stormed the batteries covering the harbor, spiked the guns, and burned the ships. By this time he had acquired a reputation among the French, who suspected that he maintained connections with the royalist Chouans, then in revolt, as well as with royalist émigrés in England. To many he was little more than an arsonist, owing to his feat at Toulon, while on half pay and holding no official appointment. Lying off Le Havre, at the mouth of the Seine, on 18 April 1796, Smith learned that a privateer lugger, the *Vengeur*, with a particular reputation for its destruction of British trade, lay at anchor within the harbor. In this cutting-out expedition Smith took with him nine officers and twenty-four ratings. Although he and his men succeeded in surprising and seizing the vessel in a hand-to-hand struggle, Smith found his escape downriver prevented by the flood tide that had carried the vessel into the estuary. There he sat helpless for lack of sufficient wind. When dawn broke, Smith and his prize were overwhelmed by French vessels of all descriptions, and Smith had no choice but to surrender, along with his officers and crew. Though well treated, Smith was sent to Paris and imprisoned in the Temple, where Louis XVI and the royal family had been held before their execution. French authorities flatly refused all attempts by the British government to secure his release by exchange.

His captors and the French public at large had particular cause for reviling Smith, for his incendiary exploits at Toulon were regarded as little more than an act of piracy conducted by a man holding no commission and therefore not subject to the laws that governed the treatment of prisoners of war. His eighteen months' campaign waged against commerce certainly endeared him to no one, and some went so far as to claim that his object at Le Havre was in fact the destruction of that city by fire. He spoke fluent French and was known to have royalist émigré connections back home. To the French it seemed that he must be a counterrevolutionary, landing royalist agents on the coasts. As a spy, he would not be exchanged, even though he had been captured armed and in uniform. His reputation and the enmity he had aroused cost Smith two years of his liberty, and even when Lord Spencer offered to exchange 1,000 French prisoners for him, the French government demanded no fewer than 4,000, which the Admiralty refused. At first some of Smith's friends attempted to tunnel under the walls of the prison from the cellar of a nearby house, but their work was discovered by a sentry in the exercise yard. Eventually he befriended the prison governor and obtained parole to walk the streets of Paris on occasional evenings. With the aid of a former royalist officer of

engineers, Colonel Antoine le Picard de Phélypeaux, Smith managed to escape, and royalists masquerading as soldiers with forged orders to transfer Smith to Fontainebleau whisked him away in a coach. Though the coach crashed in the streets of Paris, Smith was secreted in a royalist safe-house before proceeding to Le Havre, via Rouen, dressed as a French seaman. He boarded the frigate *Argo* (44) by means of a chartered fishing boat, and arrived safely at Portsmouth on 7 May 1798.

Smith reached London the following day, where he was received in triumph at a time when British fortunes were at a particularly low point, and presented to the king. At this time the French were assembling a large fleet at Toulon, with a destination unknown to the British. Bonaparte, commanding the troops on board, arrived at the port just as Smith was reaching London. This activity naturally concentrated British naval attention on the Mediterranean theater, under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, the newly ennobled Earl of St. Vincent, with Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson as a subordinate commander. St. Vincent, blockading the Spanish fleet at Cádiz, decided to detach Nelson and send him into the Mediterranean in search of the French fleet.

For several months nothing was heard from Nelson and his three-month search for the French, although it was known that they had not passed Gibraltar into the Atlantic. Then, on 2 October, news reached London of the victory at the Battle of the Nile and the destruction of the French fleet there on 1–2 August. Still, the French army threatened the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the prime minister, William Pitt, needed all the diplomatic influence he could muster to keep Turkey in alliance with Britain. In October Smith embarked for the south of Spain in command of the *Tigre* (80), with orders to join St. Vincent at either Cádiz or Gibraltar, and bearing authority from the Foreign Office to undertake a diplomatic mission to Turkey. There he was to hold the unique position of joint minister with his brother, Spencer Smith, already in situ. One of his principal tasks was to convey a military mission, complete with advisers, to Constantinople, to aid the Turkish defense of their empire.

St. Vincent duly sent him on his way east, but owing to the vague and dual nature of Smith's responsibilities, he neglected explicitly to place Smith, with local naval responsibilities in the eastern Mediterranean, under the rightful authority of the theater commander in chief, Nelson. Smith, whose independent spirit naturally inclined him to assume greater powers than naval precedent permitted, interpreted his orders to suit himself, operated in the manner of an independent commander, adopted for himself the rank of commodore, and flew a broad pennant aboard his vessel, assuming for himself command over

those of Nelson's ships that remained at Alexandria while the victor of the Nile was at Naples.

The result may be imagined. Nelson, with a delicate ego of his own, heightened by the victories at St. Vincent and the Nile, interpreted Smith's conduct as a gross violation of the chain of command and refused to recognize Smith's assumed rank. A compromise was forged, with St. Vincent as the mediator: Nelson acknowledged Smith's authority to undertake the blockade of Alexandria and the naval defense of Ottoman territory, but not to do so without requesting permission from Nelson and acknowledging Nelson as his superior. Smith, for his part, acknowledged his error in adopting a broad pennant without authority, and though he continued as the ranking officer in the Levant, thereafter recognized Nelson as senior commander in the Mediterranean theater and acknowledged that he therefore fell under Nelson's direct command.

On 26 December, Smith arrived at Constantinople where Sultan Selim III concluded a treaty with Russia and Britain, to which both Smith and his brother put their names. The Turks had already declared war, and Smith had authority to take command of any Turkish or Russian warships in the Levant, to which the sultan added command of all Turkish military and naval forces being assembled to oppose the French, then based at Cairo. Smith advised a concentration of troops on Rhodes in preparation for a counteroffensive against the French in Egypt. With authorization from London, he began to recruit Albanian troops to sail gunboats on the Nile delta, and proposed amphibious landings on the river to coincide with the summer flooding. Aboard the *Tigre* Smith had brought shipwrights to instruct the Turks in building vessels of all descriptions, from gunboats to ships of the line.

In the meantime, he learned with shock in early 1799 that Lord Elgin was being sent out to replace his brother and him in their diplomatic capacities. Shortly thereafter, Nelson ordered Smith to replace Captain Thomas Troubridge in the blockade of Alexandria, leaving him two ships of the line and other vessels. Smith planned to harass the French at sea while the Turks struck by land, but these plans were changed when news arrived of Bonaparte's march north from Egypt into Palestine (at the time officially known as Syria). This news prompted Smith to send an officer to warn the Turks and to prepare the defenses of the old crusader fort at Acre on the Syrian coast. The French first took El Arish, then Gaza, and then, on 7 March, Jaffa, en route to Syria.

Smith immediately dispatched his friend Colonel Phélypeaux in the *Theseus* to Acre, where he and Captain Ralph Willett Miller of that ship undertook defensive measures. Smith, following in the *Tigre*, arrived on 15 March, and three days later he struck a decisive blow at sea

by capturing the entire French siege train, including artillery, stores, and ammunition, not to mention the eight gunboats that carried these essential elements of Bonaparte's impending operations. Smith made maximum use of his prizes: he mounted the siege guns on the walls of the fortress, while the gunboats, with the *Tigre* and *Theseus* in support, assumed positions from which they could enfilade the trenches of the besieging forces.

Without proper siege equipment, the French were left with ordinary field guns, and more heavy guns were not brought to the city until 25 April, by which time, under Smith's direction, the state of the city's defenses had been greatly improved. For the next six weeks, the besiegers dug trenches, extended their saps, and undertook mining operations, while the defenders countermined and delivered sorties. Finally, on 4 May, after considerable activity and a good deal of hand-to-hand fighting, the French succeeded in creating a practicable breach in the fortress wall, laid a mine beneath it, and ordered a general assault for the following day. The Turks, however, managed to defuse the mine during the night, so delaying the attack. On the night of the seventh, a large body of Turkish reinforcements arrived off the coast from Rhodes, obliging Bonaparte to anticipate their landing by ordering an immediate assault. Fiercious fighting lasted until morning, by which time the French had taken one of the towers, while the Turks offshore could not land owing to becalmed conditions.

Realizing that time was running short, Smith ordered ashore a strong contingent of seaman armed with pikes who manned the breach until the Turks could land. Fierce fighting continued that day, but by dusk the French had retired, and twelve days later they lifted the siege and marched off. Smith, while displaying his usual vanity and pomposity, showed immense personal courage and intelligence and may rightly be credited with having saved the city, thereby terminating further French conquests in the Middle East. Nevertheless, he was gracious enough to give credit where it was due and demonstrated that his qualities as a leader functioned as well ashore as at sea.

The British public and government received news of the French withdrawal before Acre with great enthusiasm, and Smith was singled out for praise and reward. Both houses of Parliament voted him thanks, and the following year he was granted an annual pension of £1,000. He also received the thanks of the City of London and of the Levant Company, which eventually gave him a piece of plate and a grant of £1,500. In common with Nelson in the wake of the victory at the Nile, Smith received from the sultan a pelisse and the *chelingk*—a special plume of victory to be worn in his hat.

However well deserved these accolades, Smith's triumph again went to his head, and he resumed his arrogant

assumption of a rank and level of responsibility that were not rightly his own. He resumed his pretensions as station commander in chief and diplomatic joint representative to Turkey—subordinate only to his brother, who of course was a great distance away at Constantinople—and as such presumed to interpret explicit orders from home as he saw fit. While the Foreign Office specifically forbade any negotiations that stipulated for the surrender of French forces in Egypt except as prisoners of war, on his own authority Smith concluded on 24 January 1800 the Convention of El Arish, whose terms granted the French, together with their weapons and effects, free passage back to their own country in Allied ships, the cost to be borne by Britain and Turkey. By this time Nelson had been replaced as commander in chief in the Mediterranean by Lord Keith, who by refusing to approve these terms reopened hostilities, which did not cease until after Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby's forces (including seamen dispatched ashore under Smith, still in command of the *Tigre*) landed in Egypt in 1801 and defeated General Jacques, baron Menou. Following the capitulation of Alexandria on 2 September, Smith was sent back to England, and on 10 November he arrived in London, bearing dispatches announcing the fall of French power in Egypt.

In 1802 Smith was elected Member of Parliament for Rochester, in Kent, and the following year, under Lord Keith, he commanded a squadron of small vessels off the Belgian and Dutch coasts. He was promoted to rear admiral on 9 November 1805, and the following January he was appointed to the *Pompée*, in which he served under Vice Admiral Cuthbert, Baron Collingwood with a detached command off the Neapolitan coast. Between May and August 1806, Smith waged a highly successful campaign against French shipping in the area, while simultaneously antagonizing colleagues in the army with whom he was to meant to cooperate, not least Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, of later Peninsular fame.

Notwithstanding the friction that followed in his wake, Smith proved extremely adept at fulfilling his naval responsibilities. He saw to it that arms and ammunition were delivered to local resistance fighters in the mountains of Calabria, he harassed and often drove off small French contingents guarding the shores, and he successfully attacked a number of fortified points along the coast with local partisan forces, backed by British seamen and marines. Smith's squadron patrolled the coast from Scylla to the Bay of Naples, not only destroying French vessels, but taking Capri and threatening Salerno and Policastro. He succeeded in fomenting risings across the Basilicata and throughout Calabria generally, even if the various guerrilla forces seldom cooperated with one another or acted in force.

In August 1806 the Admiralty sent Smith instructions to join the command under Vice Admiral Sir John Duckworth in the eastern Mediterranean, where between February and March 1807 the fleet made an unsuccessful attempt to threaten the Turkish government and was forced to pass the Dardanelles under fire. In the summer of that year Smith returned home, but by November he was back at sea, this time in the *Hibernia* as senior officer off the coast of Portugal. As French forces approached Lisbon, Smith evacuated the prince regent, the royal family, and government officials, and detached several of his own ships to convoy the Portuguese squadron that took the refugees to Brazil. In February 1808 the Admiralty appointed Smith to command the South American station and sent him to Rio de Janeiro. There Smith's irascible temper soon brought him into conflict with Lord Strangford, the British minister to Brazil, and the resulting abusive correspondence exchanged between them resulted in Smith's peremptory recall in the summer of 1809.

He was promoted to vice admiral on 31 July 1810, and in October of that year he married Caroline Rumbold, widow of the diplomat Sir George Rumbold. In July 1812 he was appointed second in command to Vice Admiral Sir Edward Pellew (later Viscount Exmouth), commander in chief in the Mediterranean. In March 1814, on grounds of extremely poor health, Smith was permitted to return to Britain, which he did in the *Hibernia*. His active service terminated on his arrival at Portsmouth in July. Smith's coincidental presence in Brussels in June 1815 enabled him to meet the Duke of Wellington, albeit as a civilian, at the end of the Battle of Waterloo. Afterward Smith rode with the army into Paris, where on 29 December Wellington invested him with the insignia of Knight Commander of the Bath (KCB), the nomination for which Smith had received at the beginning of the year. On 19 July 1821 he was promoted to full admiral.

For many years afterward he lived in Paris, where he founded and appointed himself president of a society known as the Knights Liberators, which sought to appeal to the Barbary States for the release of Christian slaves. His efforts, such as they were, apparently achieved nothing, apart from some amusingly worded correspondence with various North African rulers. Smith was nominated for a Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath (GCB) on 4 July 1838. He died in Paris, without children, having outlived his wife by fourteen years, on 26 May 1840. Smith was buried in Père-Lachaise Cemetery.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Acre, Siege of; Alexandria, Battle of; Calabria, Uprising in; Chouans; Collingwood, Cuthbert, Viscount; Dardanelles, Expedition to the; El Arish, Convention of; Hood,

Alexander, First Viscount Bridport; Menou, Jacques-François de Boussay, baron; Middle East Campaign; Moore, Sir John; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Phélypeaux, Antoine le Picard de; Pitt, William; Russo-Swedish War; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Toulon, Siege of; Waterloo, Battle of

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## Smolensk, Battle of (17 August 1812)

The Russian city of Smolensk lies some 280 miles east of Moscow. The battle marked the first time that Napoleon faced a united Russian army; the encounter was indecisive for both sides, though Napoleon held the city.

When Napoleon planned his 1812 campaign against Russia, Smolensk was the farthest point that he expected to reach. He had hoped to force a decisive battle long before reaching that city, and had brought with him an enormous army of some half a million men. The very size of that army worked against it, however, as it was difficult to move quickly. Napoleon pursued the Russians and won numerous skirmishes, but the two Russian armies led by generals Mikhail Barclay de Tolly and Peter Bagration managed to elude him. Napoleon thought he had them trapped at Vilna in late June and then again a month later at Vitebsk. Each time, however, unnecessary delays on the part of the French, together with effective rearguard tactics by the Russians, allowed the Russians to withdraw toward Smolensk.

At both Vilna and Vitebsk, Napoleon delayed rather than pursued the withdrawing Russians. At Vilna he hoped to hear offers of peace from Tsar Alexander, but there was never any real chance of that happening. At Vitebsk his army was greatly reduced in fighting effectiveness due to the extremely hot weather it had endured. The Russian climate was already taking its toll in men and horses, and

French supply lines were longer than ideal. Nevertheless, Napoleon decided to pursue the Russians, and they left Vitebsk for Smolensk on 13 August.

The French delay had allowed the two Russian armies to combine forces in Smolensk, presenting a force of some 50,000 men. Napoleon had spent much of 15 August, his birthday, idle, which allowed the Russians to prepare their defenses in Smolensk. On the sixteenth, the French and Russian armies clashed in the suburbs, each sustaining significant casualties. The city walls provided good defensive strength, and the French were unable to move forward with much success: The Russians had deployed their forces effectively. The French forces probed but did not attack in force. On the seventeenth, Napoleon sent three corps against the Russian defenses, but gained little for his effort. Russian casualties were as much as 14,000, but the French suffered losses nearly that high, an unfavorable circumstance for an invading army. The fighting had done great damage to the city, much of which was in flames during most of the day.

On the eighteenth, Bagration and Barclay de Tolly agreed to have the 2nd Western Army moved to the east to prevent a possible French flanking movement. Barclay de Tolly then had little choice but to begin his own withdrawal later in the day. Had the French pressed their attack on the eighteenth, they might have destroyed at least a large portion of the Russian army opposing them. Instead, the French were exposed to the sight of a burning city that surpassed even the spectacle of Moscow's fires, not far in their future. By the nineteenth, the French were in control of the city, but Napoleon's orders to block the retreating Russians were not effectively carried out by General Jean Junot. The Russians escaped with their army mostly intact.

During the battle, Napoleon had indicated that he would likely stay in Smolensk for the winter, which was in keeping with his original plans. The fires had not destroyed the entire city. Though his supply lines were even longer than they had been at Vitebsk, they were still not so long that they could not be maintained. He could organize the territory he had conquered, call for fresh troops and supplies, and renew the fight against the tsar in the spring. He could even simply declare victory, maintain the conquered territory, and leave the next step up to Alexander. He could recognize Poland as an independent nation, which would assure him of its loyalty and give him a new cadre of dedicated soldiers. Organizing this new Polish territory would take time, but the benefits were potentially very important. It was a good option, and one that Napoleon seriously considered.

Withdrawing to Vitebsk was another possibility. That city had troops and adequate provisions for the upcoming winter. Napoleon's commanders and advisers were in favor

of calling a halt to the campaign, and Napoleon gave strong consideration to the option of not moving forward, but he ultimately feared inaction more than the possibility of being lured further into Russia. He could have moved against the tsar at St. Petersburg, the capital, but when the Russian army retreated toward Moscow, Napoleon had little choice but to follow it. Within the week, Napoleon left Smolensk along the road to Borodino and Moscow.

Smolensk figured one more time in the 1812 campaign. When Napoleon decided to leave Moscow and was forced into a northern route, he hoped to return only as far as Smolensk. He had left a garrison in the city and presumed there would be adequate supplies to enable him to establish his winter quarters there. When he reentered that city, however, he discovered that the expected supplies did not exist, and the withdrawal from Russia, with all its terrible consequences, continued.

J. David Markham

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Borodino, Battle of; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Poland; Russian Campaign; Vilna, Battle of; Vitebsk, Battle of

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### Somosierra, Action at (30 November 1808)

One of the very few actions of the Peninsular War in which Napoleon was in personal command of the French forces, the combat that took place at Somosierra was an important moment in the campaign launched by the French emperor to avenge the defeat of Bailén. Massing a large army behind the river Ebro, early in November he moved forward to attack the (Spanish) Army of Extremadura, which was coming up to defend Burgos. Defeating this force at Gamonal on 10 November 1808, he burst through the Spanish center and headed straight for Madrid. Before reaching the Spanish capital, however, he had to cross the Somosierra Pass, where the main road from the French frontier to Madrid climbs over the imposing Sierra de

Guadarrama. In the process it provided the Spaniards with an excellent defensive position: before reaching the summit of the pass, the highway snaked its way along a three-mile-long cleft in the mountains, and was in consequence overlooked from all sides, while the ascent was also both very steep and very narrow.

That said, however, the defenders did not make the most of their opportunities. A large part of their forces was detached to hold the outlying town of Sepúlveda, which lay some miles to the west of the Madrid highway just beyond the northern fringes of the Sierra de Guadarrama, while no advantage was taken of the excellent flanking positions offered by the pass itself. Still worse, no attempt was made to hold the heights that lay to east and west of the road. All that was done, indeed, was to throw up an entrenchment at the summit of the pass and arm it with sixteen cannon. To clear the way, then, was an easy matter: As Napoleon saw, all he had to do was to clear the Spaniards from Sepúlveda—a simple matter that was accomplished on 29 November—and send infantry to scale the hills that overlooked the pass.

For reasons that have never been entirely clear, this did not satisfy the Emperor, however. Notwithstanding the fact that the French infantry was making steady progress—though steep, the heights they were scaling could easily be climbed by troops operating in open order—he ordered the regiment of Polish light horse that constituted his personal bodyguard to charge the Spanish positions head on. With exemplary courage, the Poles did so, only to receive discharge after discharge from the Spanish cannon. With many men shot from their saddles, the survivors at first could take no more, and fell back in disorder. Rallied by General Louis-Pierre Montbrun, however, they returned to the attack, and this time burst through the Spanish positions. Badly shaken, the defenders turned and ran, leaving Napoleon free to close in on Madrid two days later.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Gamonal, Battle of; Madrid, Action at; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; Peninsular War

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### **Sorauren, Battle of (28, 30 July 1813)**

Engagement fought during the Peninsular War between the French and Anglo-Portuguese forces on 28 and 30 July 1813, which formed part of what is known as the Battles of the Pyrenees, together with the battles of Roncesvalles and

Maya. Marshal Nicolas Soult's defeat here led to the failure of his counteroffensive in the Pyrenees to relieve the city of Pamplona, which was under siege.

Having forced the Anglo-Spanish armies back from the passes in the Pyrenees, Soult continued his march toward Pamplona. The Marquis (later Duke of) Wellington ordered the concentration of his forces to prevent Soult's advance. Within a matter of days, Wellington had 24,000 men at his disposal to face around 36,000 French troops. Wellington had deployed his force along a ridge to the north of the village of Oricain before the plain of the Arga River and Pamplona itself was reached. Despite the fact that Soult outnumbered Wellington at this point, he chose to delay his attack, having little cavalry or artillery available. On the morning of 28 July, Soult ordered General Bertrand Clausel to attack on the right flank, while in the center and left General Honoré Reille sent his columns forward. The French attack ground up the slope, but despite the fact that in places they gained the crest, Wellington was able to launch counterattacks to force the enemy back.

Seeing the repulse of the French, Brigadier General Denis Pack on the left of the British line decided to launch an attack on the village of Sorauren. This position was, however, strongly held, and Wellington saw that success was unlikely. He ordered the attack to end, but not before Pack had been severely injured and the British had lost 300 casualties. By the end of the day, both sides had been reinforced. The French general, Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon was facing Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill near the village of Lizaso to the northwest, and Lieutenant General George Ramsay, of the Earl of Dalhousie's division, had reached Sorauren and was able to extend the British line.

On 29 July Soult ordered his generals to march to the northwest. His plan was to exploit the gap between Wellington, who was deployed around Pamplona, and the force under Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham besieging San Sebastian. He hoped to cut the main line of communication between the two. However, Wellington's position provided him with two advantages; first, he could clearly see the movements of the French; and second, he deployed artillery on the ridge. On 30 July d'Erlon, under Soult's supervision, attacked Hill and was able to force him back. Despite this French success, around Sorauren the French had been unable to extricate themselves from the British and came under heavy fire from the guns that Wellington had positioned on the ridge. Wellington now ordered an attack to be launched on Sorauren itself. In the ensuing fighting, the French suffered around 3,000 casualties. Soult was forced to conduct a withdrawal toward France, leaving San Sebastian and Pamplona eventually to fall into British hands.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Graham, Sir Thomas; Hill, Sir Rowland; Maya, Battle of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Roncesvalles, Battle of; San Sebastian, Siege of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Souham, Joseph, comte (1760–1837)

Joseph Souham was born at Lubersac on 30 April 1760 into the family of nine children of Joseph and Marie Dandaleix de Frémont. His father died when Souham was ten years old. The child developed a pronounced stutter, preventing advanced study, but he did learn to read and write. On 17 March 1782 Souham enlisted as a private in Louis XVI's elite 8th Cavalry Regiment. He served in this unit, where exceptional height was a prerequisite, from 1782 to 1790. Souham was 6 feet 6 inches tall.

Once Souham realized in 1792 that war was imminent, he joined the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of Corrèze, which fought against Prussia and Austria. He was promoted to second lieutenant colonel on 16 August 1792 and participated in the Battle of Jemappes on 6 November 1792 and at the siege of Dunkirk in 1793. On 30 July of that year, Souham was appointed as *général de brigade*. Three weeks later he became commander of a 30,000-strong division under General Jean-Charles Pichegru, who commanded the Army of the North. Souham served alongside General Jean Victor Moreau, who commanded 20,000 men. The two commanders became fast friends.

On 29 April 1794, accompanying Pichegru during the campaign in the Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium), Souham showed initiative and audacity at Courtrai. A four-hour battle, ending with a French bayonet charge, secured Souham's victory over the Austrians. On 16 May the Austrian, British, and Hanoverian forces merged into one large command. Two days later they attacked the French positions near Tourcoing, the town itself being the headquarters of Frederick Augustus, Duke of York. The British were repulsed by Souham's brilliant strategy, and the Austrian commander *Feldzeugmeister* Franz de Croix Graf von Clerfayt retreated with 20,000 troops after losing 5,500 men and six guns. Souham lost 3,000 men and six guns. The French went on to take all the areas west of the Rhine. The Austrians were pushed across the river Meuse.

In October 1794 Souham defeated the British at 's Hertogenbosch (Bois le Duc). The following month Pichegru and Souham captured the Dutch fortress of Nijmegen, an encounter during which Souham's troops

fought with distinction. Pichegru and Souham captured the Dutch fleet at Texel, as well as Amsterdam, which in reality was ready to accept the French "liberators." The Dutch Republic was renamed the Batavian Republic and became a satellite of France. In all, the Army of the North won ten victories in its campaign to occupy the Dutch Republic, in the course of which it took 2,500 prisoners, 2,000 pieces of artillery, a dozen flags, and six fortresses.

Souham joined Moreau and the Army of the Rhine in 1798, and he was instrumental in preventing the treachery of Pichegru from affecting the French cause. He defeated the Allies at Pfullendorf and Stockach in March 1799, but soon thereafter was suspected of involvement in royalist schemes, as a result of which he was exiled to his estate. When the courts found no evidence of complicity, Souham was restored to command in 1800, serving under Moreau in the campaign in Germany, where he acquitted himself honorably at Blaubeuren.

In 1804 Souham fell afoul of Napoleon. He was imprisoned for three days in the Temple (the medieval prison in Paris that had held the royal family) and implicated in royalist intrigues, specifically, as a co-conspirator in the duplicities of Moreau and Pichegru. He endured further disgrace for allegedly participating in the revolt of Chouan leader Georges Cadoudal. After Napoleon had Cadoudal executed, Souham remained on his estates, where he hospitably welcomed anyone who came to visit.

He was reinstated in 1808 and played a notable role in the Peninsular War, serving under Marshal Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr in Catalonia. Souham distinguished himself at Lampoudan in November 1808, the siege of Rosas (7 November–4 December), Cardedeu (16 December), and Molins de Rey (21 December). He fought admirably at Valls and Reus on 25 February 1809, at Vich and San Colona in April 1809, and at the siege of Gerona in December of that year. In 1810 he served at Rippol in January and at Vich on 20 February, where he received a severe wound on the left temple. His participation in so many actions earned him the title of count. In 1812 Souham received command of the army formerly under Marshal Auguste de Marmont after the latter's defeat at Salamanca in July 1812, and greatly bolstered his reputation when he forced the Earl (later Duke) of Wellington to retreat from Burgos. Souham also recaptured Salamanca.

During the campaign in Germany in 1813, Souham distinguished himself at Weissenfels on 29 April and fought honorably at the Battle of Lützen on 2 May. He was wounded at the decisive Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October). Souham was awarded the title of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor for his services to France. In the closing period of the 1814 campaign in France, Souham was expected to guard Paris with the 2nd Reserve Division, which

had been reduced to a contingent of a mere 500 men, although he had been promised 2,000. He was unfairly held responsible for the ensuing fiasco.

Souham sided with the royalists after Napoleon's first abdication. Louis XVIII was pleased to welcome Souham to his cause and offered him highly sought-after commands. Souham lost these when Napoleon returned to power; they were reinstated after Napoleon's final abdication in July 1815. Souham retired in 1832, and died on 28 April 1837. His name is inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Burgos, Sieges of; Chouans; Courtrai, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Gerona, Siege of; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Jemappes, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lützen, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Moreau, Jean Victor; Peninsular War; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Salamanca, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Stockach, First Battle of; Texel, Capture of the Dutch Fleet off; Tourcoing, Battle of; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu (1769–1851)

Soult was one of Napoleon's most senior and experienced lieutenants. The product of a modest family background and years of service in the pre-Revolutionary army, he fought with distinction under General André Masséna in Switzerland and Italy, played a key role in the construction of the Grande Armée, and contributed in a crucial way to Napoleon's greatest battlefield victory, at Austerlitz in December 1805. A prolonged period of

service in Spain removed him from Napoleon's side, but he returned to central and western Europe for the last of the Emperor's campaigns. From 1830 to 1847 Soult had a distinguished career in government during the reign of King Louis-Philippe.

Although Soult led his forces with skill and determination, his reputation has suffered from two alleged defects in his character. After being severely wounded at the siege of Genoa in the spring of 1800, Soult supposedly lost his lust for combat and remained conspicuously far from the fighting when battle was underway. Soult was also charged with a taste for looting during his campaigns. Although other senior French leaders also looted, his greed for plunder has become notorious for its sheer scale.

Nicolas Soult was born at St.-Amans-Labastide in the Languedoc region of southern France on 29 March 1769. His given name was Jean de Dieu, but the name "Nicolas," employed by his soldiers, has become the one historians conventionally use. Soult's father was a local notary, who died when his son was only ten. Without much formal education, Soult entered the army in 1786 and rose to the rank of sergeant before the Revolution of 1789. In early 1792, after moving from his old regular regiment to a unit of newly raised volunteers, Soult received the temporary rank of junior lieutenant and took up duties as a drill master. Throughout his career, Soult maintained the crude but effective manner of a pre-1789 drill sergeant. His methods served him and his new company of grenadiers effectively as the campaign of 1792 approached.

In 1793 Soult began his participation in years of fighting along France's borders with the Rhineland states and Belgium. He first distinguished himself in late March in a rearguard action against a Prussian attack near Mainz. Recognized by commanders such as generals Adam Philippe de Custine and Louis Lazare Hoche as a promising young officer, he received assignments for dangerous scouting missions and lightning attacks against enemy lines. In moments when good officers were in short supply, Captain Soult was employed as temporary commander of a brigade. He became renowned for his skill in training the units under his command. In 1794 Soult became chief of staff to General François Lefebvre's division in the legendary Army of the Sambre and Meuse. He participated as a staff officer in the decisive victory of that army over the Austrians at Fleurus in July 1794. His efforts, often marked by his presence at the front line in the thick of the fighting, brought him a distinctive reward: In October 1794, at the age of twenty-five, he was named a *général de brigade* and awarded his own brigade. Service with the Army of the Sambre and Meuse also brought Soult his first contact with General Michel Ney, another future marshal and one of Soult's most bitter rivals.



Marshal Soult. A corps commander during the campaigns of 1805–1807, he is best known for the prominent part he played in the Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal. (Engraving by Rouillard and Demare, 19th c. The David Markham Collection)

The following years found Soult fighting on numerous occasions in western Germany. His most notable achievement came at the Battle of Stockach in late March 1799. The overall offensive under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan through the Black Forest and into the Danube valley failed, and the French forces were compelled to retreat to the Rhine. But Soult led his brigade with panache and determination during the French advance against the Austrians. He was even more effective in directing the skillful retreat of several French divisions. In the aftermath of the campaign, Soult rose to the rank of *général de division*.

A crucial turning point in Soult's career came in April 1799, when he received a command in General André Masséna's Army of Switzerland. This posting gave him the opportunity to distinguish himself while leading a division in combat; eventually, he commanded an entire army corps of three divisions.

With France's eastern frontier defenses tottering in 1799, only Masséna's forces staved off invasion. Two important battles around Zürich proved decisive for the campaign, and Soult played an important role in each. In early June, Soult's division bolstered Masséna's defenses in the fighting east of Zürich. When Masséna took the offensive in late September, Soult fought heroically against the Austrians and Russians at the eastern end of Lake Zürich. In this action, Soult planned a surprise attack after a daring personal reconnaissance in which he dressed as a private soldier on sentry duty. He carried off a complex offensive movement across the Linth River involving swimmers, rapid road construction, and bridging operations. Placed in command of three divisions, Soult pursued Russian forces down the Rhine, and then turned part of his sizable force northward to reinforce Masséna.

By now a key lieutenant under Masséna, Soult joined the senior general in northern Italy in February 1800. One of Soult's first tasks was to restore discipline to the force of 18,000 neglected and hungry men Masséna placed under his command. As Austrian armies advanced, Masséna's forces were driven apart. On Masséna's left, General Louis Suchet was forced westward to Nice and beyond. Soult's men, comprising the right wing of Masséna's army, tried to assume the offensive but were forced backward. Finally, Masséna himself, along with Soult, took refuge in Genoa, beginning a legendary siege that pinned down the Austrians and enabled Bonaparte to cross the Alps and strike at their rear.

Soult performed with his usual front-line heroism and initiative. The French hold on Genoa was imperiled by Austrian pressure on two powerful fortresses in the mountains ringing the city. With Soult at their head, his troops recaptured one of the strong points and pushed the enemy besiegers away from the second. Soult continued such sorties to keep the army confronting Genoa off balance until, during one such venture in May, he was badly wounded in the leg and captured. Although his wound eventually healed, Soult limped for the remainder of his life.

With his recovery and return to duty, Soult entered a period of more relaxed service. He became the military administrator in Piedmont, and then led a French army into southern Italy as Bonaparte consolidated his control there. In these venues, the veteran young general began to acquire a taste for plundering the people and places under his control.

Bonaparte's hopes of invading England provided Soult with an unprecedented opportunity for distinction and promotion. He had not had a personal relationship with Bonaparte, but a strong recommendation from Masséna helped Soult advance rapidly. In August 1803 he took charge of the forces at St. Omer, one of the major mil-

itary camps for Bonaparte's army stationed on the English Channel. He soon received command of IV Corps, the largest in the Grande Armée. With 46,000 men under him, the former drill sergeant now had an unprecedented number of troops upon whom to lavish his energies as a military trainer. He drove his men ferociously, taking them on maneuvers three times each week and drilling them for twelve hours at a time. With his headquarters at Boulogne, he seemed destined to have the central role in any assault on France's main adversary. Having quickly emerged as a key figure in the newly constructed Grande Armée, Soult received the distinction of marshal on 19 May 1804, the first on the list of generals to get the award.

Soult led the superbly trained IV Corps during the series of victorious campaigns stretching from the summer of 1805 through the summer of 1807. When Napoleon marched the Grande Armée eastward in August 1805, Soult led his troops in the sweeping advance that isolated *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich's Austrians at Ulm. The energetic young corps commander then pushed his forces eastward to Vienna and thereafter northward in pursuit of the retreating enemy. Napoleon finally drew the Austrians and their Russian allies toward Austerlitz, in western Bohemia. On the morning of 2 December, when Napoleon's masterful direction of the battle had led the enemy to weaken the center of their line, the Emperor chose IV Corps to strike the decisive blow. Austerlitz was Soult's most memorable success on the battlefield, but it has given rise to a shadow over his reputation. As a corps commander, Soult no longer played the role of combat leader that he had at Genoa, and some subordinates began to comment on the general's alleged habit of remaining well away from any point of danger.

Nonetheless, Soult and IV Corps again took a leading role during the Jena campaign against Prussia in the fall of 1806. Soult's forces, along with the corps of marshals Jean Lannes and Pierre Augereau, defeated the Prussians at Auerstädt, while the main body of the enemy lost at Jena to Louis Davout. Soult then helped to conduct a devastating pursuit of the defeated Prussians. A highpoint of his performance here was in helping to trap and capture General Gebhard von Blücher, the enemy's most aggressive leader, at Lübeck along with a large remnant of the Prussian army.

In the campaign in Poland the following year, Soult led his corps at the Battle of Eylau (7–8 February 1807) and captured the enemy stronghold of Königsberg (June). Following the Treaty of Tilsit in July, Soult spent more than a year commanding an army of occupation in Prussia. During this time, he shared in the military and financial honors Napoleon bestowed on the Emperor's most successful military subordinates. An income of 300,000 francs per year made Soult a wealthy man, and the title of duc de

Dalmatie put him in the ranks of Napoleon's newly created nobility.

Soult then served in the Iberian Peninsula for more than five years. Like most of his colleagues in the upper ranks of the French military system, he found the experience diminished rather than enhanced his reputation. Soult led II Corps during Napoleon's offensive of November 1808, destroying a Spanish army at Gamonal on 10 November and capturing the key urban center of Burgos. At Napoleon's direction, Soult moved northward against the Spanish forces under General Joaquín Blake. After Blake's defeat, Soult remained in northern Spain in preparation for a thrust into Portugal. Isolated in northern Spain, Soult was in danger of being defeated by the substantial British forces under Lieutenant General Sir John Moore and Lieutenant General Sir David Baird approaching him from the west and north. Soult was saved by Napoleon's ability to shift substantial French forces northward. The Emperor then decided to return to France and left his distinguished subordinate to lead the pursuit of the British, who were retreating to the northern port of Corunna.

On 16 January 1809 Soult and Moore met in battle at Corunna, on the northwest coast of Spain. The French leader became the first of his peers to encounter the effectiveness of a trained British army in the Iberian Peninsula. Soult saw his attacking forces shattered by the steadiness and firepower of the British battleline. Soult could take credit, however, for forcing the seaborne evacuation of the enemy's troops, as well as for the death of Moore in the last stages of the battle.

In response to Napoleon's orders, now coming from the Emperor back in France, Soult took part in a set of offensives to secure control of the Iberian Peninsula. While other forces moved into Galicia and Catalonia, Soult advanced into Portugal in order to seize the capital city of Lisbon. The difficulty of consolidating his position near Corunna as well as coping with emerging guerrilla forces delayed Soult's progress. Having established himself at Oporto in northern Portugal, the French leader developed a sweeping set of political ambitions. Soult appealed to local Portuguese officials in a possible attempt to establish himself as the monarch of the northern part of the country. His dreams were soon shattered, however, when a British force under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) defeated Soult, on 12 May 1809, and expelled the French leader and his army from Oporto. Soult conducted a humiliating retreat back to Galicia, with the loss of all his guns, after this initial defeat at the hands of Wellesley.

Soult faced another frustration in August 1809. Rushing his troops from northern Spain, he failed to cut off

Wellesley's retreat westward after the Battle of Talavera. Napoleon put the blame for the failure on his brother Joseph, whom he had made King of Spain, and on Joseph's key military adviser, General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan. On 16 September Soult replaced Jourdan. He now faced the problem of coordinating operations for the fractious, independent-minded generals who controlled the various provinces of Spain. And Soult's task was not made easier by his long-standing difficult relations with Joseph. Nevertheless, he achieved a significant victory over the Spanish at Ocaña on 19 November.

Soult's term in the Peninsula featured the French offensive southward into Andalusia in early 1810, his destruction of a Spanish army under General Gabriel Mendizabal at the Gebora River on 19 February 1811, and his success in capturing the key border fortress of Badajoz the following month. He remained in Andalusia for two years, but sustaining his position there proved impossible in the summer of 1812. By the time he evacuated Andalusia, his relations with Joseph had grown so acrimonious that the French general was writing Napoleon to suggest that Joseph had treasonous dealings with Spanish authorities. Recalled for service in Germany in 1813, Soult fought at the Battle of Bautzen on 20–21 May. With a corps of Napoleon's army under his command, he tried to emulate his success eight years earlier at Austerlitz by crushing the center of the Allied line. But this time, the French failed to weaken their adversary by attacks elsewhere on the battlefield, and Soult succeeded only in driving the opposing Prussians and Russians into an orderly retreat.

In June 1813 Wellington's defeat of the French army at Vitoria placed Napoleon's entire position in Spain in jeopardy. Soult returned to stabilize the situation. Arriving at Bayonne, he restored order and discipline in the shaken ranks of the French forces. He then undertook a series of offensives to block Wellington from moving through the Pyrenees. Soult failed in efforts to relieve the besieged French garrisons at Pamplona and San Sebastian, and on 7 October Wellington led an Anglo-Portuguese army onto French soil. Although both sides suspended military operations for several months in the winter of 1813–1814, Soult found himself pushed from one defensive line after another. He encountered Wellington in the final losing battle of the campaign at Toulouse on 10 April 1814. Both sides were unaware that by this time Napoleon had already abdicated his throne.

Soult accepted the Bourbon Restoration under King Louis XVIII with a degree of enthusiasm that disturbed many of his former comrades-in-arms. He took the position of minister of war in December 1814, and his policies, such as restoring royalist officers while retiring former officers from Napoleon's army, caused lasting resentment.

With Napoleon's return to power in March 1815, Soult shifted sides once again. Napoleon appointed him chief of staff for the newly formed Army of the North. The Emperor may have distrusted Soult too much to award him a field command, but with the flight of General Louis-Alexandre Berthier, Napoleon's longtime chief of staff, the French army required a prestigious figure with experience in moving large numbers of troops.

Soult's performance in the Waterloo campaign added little to his military reputation. Unlike the superbly efficient Berthier, he failed on several occasions to produce lucid and timely orders. Nor did he always send out messages by several couriers—one of Berthier's practices—to ensure orders got through. Thus, on 16 June, Marshal Michel Ney did not receive firm instructions to engage the British at Quatre Bras, an error enabling Wellington to make an orderly withdrawal. Soult also failed to reconnoiter the direction of the Prussian retreat after the Battle of Ligny. On the other hand, just before the Battle of Waterloo, Soult wisely advised Napoleon to recall Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy from his pursuit of the Prussians in order to concentrate French strength against Wellington. He also advised against a frontal assault on the Allied lines. Napoleon rejected these sound suggestions from the one French general who had faced Wellington repeatedly.

In the aftermath of Napoleon's fall, Soult was forced into exile in Germany for several years. But he returned in 1819, and, after the fall of the Bourbons in 1830, he began a final era of service to the French government. Under King Louis-Philippe, Soult twice returned to his old position of minister of war and twice served as prime minister. While representing the French government at the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, he received a warm official welcome, had a reunion with his old adversary, the Duke of Wellington, and was applauded by the British public.

Soult received a final—and rare—honor from the French government when he was elevated to the rank of marshal-general in 1847. The old soldier died at his birthplace, St-Amans-Labastide, on 26 November 1851. He had lived to the age of eighty-two.

*Neil M. Heyman*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Badajoz, First Siege of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Blake, Joaquín; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Joseph; Corunna, Battle of; Corunna, Retreat to; Davout, Louis Nicolas; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Genoa, Siege of; Germany, Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Lannes, Jean; Lefebvre, François

Joseph; Ligny, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Ney, Michel; Ocaña, Battle of; Oporto, Battle of; Orthez, Battle of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); San Sebastian, Siege of; Stockach, First Battle of; Suchet, Louis Gabriel; Switzerland, Campaign in; Talavera, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Toulouse, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at; Vitoria, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## South America

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had a profound effect on the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America. In 1793 Spain joined those countries fighting against France. Spanish colonial trade continued, but at lower levels. In 1795, by the terms of the Treaty of Basle, Spain unilaterally ended hostilities with the French, an act of desertion that angered Britain. When Spain and Britain went to war in 1796, Spain's transatlantic trade collapsed,

as the British attacked Spanish shipping. The British clearly controlled the seas after their victory at Trafalgar in 1805, further damaging Spain's relationship with its South American colonies.

The port of Buenos Aires (in present-day Argentina) was especially hard hit by the decline in commerce. In June 1806 a British force occupied the city. This force, led by Commodore Sir Home Riggs Popham, who was not authorized by the British government to undertake the expedition, easily defeated the Spanish militia and took the city. The viceroy, the Marquis de Sobremonte, fled to the interior city of Córdoba. When a second expedition arrived in early 1807, however, the residents of Buenos Aires defeated it, and the British surrendered. The result for the colony was that the viceroy was deposed and an interim viceroy was named, paving the way for independence.

In 1806 France implemented Napoleon's Continental System (the French-imposed embargo on continental trade with Britain). The French saw Portugal as a potential weak link in the system and invaded in 1807, sending the Portuguese prince regent, John (João), into exile in Brazil. More than 10,000 people made the journey, escorted by a British naval squadron. John then ruled his empire from Rio de Janeiro until 1821. He went so far as to elevate Brazil's status to that of a kingdom. After John returned to Portugal, his son Pedro led the Brazilian independence movement in 1822.

France then invaded Spain in 1808, and Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, leading to revolts in Spain and later to the independence movements in the Spanish colonies. The earliest revolt occurred in the Audiencia de Charcas (in present-day Bolivia), where infighting among government officials about events in Spain allowed some colonists to take political power and declare self-rule. In 1809, in the city of La Paz (in present-day Bolivia), colonists arrested the governor and bishop, formed a governing council, and declared independence. However, Spanish loyalists put down this first attempt at South American independence.

South American colonists took further action in 1810 as French troops advanced southward through Spain. On 19 April 1810 the city council of Caracas (in modern-day Venezuela) called a *cabildo abierto*, or open town meeting. The colonists created a governing junta to rule in the name of deposed king Ferdinand VII. Caracas and its surroundings then suffered through more than a decade of warfare, as patriots and loyalists fought for control of the colony. To the south, colonists in Buenos Aires called a *cabildo abierto* in May 1810 in response to the fall of Seville to the French. They created a junta to replace the local Spanish authorities and arrested the viceroy. Unlike Caracas, Buenos Aires never again came under Spanish rule. In July 1810,

colonists in New Granada (present-day Colombia) deposed the viceroy in Bogotá. In Chile, colonists created a ruling junta in September. By that time most of South America, with the exception of the Spanish colonial heartland of Peru, had assumed some degree of self-rule in response to the French invasion of Spain. Spain, however, later fought back and regained control of much of its South American empire before colonists achieved final independence in the 1820s.

The British used their navy in the South Atlantic to keep the French out of the Spanish colonies. The British also sought to act as intermediaries between Spain and the revolutionaries in the colonies who had declared independence. Spain, however, refused such mediation. Despite the fact that many British merchants pressured the government to aid the independence movements in Latin America, British authorities did not officially assist the patriots. Instead, the British government received guarantees from most European powers that none of them would send troops to interfere in the wars of independence in Spanish America. Nevertheless, by the time the British issued the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act, prohibiting British nationals from entering foreign service, more than 5,000 British soldiers were already serving in the New World.

Ronald Young

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Bolívar, Simón; Bonaparte, Joseph; Buenos Aires, Expedition to; Continental System; Ferdinand VII, King; Peninsular War; Portugal, Invasions of (1807–1808); Spain; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Southey, Robert (1774–1843)

English poet and writer. The son of a linen draper, Southey studied at Corston and Bristol before enrolling at the prestigious Westminster School, where he began to write his first works. However, he was expelled from the school for publicly condemning the practice of whipping. In 1792 he entered Balliol College at Oxford and showed sympathy with the ideals of the French Revolution in his early poems *The Fall of Robespierre* (1794) and *Joan of Arc* (1796). At this period, Southey met Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with whom he established a writing partnership and shared radical political and religious viewpoints. They even collaborated on establishing a commune in America, though it came to no avail. Southey secretly married Edith Fricker (whose sister was married to Coleridge) in 1795 and joined his uncle in Portugal.

In 1797 Southey published *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (1797) and produced two volumes of his collected *Poems* (1795–1799). These works were followed by *The Inchcape Rock* and *The Battle of Blenheim*, the latter an antiwar tract. After serving as editor of two volumes of contemporary verse in the *Annual Anthology*, Southey translated the latter part of Jacques Necker's *On the French Revolution*, the wide-ranging reviews of which increased his political and literary notoriety.

In 1803 Southey and his wife visited the Coleridges at Great Hall, Keswick, where they remained for the rest of their life. During the Napoleonic Wars, Southey renounced his youthful radicalism and fascination with the French Revolution. To maintain his family, he produced a variety of works, including criticism, history, biography, translations, and journalism. In 1809 Southey began writing for the Tory *Quarterly Review*, which eventually published some ninety-five of his articles. In 1810 Southey started writing a history of Brazil, which was published in three volumes in 1819. In 1813 he was appointed poet laureate through the influence of Sir Walter Scott, which provided him with economic security. He published the two-volume *Life of Nelson* in 1813 and completed *Life of Wesley* and the *Rise and Progress of Methodism* in 1820, *The Book of the Church* in 1824, and *Sir Thomas More* in 1829. *Essays Moral and Political* followed in 1832, and the next year he published *Lives of British Admirals*.

In 1817 Southey was accused of republicanism and radicalism following an unauthorized publication of his early work *Wat Tyler*. He became involved in a bitter quarrel with Lord Byron, who criticized Southey in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* in 1809 and dedicated to Southey the first cantos of his satiric masterpiece *Don Juan* in 1819. In response, Southey denounced Byron in *A Vi-*

sion of *Judgement* (1821), which only intensified their animosity, as Byron produced a brilliant parody of Southey's poem under the title *The Vision of Judgment* in 1822.

In addition to literary infighting, Southey endured the mental illness of his first wife, who died in 1837, and family quarrels with his second wife, Caroline Anne Bowles. He died from a fever on 21 March 1843 and was buried in the churchyard at Crosthwaite.

Annette E. Richardson

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Keats, John; Romanticism; Scott, Sir Walter; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Wordsworth, William

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## Spain

The period of the French Revolution and the rule of Napoleon was a time of great trauma for Spain. In 1789 the country was a world power second only to Britain. A powerful fleet secured Spain's control of the greatest empire in the world; several decades of enlightened absolutism under the rule of Charles III (reigned 1759–1788) had strengthened the administration, increased the power of the state, undermined the control of the Catholic Church, and stimulated intellectual life; the introduction of free trade with America had led to considerable economic growth, and, in particular, the emergence of a nascent cotton industry in Catalonia; and a permanent alliance with France known as the Family Compact brought Spain both safety in Europe and the ability to stave off British rivalry in the Atlantic.

Look at 1815, however, and the picture is very different. Much of the country was in ruins; the state was in eclipse; the navy was nonexistent; economic life was at a standstill; large parts of its American empire had either broken away from Spain or were in a state of revolt; and there was a very real risk of civil war. Conventionally, much of the blame for this transformation has been laid at the door of Charles IV (reigned 1788–1808) and his favorite and chief minister, Manuel de Godoy, but this is unfair: the former was certainly not possessed of the same vision and energy as his predecessors, while the latter was a man of dubious probity, but in the last resort Spain was faced by

circumstances that would have tested the strongest of administrations.

The first problem faced by Charles IV on his accession to the throne in 1788 was, of course, the French Revolution. The Revolution was a frightening spectacle for the court of Madrid, and its response was to impose an absolute blackout on all news from across the Pyrenees. Yet no move was made to attack France, and it increasingly began to be felt that the best way forward was to adopt a policy of conciliation. Early in 1792, then, the chief minister, José Moñino, Conde de Floridablanca, was replaced by the Conde de Aranda and friendly overtures made to France. With the establishment of the Republic in September 1792, however, Aranda was discredited, with the result that power passed to Godoy. The latter was no more belligerent than Aranda, but on 7 March 1793, the French assembly declared war. There followed the so-called War of the Convention of 1793–1794. Quickly invading Roussillon, a Spanish army briefly blockaded Perpignan, but a French victory at Peyrestortes forced it to retreat to entrenched positions just north of the Spanish frontier.

At the beginning of May 1794, meanwhile, a further French victory at Le Boulou drove it back across the frontier. Crossing the Pyrenees into Catalonia in July, the French then closed in on Figueras, which was protected by a large citadel that stood on a height overlooking the town. In a three-day battle fought on 17–19 November, the French drove the Spaniards away from the position, and the garrison then surrendered without further resistance. Both armies then went into winter quarters, while the guns had also fallen silent at the other end of the Pyrenees, where another French army had made a small lodgment in Navarre. When the fighting was renewed, the Spanish forces defending Catalonia beat back no fewer than three French offensives and even managed to outflank the invaders and recapture the frontier town of Puigcerda, but in the west operations went less well: Defeating the troops opposing them at Irurzun, the (French) Army of the Western Pyrenees penetrated deep into Spain and occupied both Vitoria and Bilbao.

These French successes coincided with the end of the war. Fighting the Republic had proved ruinously expensive and had led to a major financial crisis, thanks to the depreciation of the government bonds issued to finance the struggle. Forced to impose heavy conscription, Godoy had found himself facing great resentment on the home front. Stirred up by an aristocratic clique opposed to the reforms of the Bourbons, talk of a Spanish revolution had been heard. Much alarmed, Charles IV therefore ordered Godoy to open peace negotiations with France, the war being ended on 12 July 1795 by the Treaty of Basle. The terms were moderate enough—Godoy was actually rewarded by

Charles with the title Prince of the Peace—but even so the war had sounded a clarion call. In the dangerous new world that had emerged, a world in which Spain could count on continued British hostility without necessarily being able to rely on France coming to its assistance, the only hope was to intensify the pace of reform. Yet it was not as simple as that. With French armies triumphant on all fronts, France was unlikely to remain inactive in the face of the emergence of a significant threat in Madrid. To allay Paris's suspicions, and at the same time to regain the services of the French navy in the never-ending rivalry with Britain, it was therefore decided to seek an alliance with France; hence the Treaty of San Ildefonso of May 1796, and, shortly afterward, Spain's reentry into the war as a member of the French camp.

This switch in Spain's foreign policy has frequently been castigated as the origin of all the country's later ills, but in assessing Godoy's actions, one needs to take three vital points into account. In the first place, the desire for reform that underpinned San Ildefonso was entirely sincere: over the next few years the favorite was to push the cause of enlightened reform further than any other statesman in Europe. In the second place, it is quite clear that Godoy was well aware that France was not to be trusted: Far from thrusting Spain ever deeper into the French embrace, he was therefore from the very beginning awaiting the moment when he could restore Spain's freedom of action. And in the third, caught as it was between Britain and France, Spain could not stand alone: an alliance with Britain having been found wanting, there was simply no alternative but a deal with Paris. At all events, reform was certainly essayed: A commission of generals was established to consider the needs of the army and a variety of concrete measures introduced to improve its efficiency; the Church and the aristocracy were taxed more heavily; the Bourbon attempt to "civilize" the Spanish populace (and thereby to increase levels of productivity, education, and public order) was continued, most notably by the abolition of bullfighting; and a very considerable start was made on the expropriation and sale of the lands of the Church.

However, the net effect was hardly great. In the first place, Godoy was entirely dependent on royal favor, which was something that was not to be relied upon (in 1798, for example, French pressure led to him losing the post of chief minister). In the second, many of his plans were sabotaged by the resistance of his many enemies within the administration. In the third, the favorite's undoubted venality cost him the support of many officials and intellectuals who might otherwise have supported his policies. And in the fourth, Godoy's efforts were simply nullified by the size of the crisis facing Spain. Most important here was the impact of the war with Britain.

Costly enough in itself—the Spanish navy, for example, suffered serious reverses at St. Vincent in 1797 and Algieras in 1801—the war had indirect effects that were even worse. The many sectors of the economy associated with the transatlantic trade were badly hit, while revenue from the Americas also declined dramatically. A brief respite was provided by the Treaty of Amiens of 1802, but the balance sheet was hardly positive for the regime—the gain of the insignificant Portuguese frontier district of Olivença in the so-called War of the Oranges hardly balanced the loss of Trinidad—and the two years that intervened before Spain was once again forced to enter the war on the side of France in 1804 (something that Godoy struggled desperately to avoid) were marked by both a terrible famine and an epidemic of yellow fever that decimated the population of Andalucía.

Given the miseries endured by the populace, not to mention the fact that the regime's attack on the Church stripped the poor of their only source of relief, popular unrest grew enormously—there were serious revolts in both Valencia and Bilbao—and this provided the many elements in the Church, the nobility, and the army who felt threatened by Godoy's policies with a means of putting pressure on the regime. By means of a clever campaign of black propaganda, they painted a picture of decadence, corruption, and incompetence that has survived unchallenged to this day, and at the same time won them the support of the crowd. Meanwhile, seizing upon the crown prince, Ferdinand, as a useful figurehead whom they would be able to manipulate at will, they promoted him as a "prince charming" who would put an end to all Spain's ills, and they also began to intrigue for the support of Napoleon. With things going from bad to worse—in 1805, of course, came the dramatic defeat of Trafalgar, while in 1807 the British invaded modern-day Uruguay and Argentina—Godoy responded by a variety of diplomatic twists and turns, not to mention some intrigues of his own, but these only served to destabilize the situation still further, and the end result was French intervention, the overthrow of Charles IV and Godoy by a hastily organized military coup, the removal of the entire Bourbon dynasty, and the overwhelming upsurge of popular feeling that precipitated the Peninsular War of 1807–1814.

The military events of this conflict are dealt with elsewhere. In brief, however, after some initial reverses—most notably, the Battle of Bailén—forced them to evacuate most of the territory that they had been occupying when the war broke out, the French counterattacked and retook Madrid, whereupon Joseph Bonaparte was installed as King of Spain. Between then and the beginning of 1812, there followed a long struggle to reduce the rest of the country. However, aided by a variety of factors—British in-

tervention, rough terrain, and the sheer size of the country—the so-called Patriot forces clung on. So heavy were Spain's losses that her military capacity was eventually reduced to almost nothing, but Napoleon's invasion of Russia destabilized his position in the Peninsula, and Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese army was at last enabled to take the offensive. Even then it took another two years' hard fighting, but by April 1814 the Bonaparte Kingdom of Spain was little more than a memory.

The significance of the Peninsular War in terms of the general history of Spain cannot be underestimated. Hamstrung by the collapse of its naval power in the period 1796–1808, Spain was confronted by the loss of most of its American colonies: Faced by the inability of the mother country either to provide for their defense or to meet their economic needs, from 1810 onward the Creoles of one territory after another rose in revolt. Meanwhile, at home, dissatisfaction with the Bourbons, economic self-interest, and the demands of the war against France had produced the rise of a revolutionary movement that gave birth to the English terms *liberal* and *liberalism*. From this movement there emerged the Constitution of 1812, and with it the definitive end of both feudalism and the Spanish Inquisition, while in response there came together a powerful counterrevolutionary party whose aim it was to restore absolutism, and in many cases reverse the reforms introduced by the Bourbon monarchy in the eighteenth century. Add to all this an army that had been deeply politicized by the events of 1808–1814, and it will be appreciated that Spain was set for a nineteenth century that would be deeply disturbed.

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Algeciras, First Battle of; Algeciras, Second Battle of; Amiens, Treaty of; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Basle, Treaties of; Bayonne, Conference at; Bonaparte, Joseph; Buenos Aires, Expedition to; Cádiz, Cortes of; Charles IV, King; Ferdinand VII, King; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Guerrilla Warfare; Junta Central; Le Boulou, Battle of; Moñino, José, Conde de Floridablanca; Oranges, War of the; Peninsular War; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); San Ildefonso, Treaty of; South America; Spanish Army; Spanish Navy; St. Vincent, Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Trinidad, Capture of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Spain, Campaigns in

*See* Peninsular War

## Spanish Army

Traumatic in the extreme, the Spanish Army's experience of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars deeply affected its outlook and had a lasting impact on the history of Spain.

In 1789 the army was a conventional late eighteenth-century force, whose only distinguishing feature was an exceptionally strong royal guard. Recruited by a mixture of voluntary enlistment and a limited system of conscription that was generally imposed only in wartime and affected only the urban and rural poor, it consisted of a typical array of conventionally organized infantry and cavalry regiments. A number of the infantry regiments were foreign—Irish, Italian, Swiss, and Walloon—and there were separate corps of artillery and engineers, both of which enjoyed considerable administrative independence. Officers, meanwhile, came primarily from the nobility; promotion from the ranks was possible and quite widespread, but such men rarely advanced beyond the rank of captain: By 1800 perhaps one-third of the officer corps consisted of ex-rankers. With favor at court very important in securing advancement, promotion was in general highly inequitable, and so the army suffered from having a minority of well-connected officers, who were promoted rapidly and often rose far beyond their capacity, and a majority of perpetual captains and lieutenants, who were both aging and embittered.

Hardly conducive to professional solidarity, this situation was to have serious results in 1808. As for other defects, Spain being desperately short of horses, there were too few cavalry, while the army was entirely dependent on the population for its transport: Horses, oxen, mules, and

wagons all had to be hired at the start of each campaign, while they were left in the charge of civilian teamsters who were prone to abscond at the first opportunity. Above all, however, in the reign of Charles III (1759–1788), the army had been run down in favor of the navy, the latter being of far greater importance in a situation where a permanent alliance with France ensured that Spain's only major foreign opponent would be Britain. The result of all this was that the war against France of 1793–1795 was a difficult experience. The Spaniards fought well, but they were unable either to respond effectively to the tactics employed by their French opponents, or to build up a large army. Under the influence of the royal favorite, Manuel de Godoy, the period from 1795 to 1808 was therefore marked by a serious attempt at military reform. Thanks to the opposition of vested interests in the army and a variety of other problems, this effort had little effect, however: The royal guard was cut in half, the number of light infantry greatly increased, and the army given some horse artillery, but otherwise all remained much as before.

When war broke out with France in 1808, Spain was therefore at a serious disadvantage, while the army's problems were rendered still worse by the circumstances of the Spanish uprising. For a variety of reasons, the army was deeply unpopular, and the result was that many leading generals were overthrown or even murdered. At the same time there was a breakdown of authority, and a failure to establish adequate systems of command and control, while the officer corps itself split: Denied promotion, many of the humbler subaltern officers collaborated enthusiastically with the insurgents and made no attempt to rally round their superiors, even when the latter were demonstrably loyal to the rebellion. And finally, in the general confusion, many regular units disintegrated, while those that survived had hastily to be brought up to strength with large numbers of raw recruits. On top of this, many new regiments were formed under the leadership of improvised officers who were frequently lacking in talent, training, and experience. For obvious reasons, meanwhile, the vast majority of these new forces were composed of infantry: It was simply quicker and cheaper to turn out foot soldiers than it was to train fresh cavalymen or to equip new batteries of artillery.

In consequence, the Spanish Army had little chance. Thus, the single lucky victory obtained at Bailén was followed by a series of terrible defeats—good examples are Tudela, Uclés, Medellín, Alba de Tormes, and Ocaña—for the Spanish levies could barely maneuver or change formation on the battlefield, while their lack of artillery and, more especially, cavalry support placed them at a still greater disadvantage. Nor was there ever any chance of remedying these problems. One way forward would have

been to avoid battle and adopt a defensive strategy: Spread around the periphery of the country, the Spanish armies were sheltered by massive chains of mountains, such as the Sierra Morena. However, this strategy was not an option: the provisional government that ruled Spain from 1808 to 1810 needed military victories, while generals that jibbed at taking the field were liable to be replaced and on occasion even killed as traitors.

Yet going over to the attack was not easy either, for the Spanish field armies were necessarily operating on exterior lines, while their starting positions were often hundreds of miles apart. In consequence, it was easy for the French to defeat them in detail, while the disadvantages under which the generals were laboring were frequently increased by the meddling of their political superiors and the hesitation engendered by the deep dilemmas that they faced (damned if they did not fight, they knew that they would be defeated if they did). Finally, since the chief theater of operations could only be the open plains of the *meseta* (the country's central plateau), defeat was invariably accompanied by enormous casualties and the loss of large numbers of guns and other impedimenta. At the same time, as military service was deeply unpopular, the army impossible to supply in an adequate manner, and joining the guerrillas a constant temptation, desertion was enormous. In consequence, with each defeat the generals—who were, it has to be said, hardly a galaxy of talent—had to start virtually from scratch, only for their efforts almost immediately to be lost in some fresh catastrophe.

In fairness it ought to be observed that the Spaniards often actually fought with great courage, particularly in the defense of besieged cities and fortresses and in situations where the French could not bring their massive superiority to bear (a good example is the Battle of Albuera, where four battalions of Spanish infantry held off two French divisions and thereby saved Sir William Beresford from complete disaster). But gallantry was not enough: By the beginning of 1810, Spain's soldiers had lost so much ground to the French that they had literally run out of resources. From 1810 to 1812, then, all that the army could do was to seek to hang on to such enclaves of territory as the Patriot cause still possessed, while at the same time harassing the French with raids and skirmishes. In this manner the struggle against Napoleon was sustained, but the military were never able to regain even such strength as they had possessed in 1808, with the result that the liberation of Spain in 1812–1813 saw only a limited degree of Spanish participation. Indeed, even the organizing genius of Wellington, who became commander in chief of the Spanish Army in January 1813, proved insufficient to the task of rebuilding the army, and it was not until the autumn of that year, by which time the French had almost been

cleared from the Peninsula, that substantial bodies of troops were once again available for service.

All this had a deep impact on the army's psychology. Reduced to a secondary role in the ejection of the French, it had also been forced to endure the open scorn of many British soldiers (scorn that is echoed in much British writing on the Peninsular War to this very day). At the very time that it had been fighting the invaders with such devotion, moreover, it had seen itself stripped of most of the legal privileges that the military estate had enjoyed in 1808 by the Cortes of Cádiz. Rather than a source of pride, the war against Napoleon therefore became a source of humiliation—humiliation, moreover, which was in large part blamed on the civilian politicians who had actually run the war effort—and the result was a propensity toward military intervention in politics that was to mar the course of Spanish history until well into the twentieth century. In brief, the army became obsessed by the need to maintain law and order, the unity of Spain, and the primacy of the armed forces, and in this fashion it was drawn deeper and deeper into the camp of political reaction. In consequence, it may be said that the victims of General Franco's firing squads in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 were the last casualties of the struggle against Napoleon.

Charles J. Esdaile

*See also* Alba de Tormes, Battle of; Albuera, Battle of; Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Cádiz, Cortes of; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Medellín, Battle of; Ocaña, Battle of; Peninsular War; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795); Spain; Spanish Navy; Tudela, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Spanish Navy

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars witnessed a dramatic transformation in the position of the Spanish Navy. Thus, in 1792 Spain was, on paper at least, one of Europe's leading naval powers—indeed, Spain's navy was ranked behind only those of Britain and France—whereas in 1814 the few Spanish warships that still remained could barely be put to sea.

At the beginning of the struggle, however, no one could have predicted this transformation. For most of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Navy had been in the ascendant. Under Charles III, in particular, the number of ships had been greatly expanded, as were Spain's naval dockyards and other shipbuilding facilities. Meanwhile, Spanish shipbuilders were given the best training available, and their ranks strengthened by imported foreign experts. The training of naval officers was reformed, and a comprehensive system of naval conscription instituted in maritime provinces. In the 1780s, a regular program of fleet maneuvers was instituted. And, above all, money was lavished on the navy: Between 1776 and 1784, for example, spending averaged 28 percent of the national budget.

All this produced an impressive force. Aided not just by rapid naval building but the construction of the many ships built in Cuba from long-lasting colonial hardwoods, in 1792 the navy amounted to 76 ships of the line, 41 frigates, and 109 smaller vessels. Spanish ship design, meanwhile, was excellent: With some exceptions, Spanish warships were immensely strong, eminently sea-worthy, and highly maneuverable, while they had also been growing ever bigger and could carry more guns than British warships of a comparable size. Indeed, the Spanish Navy was the proud owner of the *Santísima Trinidad*, which was the largest warship in the world and carried 136 guns. And, last but not least, the naval officer corps was first rate: not only had men such as Alejandro Malaspina played a major part in the voyages of exploration and discovery characteristic of the eighteenth century, but commanders such as José de Mazarredo, Federico Gravina, Cosmé Churrua, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, and Cayetano Valdés were widely known for courage and professionalism.

What, then, wrecked the Spanish Navy? According to tradition, the answer lies in the incompetence and corruption endemic in the Spanish administration, and, in particular, the misdeeds of the Spanish royal favorite, Manuel de Godoy. This verdict, however, is unfair. It is certainly true that full-scale naval construction effectively ceased in Spain in 1796, that the Spanish Navy was dogged by a variety of logistical problems, and that every Spanish fleet that put to sea was defeated, but the reasons for this are far more complicated than the “black legend” tends to assume. In the first place, the outbreak of war with France in 1793 completely transformed Spain's strategic situation. Even though peace was made with the Republic in 1795, and a military alliance forged in 1796, Madrid could no longer depend on Paris's friendship (as it had been able to do throughout the eighteenth century). With the recent naval expansion only achieved at the cost of the army, which had generally been allowed to run down, a certain reallocation of resources was now inevitable, and all the

more so, given the soaring inflation that had gripped Spain since 1780 and was forcing up the cost of construction and maintenance.

Beyond, this, meanwhile, the navy was affected by serious shortages of raw materials. Thus, by the 1790s the oak forests on which shipbuilding in Spain depended had been seriously depleted, while war with Britain from 1796 onward meant that the Baltic pine on which her shipbuilders increasingly relied for masts could not be obtained (initially much pine had come from Mexico, but by the 1790s the most accessible forests had all been cut down there, too). Manpower also was at a premium. Larger ships required larger crews, but the supply of sailors was affected by a series of epidemics of yellow fever that gutted entire communities along the south coast of Spain: between 1803 and 1805, for example, fully 25 percent of the population of Málaga were struck down by this disease.

And, last but not least, war with Britain meant that Spain's ships were forced to remain cooped up in harbor for long periods, with serious results for both shiphandling and gunnery practice. Though corruption doubtless played its part (along, perhaps, with want of imagination: There was, for example, no attempt to copy the British innovation of supplementing the sailor's diet with citrus fruit), Spain's naval decline must therefore be attributed to other issues. Yet decline the Spanish Navy did. Despite great courage and devotion, Spanish fleets were worsted at Cape St. Vincent and Trafalgar, while by 1808 the struggle against Britain had cost 25 men-of-war shipwrecked or lost in battle. As a further 15 had been stricken or broken up since 1792 and still others lost in the war of 1793–1795 or transferred to France, Spain's striking power had been more than halved, while those ships that remained could hardly put to sea for want of crews, naval stores, and other supplies, the problems experienced in this area being greatly increased by the loss of much of the country to enemy occupation and the complete devastation of the economy. Spanish ships did participate in the Peninsular War, helping, for example, to transport troops around the coast and participating in amphibious operations, but all the while rotting and obsolescent men-of-war were having to be stricken from the service, while others again were lost to shipwreck. For all this destruction there was no replacement, save for a few French ships captured at Cádiz in 1808, and the end result was that by 1814 Spanish naval power was no more.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* French Navy; Godoy y Alvarez de Faria, Manuel de, Príncipe de la Paz, Duque de Alcudia; Naval Warfare; Peninsular War; Royal Navy; Ships of the Line; Spain; Spanish Army; St. Vincent, Battle of; Trafalgar, Battle of

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### **Speransky, Mikhail Mikhailovich, Count (1772–1839)**

Prominent Russian statesman and reformer, secretary to Tsar Alexander I. He was born on 12 January 1772, the son of the village priest from Cherkutino in central Russia, and studied at the seminary in Vladimir. In 1788 he enrolled in the Main Seminary in St. Petersburg, from which he graduated in 1792 and at which he stayed for four years as instructor of philosophy and prefect. In January 1797 he left the seminary for the civil service and was granted the rank of titular counselor, becoming a secretary to powerful Prince Aleksey Kurakin, procurator general of the Senate. He was promoted to college assessor on 16 April 1797 and court counselor on 12 January 1798. In December 1798, Speransky became the herald of the Order of St. Andrew the First Called. Promoted to state counselor in December 1799, he became the secretary of the Order of St. Andrew the First Called in July 1800.

Under Paul's successor, Tsar Alexander I, Speransky quickly advanced through lower bureaucratic ranks. In 1801, he was appointed the head of the Third Division of the Inevitable Council (*Nepremenií Sovet*) in May and promoted to the rank of actual state counselor. In 1802, he was assigned, on V. P. Victor Pavlovich Kochubey's recommendation, to the new Ministry of the Interior, where he directed one of the departments after February 1803. He gained experience in drafting legislation (1802–1804) and facilitated the establishment of the *St. Peterburgskii zhurnal* (1804–1809), where he regularly published reports on the ministry's activities. In May 1806 Speransky became the head of the Second Expedition of the Ministry and gained the confidence of Alexander through his regular reports. In November 1807 he became administrative secretary and assistant to the tsar himself. Speransky was promoted to privy counselor on 15 August 1808. On 28 December, he was appointed *tovarish* (deputy) minister of justice and chair of the commission drafting legislation. He reorganized the seminaries and secured the establishment of the first Russian lycée, and he attempted to reform the bureaucracy by requiring the nobles to perform actual service to the state and pass examinations. In 1809, Speransky pre-

pared a plan of major government restructuring that divided the population into three classes with varying degrees of political and civil rights, called for the creation of elective assemblies, and established the State Council in January 1810.

Speransky actively supported Franco-Russian rapprochement after Tilsit, and in 1808 he accompanied Alexander to his meeting at Erfurt with Napoleon, who described him as “the only clear head in Russia.” Speransky’s pro-French leanings, aloof personality, and nonnoble origins added to the hostility of the nobles, who vigorously intrigued against him. In 1810, anticipating a new war with France, Speransky prepared an extensive plan to revive the Russian economy that provided for drastic cuts in state expenditure and an increase in state taxes. Alexander approved the plan, but Minister of Finances Dmitri Aleksandrovich Guriev effectively sabotaged it. In 1811 Speransky effectively supervised the economic struggle with France and established a new series of tariffs that deprived France of trade privileges with Russia.

Speransky’s influence and actions further exasperated his enemies. In March 1811, he found himself attacked by his high-placed enemies at court, where the renowned historian Nikolay Karamzin disparaged him in his new work *Of Old and New Russia* and Guriev accused him of corruption. Alexander even had his personal agent Jacob (Yakov) Ivanovich de Sanglen assigned to spy on Speransky. On 29 March 1812 Speransky was summarily dismissed after a two-hour conversation with the tsar. Returning to his home at midnight, he found a police carriage waiting at his door and was immediately taken to exile in Nizhny Novgorod, and then to even more distant Perm. In September 1814, he was allowed to return to his estate of Velikopolie, near Novgorod. Two years later, he was pardoned, after his appeals to powerful Count Aleksey Andreyevich Arakcheyev, and appointed provincial governor in Penza on 11 September 1816. Three years later, he became governor-general of Siberia, where he introduced a series of reforms and established effective administration.

On 29 July 1821 he was appointed a member of the State Council and worked in the Legislative Department. Tsar Nicholas I, Alexander’s successor, initially appointed him a member of the special tribunal that tried and sentenced the Decembrists; later Speransky wrote a letter that secured a significant reduction of the sentences imposed by the tribunal. In February 1826 he directed the Second Division of Nicholas’s personal chancellery and supervised the codification of laws. He oversaw the gargantuan task of publishing the Russian laws in the *Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire (Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii)* and supervised preparation of a *Digest of the Laws (Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii)*. He was pro-

moted to privy counselor on 14 October 1827. For his dedicated service on the codification of laws, Speransky was decorated in 1833 and 1837, while he was awarded the title of count on 12 January 1839. He died in St. Petersburg on 23 February 1839 and was buried at the Tikhvin cemetery of the Alexander of Neva Monastery.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Erfurt, Congress of; Paul I, Tsar; Tilsit, Treaties of

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### Spithead, Mutiny at (15 April–15 May 1797)

The mutiny at Spithead was carried out as a protest against the conditions of service endured by British sailors in the Royal Navy. By 1797 the navy had been at war for a decade. Its size had increased from 45,000 men in 1793 to 110,000 at the turn of the century. Only 20 percent of the navy consisted of volunteers. Ships of the line were huge workplaces and constantly required fresh recruits. The Impress Service lawfully apprehended men from age eighteen to fifty-five to involuntarily serve in the navy. Those with seafaring experience were more highly valued and were seized before those less qualified.

Conditions aboard ship were, at least by today’s standards, inhumane; sailors were treated little better than animals. The crews lived in very cramped quarters. On many Royal Navy ships, some 500 seamen were forced to sleep in a confined area with minimal personal space, much like slave ships. Their poor diet sometimes resulted in typhus and scurvy. Medical attention was often inept, and many died through the ignorance—and sometimes the neglect—of the doctors. The meager food was atrocious, largely inedible, and inadequate for the labor expended. Severely cruel, often unearned, punishment for the slightest infraction was the norm; brutal discipline rather than earned respect was all too often the officers’ method of control. Many sailors despised those of their officers whom they regarded as vindictive, though animosity for the higher ranks and contempt for the lower ranks was certainly not

universal within the navy. There had been no pay increase since 1658. Wages were intermittently paid and always in arrears, the sailors' families suffering accordingly. The army had received a pay increase in 1795, so sailors believed it was their turn. The war was so unrelenting that the men were often refused shore leave and could not return home for several—sometimes many—years. By 1797 the sailors were war weary, as was the country.

Eleven petitions regarding the sailors' grievances had been sent to the First Lord of the Admiralty, John Spencer, second Earl Spencer. Although he had occupied his post for three years at the time of the mutiny, Spencer was unfamiliar with life aboard ship and unsympathetic to the mutineers; he ignored their demands.

This situation, brewing since 1795, exploded on 15 April 1797, when the crews of sixteen ships of the line of the Channel Fleet at Spithead, near Portsmouth, refused to obey orders to sail from Admiral Alexander Hood, Lord Bridport. The mutiny was serious because the ships at Spithead constituted the main defense against the French. Valentine Joyce, the 26-year-old leader of the mutiny, hosted two delegates from each of the sixteen ships aboard the *Queen Charlotte* to discuss strategy. The firmly united group agreed that no ship would sail until all of their grievances were met. When the orderly, peaceful mutineers insisted on parliamentary approval of their pay demands and a signed and written royal pardon, Spencer was forced to confer with King George III and the prime minister, William Pitt, at Windsor Castle. Meanwhile, for fear the French might take advantage of the situation and appear in the Channel, Spencer ordered some ships to sea. They refused.

Spencer returned with 100 copies of a royal pardon. The untrusting mutineers insisted on seeing the original pardon. By mid-May, Parliament agreed to the pay increase. The Admiralty offered lengthier periods of leave on shore, regular and increased pay, better medical attention, better victuals, and overall improvements in shipboard conditions. The 100 offending officers were permanently removed, and the sailors ended their mutiny.

This relatively peaceful mutiny—as opposed to the other disturbance at the Nore—was successful, for there was no loss of life. The government kept its word, and no one was hanged for the offense.

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*See also* Hood, Alexander, First Viscount Bridport; Nore, Mutiny at the; Royal Navy; Ships of the Line

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## St. Cyr, Laurent Gouvion

*See* Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte

## St. Dizier, Battle of (26 March 1814)

One of the last engagements of the 1814 campaign in France, the Battle of St. Dizier (not to be confused with the two-day action of the same name fought on 26–27 January between the Prussians under Gebhard von Blücher and the French under Marshal Claude Victor on the first day, and Napoleon and the Prussian rear guard on the second) was part of an attempt by Napoleon to lure the Allied troops to attack him instead of advancing to Paris. In retreat after his loss in the Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube on 20–21 March, Napoleon entered St. Dizier on 22–23 March, with plans to add its garrison strength to his field forces of 34,000 men in order to disrupt communications between the Armies of Silesia (largely Prussian) and Bohemia (largely Austrian) and force them to respond to his actions. Unbeknownst to Napoleon, however, details regarding his plans (contained in part in his uncoded correspondence to the empress) had been intercepted by the Allies. So, too, had information that Paris was in an uproar and unprepared to defend itself against the invading armies.

After some discussion among the Allied leaders, General Ferdinand Winzregorode's forces were sent east toward St. Dizier to hold off Napoleon, while the bulk of the Allied forces in the area continued along the Marne toward Paris. Although technically a victory for Napoleon, who routed Winzregorode's troops on 26 March, the Battle of St. Dizier did not halt the advance to the capital. In the wake of his nominal success, Napoleon then had to race the Allies to Paris for a final stand.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Brienne, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Winzregorode, Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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## St. Domingue

See Haiti

## St. Gotthard Pass, Action at the (24 September 1799)

The Russian field marshal Alexander Suvorov chose the St. Gotthard Pass as the way in which he would enter Switzerland at the start of his campaign in September 1799. The French held the pass, but their forces were spread thinly. The assault was carried out by Russian troops on 24 September and succeeded in pushing the French back. For the loss of around 1,000 men, Suvorov had gained entrance to Switzerland.

Suvorov had chosen the St. Gotthard Pass as the way into Switzerland for his forces because it had a paved road, which would make supplying his forces easier. However, he knew that the French would be in a strong position, and he tried to combine his frontal assault on the pass with an attack on the lines of communication of the French at the village of Andermatt, by forces under the command of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Fürst von Rosenberg. General Charles Etienne Gudin defended the pass, with about 3,800 men. Suvorov planned to attack the pass using three columns. The flanking columns were to advance first to secure high ground on either side of the road, after which the central column would then drive up the road. The attack was to begin at 3:00 A.M. However, due to various delays the attack did not begin until 2:00 P.M. The first troops to advance were Russian *Jägers* under the command of Prince Peter Bagration. These light infantry were met by French troops manning rough defenses made of rocks and logs. The French fire inflicted a significant number of casualties, and the Russians were halted. This attack should have been supported, but the Russians were unused to the mountain terrain, and the advance was consequently very slow. Suvorov was furious at this delay and bullied his troops forward.

Austrian troops now reinforced Bagration, and the initial enemy positions were taken. The French withdrawal toward the hospice at the head of the pass was very ordered. At this point, however, after a difficult climb, a Russian force composed of one infantry regiment, *Jägers*, and dismounted Cossacks led by General Mikhail Semenovich

Baranovsky outflanked the French defenders. The hard-pressed French were now forced back past the hospice and retreated to the village of Hospental, about 3 miles to the north of the pass. The pursuit of the Russians was now quite vigorous, and the attack pressed into the village. By now it was becoming dark, and Suvorov was unaware that Gudin had massed his remaining forces on the outskirts of the village. However, Gudin was aware that more forces were climbing the pass and took the decision to escape under the cover of darkness. He left behind his three guns but succeeded in withdrawing, due to the laxness of Russian pickets. Suvorov had taken the pass, but the earlier delays meant that the enemy had been given time to prepare their defenses further along the routes into Switzerland.

Ralph Baker

See also Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in

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## St. Helena

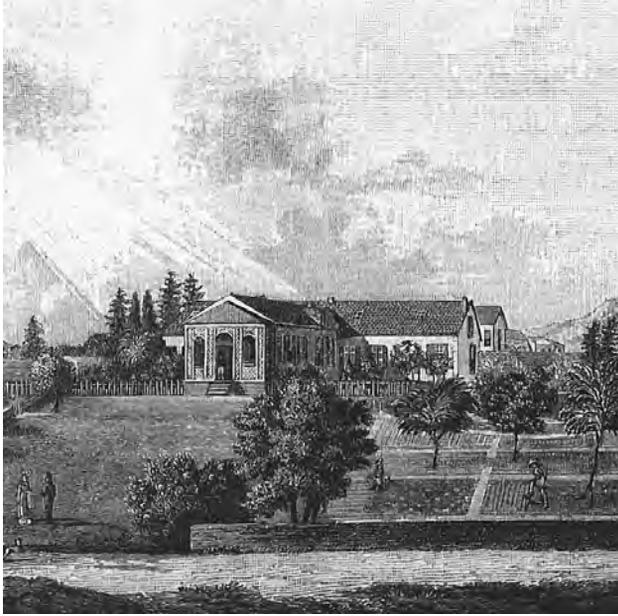
A British island possession in the South Atlantic Ocean, site of Napoleon's final exile and death.

St. Helena is located at 16 degrees south latitude, 5 degrees 40 minutes east longitude, and about 1,200 miles from the west coast of Africa. It is 10 miles long and 7 miles wide at its greatest extent. It has a temperate climate despite its tropical latitude and rises to a maximum altitude of 2,690 feet above sea level. The soil is poor and has never been especially productive agriculturally, but St. Helena's economy has nonetheless always been heavily dependent on farming, with fishing and livestock as supplements.

When Napoleon first sighted the island from HMS *Northumberland* on 15 October 1815, St. Helena maintained a population of about 5,000, mostly concentrated in the capital of Jamestown, and a garrison of about 3,000.

A limited number of companions accompanied Napoleon into exile. These included Doctor Barry O'Meara, formerly surgeon aboard the *Northumberland*; the Counts Henri Bertrand, Gaspard Gourmand, Emmanuel Las Cases, and Charles Montholon; and a small domestic staff, several of whom brought wives and children. While none of Napoleon's family accompanied him into exile, it is possible he was the father of Madame Albine de Montholon's daughter, Napoléone, who was later born on the island.

After landing on 16 October 1815, Napoleon lodged with the Balcombe family. He initially appeared to treat exile as a vacation, sharing practical jokes with the family's



Longwood, Napoleon's residence on St. Helena from 1815 until his death six years later. (Unsigned engraving, 19th c. The David Markham Collection)

daughters, Jane (sixteen) and Betsy (fourteen). He soon moved to a private estate, Longwood, approximately 6 miles from Jamestown. At Longwood, Napoleon had personal use of six rooms: an antechamber for receiving visitors, a parlor, a bedroom, a study, a library to house the many books he either brought with him or had sent, and a large dining room. Moderate as it was, Longwood certainly provided adequate accommodation for the exiles, who lived quite comfortably at the expense of the British government. This consideration notwithstanding, the residents were sure to always retain full court etiquette and always addressed Napoleon as “your majesty.”

Napoleon's exile turned sour following the arrival of a new governor, Sir Hudson Lowe. Not only was Lowe a former commander of Corsican and French exiles and émigrés, and therefore by his very presence an insult to Napoleon, but he also bore with him more restrictive rules from the British government concerning the conditions of Napoleon's exile. Even more offensive, Lowe firmly maintained the British policies of addressing Napoleon as “General Bonaparte” and rejecting any correspondence that arrived for the prisoner bearing an imperial or royal title. He also, in accordance with policy, censored Napoleon's outgoing correspondence, which ultimately prevented Napoleon from drawing on his private funds lest the details of his financial correspondence be examined by the governor.

Insistent on retaining his imperial dignity, Napoleon withdrew into Longwood. The withdrawal, prompted by pride and furthered by stubborn determination, was to be-

come rather extreme. The constant supervision and visible escorts required of him any time he left Longwood prompted him to suspend his outdoor activities. He gave up his horseback riding and, other than a brief gardening craze among the exiles, generally spent more and more time inside, with one stretch totaling more than 100 days. He also sought to secure relief, launching a final campaign to portray the conditions of his exile as intolerable and cruel. He instructed his fellow exiles to complain vociferously about conditions, and refused to see commissioners sent by the Allied powers to verify his presence and the conditions of his captivity.

The most productive use of his time was in the dictation of his memoirs to several of the exile community. Largely factually accurate, the recollections on St. Helena do include a few self-serving omissions and distortions. Napoleon, however, freely admitted his errors, both in dealing with Prince Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, formerly the foreign minister, and with respect to his invasions of Russia and Spain. Regardless, more important than the facts, maxims, admissions, or distortions recorded by the exiles was the deliberate creation of a Napoleonic myth which depicted the ruler as a champion of the common people, a creation intended to replace his image as dictator. Combined with his attempts to portray himself as an exiled martyr suffering under the heel of Lowe and the British government, these efforts succeeded in arousing some sympathy in Europe, though never enough for the Allies to consider releasing him or transferring him to a less remote location. Having broken his pledge to remain on Elba during his 1814–1815 exile, Napoleon was not to be trusted again.

Though only forty-five years old when he arrived on St. Helena, Napoleon increasingly suffered symptoms of hiccupping, vomiting, and bowel dysfunction. Doctor Francesco Antommarchi, who replaced O'Meara in 1818, diagnosed a liver ailment and treated his patient with medications that only inflamed his stomach conditions. Napoleon's health worsened, and he died at 5:49 P.M. on 5 May 1821, attended by sixteen witnesses. An autopsy, previously ordered by Napoleon, revealed cancerous lesions in his stomach; as a result, the examiners listed stomach cancer as the official cause of death. The post mortem revealed no liver ailments, though Antommarchi dissented from this report. What is certain is that arsenic poisoning played a role in Napoleon's death, either accidentally, as the medications prescribed by Antommarchi contained arsenic or, as some commentators have suggested, deliberately, though the evidence for this is far from conclusive.

Burial took place on 9 May 1821. The remaining exiles (O'Meara and Las Cases had departed earlier) left the island shortly thereafter. Napoleon's body was disinterred

and returned to France in 1840 where, after public exposure, it was reburied 6 February 1841.

Deprived of its most famous resident, St. Helena returned to obscurity. It remained a stop on the sailing route from Britain to South Africa, but greatly declined in importance as steam replaced sail. Today, St. Helena remains a British-dependent territory, with about 7,000 inhabitants engaged in fishing, farming, and ranching, as well as providing limited support for the military base on Ascension Island. Access is largely limited to infrequent and expensive berths on ships, so few admirers or historians of the fallen emperor ever visit the scene of his final exile.

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*See also* Antommarchi, Francesco; Balcombe, Betsy; Bertrand, Henri-Gatien, comte; Elba; Lowe, Sir Hudson; Montholon, Charles Tristan, comte de; O'Meara, Barry Edward; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Verling, James Roch

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## St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond, comte de (1766–1809)

One of the Empire's outstanding divisional generals, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond St. Hilaire was instrumental in a number of Napoleon's victories. He rose from the rank of enlisted soldier in the *ancien régime's* army to one of the highest-ranking officers under the Empire. Napoleon publicly promised him a marshal's baton shortly before his death. His loss in 1809 was keenly felt during the subsequent campaigns.

St. Hilaire joined the French Army in 1777 under the Bourbons. He was posted to the West Indies and served during the American Revolutionary War against the British. His abilities were recognized, and St. Hilaire received an officer's commission in 1783. As with many other regular soldiers, the French Revolution offered him new opportunities for advancement. In the war against the First Coalition, St. Hilaire served in the Alps, and by September 1795, he was promoted to *général de brigade*. He proved to be an aggressive and tough fighter, who was often among the heaviest action. During the Battle of Loano, St. Hilaire lost two fingers. He served under the various commanders of the Army of Italy, including generals Amédée Emmanuel La Harpe, André Masséna, Pierre Augereau, and Claude-Henri Belgrand de Vaubois. In 1796 he fought at Bassano. Several days afterward, St. Hilaire was wounded in both legs and returned to France to recover.

St. Hilaire was assigned to a number of training and administrative posts during his recovery. In 1798 he accompanied Bonaparte on his Egyptian expedition, but later returned to France. In 1799 he was promoted to *général de division*. St. Hilaire joined the army preparing to invade England in 1803. He was appointed one of the division commanders in Marshal Nicolas Soult's IV Corps when the Grande Armée was assembled for the War of the Third Coalition in 1805. During the campaign, St. Hilaire performed creditably, but not spectacularly, though at Austerlitz his division performed the vital task of storming the Pratzen Heights to break the Allied line. He was once again wounded while leading his men.

By October 1806 St. Hilaire had returned to duty to lead his division, which performed well at the Battle of Jena, and participated in the pursuit across Prussia. On 8 February 1807 St. Hilaire led his division forward in a

snowstorm against the Russians at Eylau. Unable to break their line, St. Hilaire was lucky to hold his own. Four months later, on 10 June, his division fought in the bloody Battle of Heilsberg, which was a technical French victory.

In 1808 St. Hilaire was ennobled (made a count) by Napoleon for his work. His division was stationed in Germany, as a part of Marshal Louis Davout's III Corps, and missed the invasion of Spain. When it became obvious that the Austrians were preparing for war in 1809, St. Hilaire concentrated his division and joined Davout on his march toward the Danube. His division was one of the few divisions in Napoleon's army that included large numbers of veterans. On 22 April they fought in the Battle of Eggmühl. Napoleon was pleased with St. Hilaire's conduct during the battle. Afterward, the division paraded before the Emperor, who proclaimed that St. Hilaire had earned his marshal's baton and would receive it shortly.

The Austrians under Archduke Charles retreated from Vienna, leaving it an open city. Napoleon followed, crossing the Danube near the villages of Aspern and Essling. Only a part of the French army had crossed before Archduke Charles attacked. After heavy fighting on 21–22 May, the French were forced to retreat. During the fighting, St. Hilaire's left foot was nearly shot away. He refused to let the surgeons amputate it, and the operation to repair it was bungled. An infection set in, and he died on 5 June 1809 in Vienna.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bassano, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Eggmühl, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Eylau, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Heilsberg, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Jena, Battle of; Loano, Battle of; Masséna, André; Middle East Campaign; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Third Coalition, War of the

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### St. Laurent, Battle of (13 August 1794)

The Battle of St. Laurent was the last major offensive by the Spanish army during the Pyrenean campaign of 1794. The Spanish defeat led to the fall of the last French city held by the Spanish and the shifting of operations into Spain.

Most of the Spanish forces had been driven out of France by the early summer of 1794. The (French) Army of the Eastern Pyrenees spent the summer besieging small forts

along the Mediterranean coast. The main action, however, centered on the fortress of Bellegarde, which guarded the main road into Spain. A garrison of around 1,000 Spanish troops held out against a force of approximately 16,000 French. Other French divisions stood to the east and west of Bellegarde. The Spanish army around St. Laurent was under the command of the Conde de la Union. They had been routed in the Battle of Le Boulou at the beginning of May, but de la Union had been busily rebuilding his strength. He sparred with the detached French forces, trying to cut off a division under General Pierre Augereau at San Lorenzo-de-la-Muga on 19 May. Augereau held his ground, despite some desperate fighting, and the Spanish were forced to retreat. French army commander General Jacques Dugommier pulled his left and right divisions closer to the center at Bellegarde. During the rest of the summer, both sides jockeyed, with de la Union concerned mostly with relieving Bellegarde.

On 13 August de la Union launched his attack. His forces totaled 45,000 men, including 4,000 cavalry, an arm in which the French were notably weak. He again concentrated especially against Augereau, who was positioned around the city of St. Laurent. Augereau had only about 9,000 men, but they were the cream of the French army. Augereau had established himself as a drillmaster, and his men were well trained and devoted to their commander, and considered themselves an elite group.

De la Union massed 22,000 men against Augereau. He hoped to turn Dugommier's flank and force him to retreat from Bellegarde. As was often the custom during the time, the Spanish were divided into six columns. They were to converge on a foundry at the center of Augereau's line. Timing and coordination were difficult, and several columns became lost or delayed. Augereau once again distinguished himself as a determined leader, rallying troops with personal examples of bravery. Future marshal of the Empire Jean Lannes distinguished himself, leading a battalion of grenadiers. After fighting that lasted all day, the Spanish were driven back to their original positions. Their losses were over 1,300 men killed and wounded, with similar numbers for Augereau's forces. Only 140 prisoners were taken, perhaps because Augereau had recently instituted a policy of "war to the death" because of Spanish refusal to permit a prisoner exchange.

While the main attack had been made against Augereau, a diversionary attack was launched against the French left wing, but the 5,000 assailants were quickly driven off. Spanish gunboats attempted to land another force along the coast, but the single French battalion defending the area repulsed the landing.

By the end of the day, de la Union was forced to pull his army back to its original positions. Dugommier was thus able to concentrate his army more closely around Bel-

legarde. The city surrendered on 17 September, marking the end of Spanish occupation of French territory in the south of the country.

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*See also* Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Lannes, Jean; Le Boulou, Battle of; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795)

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## St. Lucia

One of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean, located between Martinique and St. Vincent, 52 kilometers long, 17 kilometers across, and 616 square kilometers, its main port is Castries. St. Lucia had been a prosperous French colony before the French Revolution, producing sugar, coffee, cotton, and cocoa.

In 1791, two representatives from France seized power from the royalist governor, Jean-Joseph Soubader de Gimat. In 1792, when Martinique and Guadeloupe had risen up in counterrevolution, the new governor sent from France, Jean-Baptiste Lacrosse, used St. Lucia as his base of operations, from which he restored republican control over Martinique and Guadeloupe through the distribution of republican pamphlets. On 1 April 1794, a large British invasion force of over 4,000 men led by Vice Admiral Sir John Jervis and Lieutenant General Sir Charles Grey landed, following their recent conquest of Martinique. The 100-man garrison of Morné Fortune, led by General Nicolas Xavier de Ricard, quickly surrendered on 3 April after a strong show of force by the British. The French troops were transported to France, while Ricard made his way to the United States.

Although the British nominally gained control of the island, they still needed to pacify the interior, as groups of republican soldiers and insurgent slaves led a guerrilla war against the British. This was known as the Brigand's War, or *Guerre des Bois*. Led by the republican commissioner Gaspard Goyrand and supplied with weapons and reinforcements from Guadeloupe by that island's civil commissioner, Victor Hugues, the insurgents continued to harass the British and eventually controlled most of the island by mid-April 1795. Under increasing pressure, the British evacuated the island on 19 June 1795. In April 1796 a new British expedition of 9,000 troops and 2,000 black pioneers, commanded by Admiral Hugh Cloberry Christian and Major General Ralph Abercromby, arrived to reconquer the island.

To face this invasion, Goyrand had only a 2,000-man garrison, all but 100 of which were black troops. Unable to oppose the multiple British landings, the French put up a stiff resistance, fighting the British as they retreated back to the fortifications around Morné Fortune. Goyrand refused to surrender, and his disciplined black troops defeated a number of British attacks, forcing Abercromby to besiege the French positions. Reinforced by another 5,500 men, Abercromby encircled Morné Fortune and moved to establish his batteries. Continuing to fend off the British assaults, the French garrison held out until late May. Running out of water and gunpowder, Goyrand knew that the fortifications could not withstand a close-range bombardment, as the British had pushed their lines to within 500 yards. On 25 May, Goyrand surrendered St. Lucia on the condition that he and his men be given safe conduct back to France. The tenacity and determination of Goyrand's black soldiers cost the British nearly 600 casualties and, more importantly, a month of valuable campaign time.

Continuing his campaign in the Caribbean, Abercromby left Brigadier General John Moore in command with around 4,000 men, as a number of insurgents were still fighting in the interior. Fighting continued until 1799, but waned with the death of the insurgent leader Stanislaus in October 1797. The island remained British until the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when it was returned to France. In June 1803, a small British expedition of 3,000 men, commanded by Lieutenant General William Grinfield, quickly overwhelmed the French garrison of 100 men commanded by General Antoine Noguès. St. Lucia remained a British colony under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814.

*Kenneth Johnson*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Amiens, Treaty of; Martinique; Moore, Sir John; Paris, First Treaty of; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; West Indies, Operations in the

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## St. Michael, Battle of (25 May 1809)

Forty kilometers northwest of Graz, the French army of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais crushed an Austrian division

under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Jellacic Freiherr von Buzim, who was attempting to join Archduke John's army. General Paul Grenier's Corps (15,000 men) intercepted Jellacic (8,000 men) in the Mur valley, capturing nearly 5,000 prisoners and inflicting 1,560 casualties for 700 losses.

Cut off from the main Austrian army during the retreat from Germany in April 1809, Jellacic marched into the Tyrol, and on 19 May, he received orders from Archduke John (withdrawing from Italy) to continue to Graz. Prince Eugène with his Franco-Italian army was heading down the Mur valley from Klagenfurt (southern Austria) toward Vienna. Although he received reports of French cavalry around Judenburg, 20 kilometers to the south, Jellacic marched toward Leoben, and the next day his tired troops reached Mautern. Further reports arrived of French troops within 20 kilometers of St. Michael, where Jellacic planned to enter the Mur valley and march 8 kilometers to Leoben. His division marched early on 25 May, led by a *Grenzer* (frontier infantry) battalion and a small squadron of light cavalry, followed by seven and a half infantry battalions, a *Landwehr* (militia) battalion, and four light guns. Meanwhile Eugène in Unzmarkt ordered Grenier's Corps (twenty-four battalions, eight cavalry squadrons, and twelve guns) to intercept the Austrians.

The advance guards clashed near the village of St. Michael around 9:00 A.M. on 25 May, confirming Jellacic's belief that he only faced weak French forces. However, *général de division* Jean Mathieu Seras's division (eight battalions, four cavalry squadrons, and ten guns) was steadily marching up onto the western end of the *Platte* (high flat ground) above St. Michael, which commanded the Austrians' escape route. On the Austrian left, *Oberst* Ludwig Eckhardt with two battalions secured the vital bridge over the Leising, while *Generalmajor* Ettingshausen's two battalions formed the Austrian right. A *Grenzer* battalion with the *Landwehr* assaulted Seras's right flank, supported by Eckhardt, and by 11:00 A.M., they had driven the French from the *Platte*. Jellacic extended his line along 1.5 kilometers, with the *Grenzers* and *Landwehr* on the right to defend the wooded Fresenberg hill, the center (two and a half battalions) under *Generalmajor* Ignaz Freiherr von Legisfeld, and on the left Ettingshausen with three battalions. General Pierre Durutte arrived with the rest of Grenier's Corps, and the French attacked in overwhelming numbers. Two battalions assaulted the Austrian left, while six under General Nicolas-François, vicomte Roussel d'Hurbal attacked the right and two headed for the Austrian rear. At 4:00 P.M., Eugène ordered Seras to lead six battalions against the Austrian center, with another eight following. They were supported by the cavalry, who scattered the Austrian infantry and reached the vital river bridges. The battle was decided in

about 10 minutes, as Jellacic's troops fled in disorder, pursued by Seras. Just 2,000 reinforcements eventually reached Archduke John at Graz, and Eugène marched on to Vienna.

David Hollins

See also Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Fifth Coalition, War of the; John, Archduke

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### St. Pierre, Battle of (13 December 1813)

The Battle of St. Pierre was fought between Anglo-Portuguese forces under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill and French forces under the overall command of Marshal Nicolas Soult along the southern approaches to the city of Bayonne between the Nive and Adour rivers, in southwestern France.

Soult had for some time been planning a spoiling attack against exposed portions of the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington's army as it approached Bayonne. Wellington, on the other hand, had been aware of that possibility and had warned his subordinates, Lieutenant General Hill and Marshal (his rank in the Portuguese Army) Sir William Beresford, of the danger and directed their preparations for such an attack. Heavy rains swelled the Nive River and threatened the two bridges linking the two wings of the Allied army. One of the two bridges, a pontoon bridge at Villafranque, had only been completed on 11 December. The other was a permanent stone bridge at Ustaritz. If the two were to wash out, Wellington would be forced to march troops 13 miles to reinforce Hill's forces. As it happened, on the twelfth both bridges were washed out. Soult therefore took the opportunity to launch an attack on the nearly isolated wing under Hill.

Hill had under his command approximately 14,000 men, including the two divisions that had distinguished themselves under his command at Albuera, to cover a front of about 3 miles. However, following Wellington's warnings and orders to strengthen his position, he had advanced until his flanks were totally protected by the uncrossable Nive and Adour rivers. In addition, his position was anchored on a series of hills between the two rivers, with several small villages and large farmsteads as strongpoints. The position had one serious drawback: It was effectively split into three separate sectors by two deep ravines, both filled with water. Nevertheless, that

fact had its advantages: the ravines also effectively split the attacking French force into three separate avenues of approach.

Although Soult had overwhelming strength available to him, much of it was in the form of recently arrived drafts of conscripts, ill-trained and not terribly eager to die in what was increasingly looking like a lost cause. In addition, Soult failed to mass his forces and failed to press home attacks that were on the verge of succeeding with the use of his reserves. Hill managed the fight well, though he was hard pressed at times in the center and on the right flank. Uncharacteristically in Wellington's army, two of Hill's regimental commanders displayed cowardice in the face of the enemy, which was the direct cause of much of the crisis in the center. British reinforcements arrived in time to prevent potential disaster, but by the time they reached the scene of action, Hill had the situation well in hand, and Wellington took no direct role in the conduct of the action after he arrived, preferring to let his stalwart subordinate "Daddy" Hill finish and win the battle on his own. Wellington also allowed Hill to take full credit for the victory.

Although, the Battle of St. Pierre was not in any way a decisive Allied victory—Hill and Wellington merely hustled the retreating French troops back into their lines of defense south of Bayonne, due to the proximity of the fortified positions of that city—it did have significant consequences. In addition to the fighting of the previous week on the western approaches to Bayonne, where the Allies suffered from some rough handling by Soult's repeated attacks, the Battle of St. Pierre demonstrated to both Soult and Wellington that the French army was no longer capable of successfully launching major offensive operations. How much of this was due to the increasingly exhausted and demoralized French soldiers, how much of it was due to the declining quality of French leadership, including that of Soult himself, how much of it was due to the now nearly invincible attitude of the British and Portuguese veterans of Wellington's Allied army, is unclear. What is clear, however, is that after St. Pierre, Soult made no further major attempts to conduct substantial offensive operations. The end of the Peninsular War—and with it the end of the Napoleonic Empire—was in sight.

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*See also* Albuera, Battle of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Hill, Sir Rowland; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### St. Vincent, Battle of (14 February 1797)

A significant British naval victory achieved by Admiral Sir John Jervis over the Spanish at the end of the War of the First Coalition; best known for the unorthodox tactics employed by Commodore Horatio Nelson.

Having temporarily abandoned the Mediterranean in 1796 owing to the unexpected alliance concluded between the Spanish and French, Admiral Sir John Jervis lay in the Tagus with eleven line-of-battle ships until January 1797. On the eighteenth of that month he left Lisbon with orders to protect a convoy bound for Brazil. Having escorted it to a sufficiently safe distance into the Atlantic, he was to meet up off Cape St. Vincent with Rear Admiral William Parker, who had left the Channel with reinforcements for Jervis's station. Jervis's force was reduced through an accident occurring to the *St. George* (98 guns), which had to remain behind for repairs, but having safely escorted the convoy out to sea and proceeding for the cape, Jervis fell in with Parker's ships on 6 February, thereby increasing his fleet to fifteen ships of the line, as well as frigates. Three ships were undergoing repairs: the *St. George* and *Zealous* (98) at Lisbon, and the *Plymouth* (80) at Gibraltar.

Meanwhile, at Cartagena lay the main Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, twelve frigates, a brig-corvette, and several smaller vessels, the whole under Admiral Don José de Cordova. Franco-Spanish strategy directed that Cordova's fleet sail to Brest, where it would rendezvous with the combined French and Dutch fleets for operations leading to the invasion of England. Before reaching Brest, however, Cordova was first to stop at Cádiz in order to take on food and supplies.

Jervis, who held responsibility for ensuring that Cordova did not join the fleet under Morard de Galles, not only possessed inferior numbers to his opponent, but was unaware that Cordova was initially bound for Cádiz. Moreover, as Jervis naturally expected to confront him off Cape St. Vincent, a good deal west of Cádiz, he would almost certainly never have sighted, much less engaged, the Spanish commander that month, had the weather not confounded Cordova's intention of proceeding straight to Cádiz. Rather than fighting a major battle, in all probability Jervis would have missed the Spanish fleet altogether, or discovered it at Cádiz and there established a lengthy blockade. But strong and persistent winds near Gibraltar, moving east and southeast, were to bring the two fleets together.

While Jervis, now reinforced, made his way toward Cape St. Vincent, Cordova was proceeding toward Cádiz, having left Cartagena on 1 February. He passed the Strait of Gibraltar on the fifth, and on doing so detached some of his gunboats and transports, escorted by a number of larger vessels, to make sail for Algeciras. One ship of the line rejoined the fleet soon thereafter. Two others left port on the tenth, and on the following day discovered and chased the 38-gun *Minerve*, with Commodore Nelson aboard. Having escaped his larger pursuers, Nelson joined the fleet early on the thirteenth, bringing Jervis intelligence that the Spanish were now at sea.

Cordova would have reached the safety of Cádiz by that time, but for a gale that drove him considerably west of that port, right into Jervis's vicinity. When, finally, on the evening of the thirteenth, the wind shifted to the southwest, the Spanish made for land in some disorder. Yet their presence was already known to Jervis, whose ships heard the Spanish signal guns. Before dawn on the fourteenth, moreover, Jervis received news from a Portuguese vessel that the Spanish were to windward of his position, only five leagues distant.

Mist and darkness shrouded the two fleets on the morning of 14 February, with Jervis's force arranged in two columns sailing on the starboard tack, with Cape St. Vincent 25 miles to the northeast. The first sighting of the Spanish occurred around 6:30 A.M., when five ships were seen to the southwest on the starboard tack. After sending a ship to reconnoiter, Jervis signaled the fleet to form in close order at 8:15. He repeated the previous night's signal to prepare for action, and at 9:30 sent three ships of the line, followed 20 minutes later by three more, to pursue.

At that point the strengths of each side were unknown to the other. Incorrect intelligence led Cordova to believe Jervis had only nine ships of the line, and by 9:00 A.M. Jervis had only perceived twenty line-of-battle ships when in fact there were twenty-six. Two hours later Cordova counted Jervis's force at fifteen. Jervis still did not have complete information on Spanish strength—which totaled twenty-seven ships of the line, two of which had recently joined from Algeciras.

At this point Jervis's fleet, arranged in two parallel lines, was making for a gap that divided Cordova's fleet into two unequal divisions. To windward lay twenty-one ships, all but two of which were sailing in a group under full sail, the wind on the starboard quarter. The remaining two were a considerable distance to the southwest. The second group, composed of only six ships, was to leeward. These were close-hauled on the port tack in an effort to link up with the larger force before Jervis could interpose his ships between them.

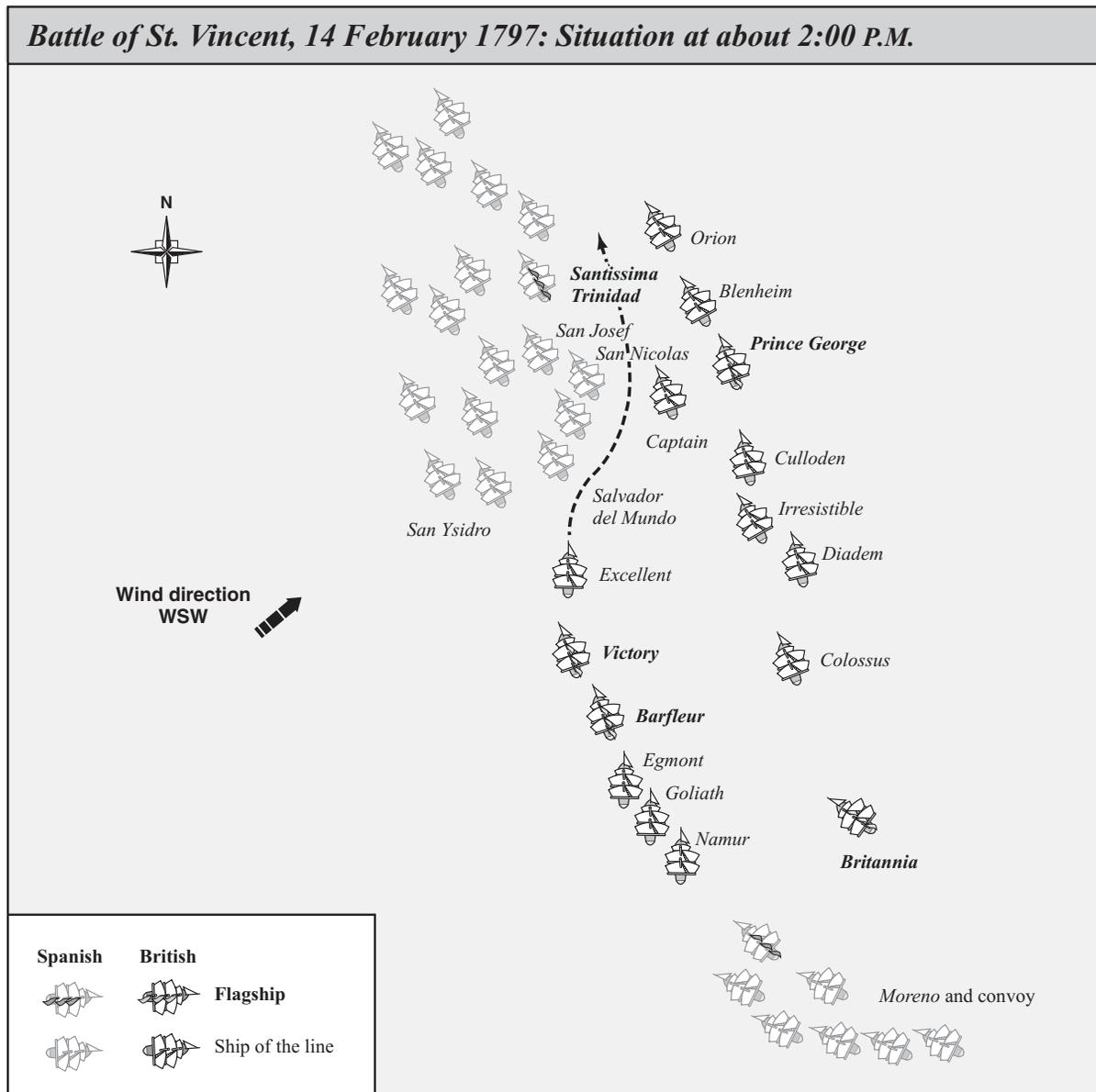
Just before 11:00 A.M. some of the lead Spanish ships of the weather division began to wear and trim on the port tack, apparently intending to form line and to proceed down Jervis's weather column. This maneuver would allow them to fire on eight ships with at least twenty of their own, while simultaneously preventing Jervis's lee column from firing without risk of striking friendly vessels. At 11:00 A.M. Jervis issued orders to obviate this danger, signaling his ships to form in a single column ahead, with the *Victory* (Jervis's flagship) in the lead and to proceed south-southwest, so as to keep Cordova's lee division on Jervis's lee or port bow.

Soon after his ships formed into a single column of line ahead, Jervis ordered his vessels to pierce the Spanish line. At nearly the same moment, five out of the six ships composing Cordova's lee division, believing that they were not the object of attack and, in addition, unable to cross the bows of Jervis's line, hauled up on a starboard tack with an apparently uncertain purpose, before adopting a definite course to the northeast. The sixth ship fled, at full sail and unaccompanied, to the southeast and shortly thereafter was lost from view. Yet even as this temporary confusion and the desertion of one ship seemed to reveal a weakening in the Spanish lee division, the five remaining vessels were almost immediately joined by three more ships, probably the *Conde de Regla* (112), the *Príncipe de Asturias* (112) and *Oriente* (74).

With these maneuvers completed, the Spanish weather division had declined in number to eighteen ships of the line, including the two ships then closing from Algeciras. Firing commenced at long range at 11:30 A.M., when the *Culloden* ran abreast of the ships leading the Spanish weather division. The British vessels following the *Culloden* did the same as they came within range, and just after 12:00 noon, immediately after the *Culloden* passed the last Spanish vessel, Jervis issued orders for her to tack.

The *Blenheim* followed suit shortly thereafter, and in turn the *Prince George*, which was considerably out of the line to leeward. Around this time, Cordova's lee division came about on the port tack, perhaps in hopes of breaking Jervis's column at the place where his ships were tacking in succession. The *Orion* nevertheless came about, while in her wake, the *Colossus*, which was herself in the course of coming about, suffered serious damage to some of her yards, obliging her to wear rather than tack. She was in serious danger while her stern pointed to leeward, exposing her to raking fire from the lead vessel of the Spanish lee division; but the *Orion*, realizing the predicament, slowed by backing her main topsail and offered cover to the *Colossus*, who, in the event, was not raked.

Jervis then made a bold decision: The van was to alter its course slightly and cut through the Spanish line. Just as



Adapted from White 2001, 61.

she was preparing to tack, the *Irresistible*, directly ahead of the *Victory*, became heavily engaged with the Spanish lee division. While the *Irresistible* had tacked in order to follow the van, the Spanish continued their course, thereby attempting to pierce the British line ahead of the *Victory*. Yet Jervis's flagship advanced fast enough to foil the attempt, and the lead Spanish ship, obliged to tack near the lee of the *Victory*, was raked in the process before bearing up. The seven vessels that followed then attempted to overtake or pass astern of the *Egmont* and *Goliath*, but were foiled and, apart from the *Oriente*, all had to bear up. This last vessel proceeded on the port tack, passed Jervis's rear while obscured by smoke, and managed to reach the Spanish weather division.

By 1:00 P.M. the British line had proceeded to the point where they had entirely cleared the Spanish weather division and, in altering course on the starboard tack, left Cordova with a means of linking his two divisions together by steering the weather division to leeward. The ships of the Spanish weather division took the opportunity thus afforded them by bearing up in a mass and advancing north-east. The battle now reached its crucial stage, for so far contact had been minimal, and had the Spanish succeeded in joining together their two divisions, the action would have terminated shortly thereafter, either with no decisive conclusion or as little more than a British pursuit of a faster-sailing opponent fleeing under all sail for the safety

of Cádiz. At best Jervis might have hoped to catch and engage the rearmost vessels, but the bulk would almost certainly have eluded him.

It was Nelson who instantly recognized the problem and the unique opportunity before him. He intended to seize it. The British column was at that time doubled up, and Nelson knew that it was too far astern of the fleeing Spanish to be able to intercept them before they made for the open sea. He therefore wore the *Captain* and passed between the *Diadem* and the *Excellent*, seeking to come athwart the bows of the leading vessels of the Spanish weather division, still massed and composed of a number of very heavily armed vessels, including the enormous four-decker, *Santísima Trinidad* (130). Other ships included the *San Josef* (112), *Salvador del Mundo* (112), *San Nicolas* (80), *San Ysidro* (74), and a vessel thought to be the *Mexicano* (112). The *Captain* reached its desired position at about 1:30 P.M. and commenced firing. By this time, the *Culloden* had overtaken the rearmost Spanish vessels and had been lightly engaged with them for 10 minutes.

Before this time, at 1:20, Jervis had signaled the last ship in his line, the *Excellent*, to alter course radically to aid the *Captain*. Taking a sharp larboard tack, by about 2:15 the *Excellent* had assumed a position ahead of the leading ships of the British line. The Spanish were then prevented from combining their two divisions, for now five British vessels blocked their further progress: the *Captain* and the *Excellent* in their direct path, supported thereafter by the *Culloden*, *Blenheim*, and *Prince George*. In fact, even before the Spanish found their plans foiled, they had already abandoned hope of combining forces and had assumed a new course on the starboard tack.

Around 2:00 P.M., the *Culloden* had advanced far enough ahead so as to draw off some of the intense fire directed at the *Captain* by the massive *Santísima Trinidad* and her consorts, who by now had hauled up so as to employ the full weight of their broadsides. This gave the *Captain* a brief respite, during which time she brought up additional ammunition from below and carried out essential repairs to her damaged rigging. Soon thereafter the *Blenheim* also approached and passed to windward of the *Captain*, giving Nelson further protection from fire.

Meanwhile, two other Spanish ships had been engaging the *Captain* and *Culloden*—the *San Ysidro* and *Salvador del Mundo*. These vessels were so heavily damaged aloft as to be virtually dead in the water and received several broadsides not only from the *Blenheim*, but also, as they came up, from the *Prince George*, *Orion*, and other vessels astern. Shortly thereafter, at about 2:35, the *Excellent*, in response to the signal to bear up, came alongside the crippled *Salvador del Mundo* and fought her on her weather bow for a short time before advancing toward and

engaging the next opponent, the *San Ysidro*, which by that time had lost her three topmasts. Collingwood, in the *Excellent*, exchanged a close fire with her on the lee beam until at 2:53; having put up a spirited defense while entirely disabled, the *San Ysidro* struck her colors and exchanged them for the Union Jack in signal of surrender.

At about the same time as the *Excellent* had ceased to engage the *Salvador del Mundo* and taken on the *San Ysidro*, the *Irresistible* stood on the enemy's weather bow while the *Diadem* stood on the enemy lee quarter. The *Salvador del Mundo* was by this time already severely damaged, having lost her fore and main topmasts. Soon she also lost her mizzen topmast, and on seeing the *Victory* moving toward her stern and preparing to fire her bow guns—followed closely by the *Barfleur*—the captain of the *Salvador del Mundo* surrendered his ship.

At around 3:15 the *Excellent* came abreast of the leeward side of the *San Nicolas*, an 80-gun ship that had lost her fore topmast in her contest with the *Captain*. On coming within ten feet of the starboard side of the *San Nicolas*, the *Excellent* delivered a crushing fire and continued on her course, as directed by Jervis's signal. Seeking some protection from the *Excellent's* fire, the *San Nicolas* luffed up, but in doing so fouled the *San Josef*, herself heavily damaged and short of her mizzenmast.

Once the *Excellent* had passed clear of the *Captain*, Nelson luffed up to the wind, causing his badly damaged fore topmast to topple over the side. The vessel was in fact in a stricken state, having lost her wheel and sustained considerable damage to her sails and shrouds. No further progress was possible, and with the *Blenheim* immediately ahead and the *Culloden* struggling behind, Nelson had no choice but to board the *San Nicolas*. Before he did so, the two ships returned broadsides for several minutes at 20 yard's distance. On shifting to starboard, the *Captain* fouled the *San Nicolas* in two places, locking the two vessels together.

Nelson then ordered his men to board the *San Nicolas*, whose rigging remained fouled with that of the *Captain*. Leading his men through the stern windows of the Spanish 80, Nelson and his party fought their way to the forecabin, where they accepted the surrender of the ship from the commander. On the port side of the *San Nicolas* stood the *San Josef*, from which Nelson's men then began to receive small arms fire. Ordering forward reinforcements, Nelson proceeded to cross the deck on to the *San Josef*, which, after a brief struggle, also surrendered. The boarding of an enemy vessel from the deck of another, newly captured, was virtually unprecedented, and established Nelson's reputation as a bold and fearless officer.

By Nelson's reckoning, it was his audacious action of crossing the decks of the *San Nicolas* and boarding the *San*

*Josef* that led the latter vessel to surrender. Yet the evidence suggests that the two vessels may have succumbed on account of the continuous fire to which they were subjected by the *Prince George*, which continued until the moment of actual surrender. Whatever the case, Nelson's conduct was exemplary, and in both instances he boarded enemies that were not yet vanquished.

It will be recalled that, shortly after 3:00 P.M., the *Excellent* passed the *San Nicolas* and began to pound the *Santísima Trinidad*, then receiving fire from the *Blenheim*, *Orion*, and *Irresistible*. The immense Spanish ship struck her colors but eluded actual capture, for two friendly ships of the van came to her aid, together with two others, which had in the course of the day been approaching from the west-southwest. In addition, the impending union between the Spanish lee and weather divisions enabled her to sail beyond the reach of the British vessels that had reduced her to ruin.

At 3:52, on observing the approach of so many as-yet unengaged Spanish ships, Jervis ordered his ships to prepare to bring to, thus putting them in a position to protect the four prizes and his own severely damaged ships. At 4:15 the signal for the frigates to take the prizes into tow was hoisted by Jervis's flagship, and at 4:39 the fleet was directed to form into close line ahead, astern of the *Victory*. By that time the battle was effectively over, though even at 4:50 the *Britannia* and *Orion* fired at the ships escorting the crippled *Santísima Trinidad*. Shortly thereafter, Nelson moved his broad pennant from his stricken *Captain* to the *Irresistible*.

The British suffered about 400 wounded, of whom 227 were in a serious state; 73 officers and men were killed. Of Jervis's ships, only the *Captain* lost a mast, though the *Colossus*, *Culloden*, *Egmont*, and *Blenheim* all suffered severe damage to their masts and spars. Apart from the prizes, only perhaps ten of the Spanish ships were seriously damaged, the *Santísima Trinidad* having received the highest losses with 200 killed and wounded. Spanish losses are not known, apart from the prizes, all of which lost masts. The *Salvador del Mundo* had 42 killed and 124 wounded; the *San Ysidro*, 29 killed and 63 wounded; the *San Josef*, 46 killed and 96 wounded; and the *San Nicolas*, 144 killed and 59 wounded.

Though Jervis's victory was undeniably a great one, it is also true that circumstances always favored him except in point of numbers, and it would have been unforgivable had he not inflicted a significant defeat on the Spanish. Cordova's numerical superiority was overwhelming: twenty-seven ships to Jervis's fifteen; in terms of guns and men the advantage was still greater. The greater disparity, however, lay in the quality of the respective officers and crews. Jervis led men displaying a high degree of discipline

and training, while the Spanish were mostly untrained landsmen or soldiers. In many vessels, seamen made up a distinct minority of the crew, so that, when action began, many of the men succumbed to panic and therefore were worse than useless.

The *San Josef* provides a telling example of how ill-prepared the Spanish were to fight any opponent, much less one of high standards. After this vessel was captured, it was discovered that some of the guns that had faced their opponents during the battle had not been fired and still had their tompions affixed. The Spanish officers, themselves deficient compared to their British counterparts, could do nothing with such men, and in the chaos that reigned in Cordova's fleet, Spanish guns were as likely to injure vessels carrying their own men as they were those carrying their opponents. However determined and brave the Spanish officers may have been, they were simply no match for Jervis's, who possessed a superior grasp of navigation and tactics.

Nevertheless, Jervis did not take proper advantage of his victory. He only captured four ships when he might have taken three or four more—those that were severely disabled in the fighting. Perhaps the onset of darkness explains this, for at 5:00 P.M. Jervis halted the pursuit. Yet it would have been in darkness that numbers would have mattered less. As Jervis was superior at maneuver, he almost certainly could have kept pace with his opponent, and having already suffered considerable damage in the battle, the Spanish probably would have lost their weakened vessels to the pursuers.

Both sides spent the night repairing their ships, and when the sun rose on the morning of 15 February, both fleets could see one another arrayed in line of battle ahead, sailing on opposite tacks. As the Spanish had the weather gauge, they were in a position to resume fighting, but instead bore away at 2:30 P.M., hauling the wind when they perceived Jervis doing the same. They soon sailed from view and reached the safety of Cádiz. Jervis made for Lagos Bay, on the Portuguese coast, where he anchored with his prizes on the afternoon of the sixteenth. When the news arrived in London, Jervis was raised to the peerage as Earl of St. Vincent, while Nelson was knighted. Unbeknownst to him, Nelson had been promoted to rear admiral just prior to the battle; he returned home a popular hero and went on to achieve great victories in his own right at the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Copenhagen, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Royal Navy; Spanish Navy; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Trafalgar, Battle of

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### St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of (1735–1823)

Born on 9 January 1735 to an old but impoverished family in Stone, Staffordshire, John Jervis was educated at a grammar school at Burton-on-Trent and at a private school in Greenwich, where his family moved in 1747. In January 1749 he entered the Royal Navy as an able seaman. Jervis became a midshipman in 1752. He passed his examination in January 1755 and the next month was promoted to lieutenant. After holding a number of routine sea assignments, he made commander in May 1759.

Two months later Jervis became acting commander of the sloop *Porcupine* and took part in the expedition against Quebec. That September he took command of the sloop *Scorpion*, returning in her to Britain with dispatches. He made post captain in October 1760. He then held assignments in the North Sea and the West Indies and in the expedition that recovered Newfoundland. In the spring of 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War, he was paid off (released from service on half pay).

Jervis returned to active employment in 1769 in command of the frigate *Alarm* (32 guns) in the Mediterranean. When the ship was paid off in 1772, Jervis spent a year in France. He then traveled in the company of Captain Samuel Barrington to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, where he studied the arsenals and navies of northern Europe. Again with Barrington, he cruised in a yacht along the French coast.

In June 1775 Jervis returned to naval command in the *Kent* (74), but in September he took command of the *Foudroyant* (80), at the time the largest two-decker in the Royal Navy. He was in her at Ushant on 27 July 1778, and he participated in two relief expeditions to Gibraltar, in 1780 and 1781. In April 1782 the *Foudroyant* fell in with a French convoy off Brest and in the process captured the largest French ship, the *Pégase* (74), which was, however, newly commissioned, short of officers, and carrying an

untrained crew. Jervis, slightly wounded in the action, was knighted for his success. At the end of the year his ship was paid off, but an appointment to the West Indies was annulled with the conclusion of peace in 1783.

Jervis then entered Parliament. He was promoted to rear admiral in September 1787 and to vice admiral in February 1793. He was then appointed to command the naval expedition to the West Indies in the fall of 1793 with his flag in the *Boyne* (93). His squadron took the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in March and April 1794. Ill, Jervis received permission to return to Britain, where he arrived in February 1795. Made admiral in July, Jervis sailed to the Mediterranean as commander in chief of the British fleet there in November.

At the end of 1796 Britain lost control of the Mediterranean. This was a consequence of French control of Italy, which forced Naples into neutrality, and of Spain's cooperation with France. Faced with vastly superior numbers, Jervis withdrew his ships to Gibraltar. In early February 1797 he posted his ships off Cape St. Vincent, determined to prevent enemy ships from the Mediterranean from sailing north to join those at Brest, preparing the way for a possible invasion of England. On 14 February his fifteen ships of the line fell in with twenty-seven Spanish ships. Although they enjoyed far superior numbers, the Spanish vessels were newly commissioned and had untrained crews. In the resulting Battle of St. Vincent, the British captured four Spanish ships and roughly handled others. The threat of invasion of England was ended, and Jervis was voted a pension of £3,000 a year and raised to the peerage as Earl of St. Vincent. He continued to command in the Mediterranean, blockading the Spanish at Cádiz and maintaining rigid discipline that prevented mutinies similar to those that occurred in the Royal Navy at Spithead and the Nore during 1797.

A detachment of Jervis's fleet under Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson defeated the French at the Nile on 1–2 August 1798, and another element under Commodore John Thomas Duckworth assisted with the capture of Minorca in late 1798. Jervis's health continued to deteriorate, abetted by the strain of his own tyrannical nature, and he asked to resign his command. In June 1799 he sailed home to recuperate.

In 1800, not fully recovered, Jervis took command of the Channel Fleet, an appointment that displeased many officers because of his reputation as a harsh and dictatorial commander. Jervis immediately instituted stringent measures and kept the fleet sailing almost continually off Brest. Although many officers disliked his orders and regulations, these brought a new standard of efficiency in blockade operations. Jervis kept the fleet continuously off Brest for 121 days from May to September 1800.

In the spring of 1801, in the ministry of Henry Addington, St. Vincent was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. In this post he endeavored to impose his system on the entire navy. Although a number of his reforms were salutary, including efforts to end corruption and improve efficiency, his methods alienated many. With the collapse of the Addington government and the return of William Pitt in May 1804, St. Vincent was replaced. Returned to command of the Channel Fleet in March 1806 as acting admiral of the fleet, he maintained the blockade of Brest until April 1807, when he asked to be relieved. The years of service had broken St. Vincent's health, and he never held another command. Among British naval officers of the period he is second only to Nelson. He had a lasting impact on Royal Navy discipline and organization, and on the mechanics of blockade operations. On the coronation of George IV, St. Vincent was promoted to admiral of the fleet in July 1821. He died at his home in Sussex on 14 March 1823.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

*See also* Addington, Henry; Blockade; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Martinique; Minorca; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Nore, Mutiny at the; Pitt, William; Royal Navy; Spithead, Mutiny at; St. Vincent, Battle of; West Indies, Operations in the

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### **Stadion-Warthausen, Johann Philipp Graf (1763–1824)**

Austrian diplomat, foreign and finance minister. A career diplomat, Stadion led important negotiations with Britain during the French Revolutionary Wars and with the Allies at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. As foreign minister from 1806 to 1809, he directed foreign policy toward German nationalism.

From the minor Austrian nobility, Stadion was a keen student of history and international relations from an

early age, especially the history of the development of France. Under the sponsorship of the chancellor (foreign minister), Wenzel Anton Fürst von Kaunitz, he joined the imperial diplomatic service and in 1787 was appointed ambassador to Sweden. Two years later, he transferred to London, where he developed a keen interest in commerce, maritime trade, and world events outside of Europe. His promotion to ambassador extraordinary with ministerial status by Emperor Leopold II reflected his key role in Anglo-Austrian relations, persuading Britain to join the War of the First Coalition in 1793. His dislike of deputy foreign minister Johann Freiherr von Thugut was mutual, and quickly led to his removal; after marrying a distant cousin in 1794, he spent several years on his estates. After the government overhaul of 1801, Stadion became ambassador to Berlin, charged with improving relations with Prussia. After two difficult years, he was sent as ambassador to St. Petersburg, where he directed the negotiations that led to the Austro-Russian alliance of 1804 and then accompanied Tsar Alexander during the early part of the campaign of 1805.

Stadion's appointment as foreign minister in 1806 on Archduke Charles's recommendation represented a radical policy shift from alliances with Russia toward supporting growing German nationalism. Decisive and energetic, he deployed his mastery of both Czech and Magyar to further a policy of centralizing the Austrian Empire by establishing greater control over the provinces. Patriotic societies for Germans and Czechs were encouraged, but unauthorized newsheets were controlled. "*Volle Freiheit für die Bücher, keine Freiheit für die Blätter!*" (Freedom for books, no freedom for propaganda sheets!) was his motto as he sought to encourage popular support for renewed war against France. With Archduke John, he established the *Landwehr* (militia) in 1808 and pushed the decision for war through the imperial councils. Following the defeat at Eggmühl in April 1809, he pressed for Archduke Charles's replacement.

Following the unsuccessful campaign of 1809, Stadion was sacked and withdrew to his estates. Recalled to Vienna as a foreign ministry adviser in 1813, he was sent as the Austrian emissary to the Russo-Prussian headquarters after their defeat at Lützen (2 May). There he negotiated and signed the Convention of Reichenbach, agreeing to Austria's participation in the war should Napoleon refuse Vienna's terms. He then served as Austria's main representative in various Allied policy meetings until Napoleon was defeated. Appointed finance minister in 1815 to try to bring order to the empire's shattered treasury, Stadion established a national bank and a sinking fund (reserves) to deal with the imperial debt, withdrew much of the paper money from circulation, and reformed taxation.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austria; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Cobenzl, Johann Ludwig Graf; Eggmühl, Battle of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; John, Archduke; Lützen, Battle of; Reichenbach, Convention of; Third Coalition, War of the; Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von

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### Staël, Mme Germaine de (1766–1817)

Swiss writer and critic; leader of liberal opposition to Napoleon. Madame de Staël was born Anne-Louise Germaine Necker, the daughter of the Swiss banker, Louis XVI's director general of finances, Jacques Necker, and Suzanne Corchod. She grew up in the intellectual atmosphere of her mother's salon. As an adolescent, she read the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire. In 1786 she married Baron de Staël-Holstein, the Swedish ambassador to France. This was an arranged marriage, planned by her parents, which produced one child, a daughter, Gustavine, who died before she reached age two. Madame de Staël and her husband established separate households after their first two years of marriage.

Madame de Staël may be best characterized as a woman of letters, political propagandist, and conversationist, who epitomized European thought and culture in her time. Her first publication, *Lettres sur le caractère et les écrits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Letters on the Character and Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1788), revealed a commitment to the rationalism of the Enlightenment that would remain with her throughout her life. During the French Revolution, she was a supporter of the liberal constitutional monarchy, and her next work, *Refléxions sur le procès de la reine* (Reflections on the Queen's Trial, 1793), was a plea to save Queen Marie Antoinette from the guillotine. She condemned the excesses of the Terror in her subsequent *De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations* (On the Influence of the Passions on the Happiness of Individuals and Nations, 1796).

Initially an admirer of Napoleon, she soon turned against him when he revealed his true colors: an insatiable lust for power, authoritarianism, and antifeminist views. She remained one of his strongest opponents and a thorn in his side until her death. With her lover Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, also a proponent of ideas of freedom, she led the liberal opposition to Napoleon from the

Necker château of Coppet in Switzerland. There she hosted a salon that was attended by diplomats and politicians, including two of Napoleon's brothers, Lucien and Joseph. Her salon was famous throughout Europe as a center of progressive political and intellectual discussions.

Her writings during the Napoleonic era reflected her opposition to Napoleon. Her first novel, *Delphine* (1802), which dealt with intellectual women, prompted him to ban her from France. *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (Corinne, or Italy, 1807) further antagonized him, as it concerned an independent female poet. Her greatest anti-Napoleonic work, however, was not a novel, but her study *De l'Allemagne* (On Germany, 1810), a book based on her experiences of living in various German cities, which praised a German culture that Napoleon denied existed. At the printing press, the plates were smashed and burned, but a few copies were salvaged, and it was published in England.

Madame de Staël died in Paris after suffering from a stroke on Bastille Day, 14 July 1817. Her last work, *Dix Années d'exil* (Ten Years of Exile), which chronicled her attack on Napoleon and his regime, was published posthumously in 1821. Of all her children, only Albertine, her daughter with Constant and later the duchess of Broglie, left descendants.

*Leigh Whaley*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Lucien; Constant de Rebecque, Henri-Benjamin; French Revolution; Terror, The

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### Standards, Flags, and Eagles

The military standard is as ancient as warfare itself and has been carried into battle by almost every culture in recorded history. In essence, it was simply a recognizable emblem, often a flag or an effigy, that served to distinguish the identities of opposing forces and to mark the position of the commander on the field of battle. Yet over the course of European history, the standard came to represent far more than a simple matter of tactical expediency. It evolved into a semisacred manifestation of regimental honor—the symbolic embodiment of each soldier's duty, both to his comrades and to his country.

The flag was the predominant military standard used by European armies throughout the medieval and early modern periods, and the national and military flags of the

Napoleonic era evolved from these amazingly diverse en-signs. The army of the Middle Ages was essentially a collection of private soldiers who, in order to function as a coherent military unit, were largely dependent upon the unambiguous leadership of a nobleman. Thus, personal aristocratic banners were used to mark the identity and position of each commander and his retinue on the field of battle. The art of heraldry was created in order to ensure the uniqueness of each flag.

The establishment of national standing armies in the seventeenth century was followed by the adoption of both uniform dress and the systemization of flags in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather than merely representing the commander's identity, flags were increasingly used in order to distinguish between specific types of soldiers in an increasingly specialized military. By the Napoleonic period, European armies were commonly divided into three main branches, and each carried a specific type of flag. The first was the cavalry standard. Emerging from the largest flags flown by the knightly armies of the Middle Ages, the cavalry standard was usually square and, as its name implies, had initially been designed to "stand" in one place rather than to be carried into battle. The second type was the guidon: a rectangular, swallow-tailed pendent carried by dragoons (mounted infantry). The fluid nature of cavalry warfare placed both guidon and cavalry standards in constant danger of capture by the enemy—an unacceptable disgrace for any unit. Though standards retained their symbolic importance, mounted units of the Napoleonic period often found it prudent to leave their standards behind the lines. Indeed, during the entire 1803–1815 period, no British cavalry units carried flags into the field.

The last and most important type of flag was known as the infantry color. The exact source of the name remains uncertain, though Sir John Fortescue in his *History of the British Army* states that "Before the end of the [sixteenth] century the flags of infantry, from their diversity of hues, had gained the name of Colours" (quoted in Edwards 1953, 7). Each infantry regiment or battalion typically carried two colors; the first was known as the Royal, King's, or Sovereign's Color, and served to mark the unit's allegiance to nation and ruler. Its design was consequently based on the national flag or the coat of arms of the monarch. The King's Color for all British infantry units of the Napoleonic Wars, for example, consisted of the Union flag, containing the regimental number or badge at its center. The second infantry flag was known as the Regimental or Battalion Color. This flag was unique to each unit and differed widely in style and color, though it typically incorporated a distinctive badge, number, or name of the regiment or battalion in question.

Perhaps the most famous standard of the Napoleonic Wars was the French imperial eagle. Modeled after the eagle of the Roman legions, the new symbol of the French military was intended to be carried atop the pike from which the color flew. It was first presented to the French army by Napoleon himself at the Champ de Mars in 1804. From this point on, unit flags became secondary to the symbolic value of the eagle itself. Regiments often neglected their flags entirely, preferring instead to carry the eagle alone into combat.

The color and imperial eagle served an important tactical role throughout the Napoleonic Wars. They acted as a natural rallying point, and the sight of the colors during desperate battles strengthened the morale of the men and testified to the continued resistance and continuity of the unit. But perhaps their most important role was as the symbolic heart of each regiment. Infantry colors and the imperial eagle were almost always carried into combat and formed a conspicuous target for enemy guns, as well as a natural focal point of attack by both infantry and cavalry. Yet the soldiers of all nations fought tenaciously and gave their lives in defense of their standards for reasons that were often more symbolic than strategic. The standard was a semisacred object, often consecrated in an elaborate ceremony by a member of the royal family or in the case of France by the Emperor. Before receiving its flags or eagle, each unit would swear to defend them to the death. Additionally, at a time when monuments recognizing the sacrifice of individual soldiers were rare, soldiers saw their standards as the only memorial for fallen comrades. To abandon the color to the enemy was to dishonor, not only the contemporary regiment, but the memory of every man who had given his life in defense of his unit and his country.

The military standard continued to play an important, though increasingly ceremonial, role after 1815. The industrialization of warfare during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—and above all the conspicuousness of flags and standards in the field—changed the very nature of armed conflict, finally rendering the romance and pageantry of the standard obsolete.

Samuel Cohen

*See also* Cavalry; Infantry

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### Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum (1757–1831)

A liberal-conservative statesman, Stein is often regarded as Germany's leading reformer of the early nineteenth century. Coming from an old family of landowning imperial knights in the Rhineland, he studied law, political science, and history at Göttingen, before undertaking practical training in Regensburg, Vienna, and Hungary, while traveling around central Europe for several years. In 1772 he first met Karl August von Hardenberg, who was later to become a major reformer in Prussia alongside Stein.

Stein joined the Prussian service in 1780. Regarded as a great specialist in economics, in 1784 he was appointed head of the Prussian State Mines Administration in the western provinces. By 1796 he had risen to head of the central administration authority of the western parts of Prussia, and was based in Minden. In 1785 he undertook a diplomatic mission to the court of the Prince Elector of Hesse and spent some months in England in 1786–1787 studying mining technology. He was also involved in the defense of the central Rhineland from the French invasion in autumn 1792, when General Adam de Custine first took the German fortress-city of Mainz.

In 1793 Stein married Wilhelmine, Gräfin von Wallmoden-Gimborn. The union produced two daughters. The elder, Henriette, married Hermann Graf von Giech; the younger, Therese, married Ludwig Graf von Kielmansegg, of the Hanoverian nobility.

The French occupation of large parts of western Germany from then onward forced Stein to relocate on a number of occasions. The inability of the Holy Roman Empire to defend itself against such encroachments on its territory made its mark on Stein. The resulting exchanges of territory and the secularization of ecclesiastical territories made it necessary for him to devote much of his time to administrative reorganization. The loss of the left bank of the Rhine to France meant that Stein lost family property. He did not support the French Revolution, but later became one of the leading lights in the struggle against Napoleon.

Following the Peace of Basle in 1795, Prussia made peace with Revolutionary France. Stein spent this time as president of the Westphalian Chambers at Wesel, Hamm,

and Minden, along the Line of Demarcation with France. He encouraged investment in infrastructure and reformed the administration. In Minden, he first met and befriended the gifted Prince Louis Ferdinand, a nephew of Frederick the Great, who fell at Saalfeld in the Jena-Auerstädt campaign of 1806.

In 1798 Stein called for Prussia to modernize its constitution and territorial administration to face the threat from France and to secure the independence of Germany. He also gave his support to the military reformers, in due course particularly to Gerhard von Scharnhorst and Augustus von Gneisenau. Stein also became a close friend of General Gebhard von Blücher, who symbolized Prussia's struggle against France.

Having lost property to the French in the Rhineland, Stein purchased the estate of Birnbaum on the Wartha River in eastern Germany in 1802. He was now a landowner in Prussia proper, an act of considerable symbolism.

The principality of Münster was added to Prussia's western territories following the secularization of the German ecclesiastical states in the Principal Resolution of the Imperial Deputation (Imperial Recess) of 1803. Stein did much to ensure a smooth transition. He favored Prussia's territorial aggrandizement at the expense of the minor German principalities because a strong Prussia could unite at least northern Germany and oppose France's ambitions.

In October 1804 Stein left Westphalia for Berlin, moving from local to central government. Once in Berlin, he became minister of finance and the economy in Prussia and played a leading role in national politics. Prussia's primitive banking system also attracted Stein's attention. He discovered a number of frauds in the autumn of 1805 and replaced the bank's directors. The practice of securing mortgages in south Prussia was forbidden, and speculation was threatened with greater penalties.

In April 1806 Stein published his first important memorandum on the reform of central government, which caused considerable friction with King Frederick William III. Stein cast his eye on the eastern provinces, and particularly the newly acquired Polish territories, wanting their new administration to follow the pattern of that of the western provinces. He ran into determined resistance from the local squirearchy.

It was, however, events involving France that weighed most heavily on Stein's mind at this time. The defeat of Austria and Russia at the Battle of Austerlitz in December 1805 isolated Prussia. With the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine on 12 July 1806, hegemony over the German states passed to France. The abdication of Emperor Francis II on 6 August 1806 ended the first German (or Holy Roman) Empire. Two months later, Napoleon's veterans were victorious over the much-vaunted Prussian army

at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt. Prussia paid the price for the decade of neutrality.

The years following this catastrophic defeat were just as turbulent for Stein. He left Berlin with his monarch when the government was transferred to Königsberg in East Prussia. He was opposed to the current system of central government, in which the ministers were not formed into any council and the king ruled through a cabinet of advisers not consisting of ministers. Stein's vociferous activities as a reformer led to conflict with the king, resulting in his dismissal in January 1807. That June, Stein wrote his most famous political document, the Nassau Memorandum, which called for a decentralized administration and the participation of the citizen in government.

Stein returned to government in October 1807 as Prussia's chief minister, a post he held until November 1808. Frederick William had begun to reform his government along the lines suggested earlier by Stein. Indeed the post of chief minister was newly created, and Hardenberg had held it for only two months before Stein replaced him. Stein's name is closely linked with reforms in the system of government, in social structures, in local government, in the army, and in education. He is particularly known for the Emancipation Edict of October 1807, which freed the peasants from the last vestiges of personal serfdom, and the Towns Act of 1808, which gave Prussia's towns a considerable degree of self-government. These reforms emphasized the strengthening of the state through the cooperation of its citizens and their assumption of responsibilities, as well as the breaking down of the class system.

As chief minister, it was Stein's responsibility to negotiate reparations for the recent war with the French intendant general, Pierre Antoine Bruno Daru, a matter fraught with difficulties, as the occupiers were most rapacious and Prussia was not in a position to raise loans to cover the amount demanded. Known as an active and leading patriot, Stein became the focus of attention for French spies. His letter of 15 August 1808 to Prince Wittgenstein was intercepted. It discussed the possibility of a national uprising, following the example set by Spain.

The twenty-fourth of November, 1808, was a day that Stein would never forget. His reform bill for central government was finally implemented, but his behind-the-scenes activities had come to Napoleon's attention. The letter to Wittgenstein forced the king to dismiss his controversial minister. On 16 December, Stein went into exile in Bohemia, then part of the Austrian Empire, from where he continued to plot Napoleon's overthrow.

Although he was forced to observe events from outside Prussia, Stein nevertheless continued to play a major role in the political proceedings of 1809–1812. He was closely connected to the underground nationalist organi-

zation known as the Tugendbund, the "League of Virtue." When Austria went to war with France in 1809, many in Prussia reached for their sabers, and a rebellion under Major Ferdinand von Schill took place in northern Germany. Stein called for an anti-Napoleonic insurrection in Germany and for the liberation of Germany by Germans. Napoleon's first defeat at the hands of the Austrian Archduke Charles at the Battle of Aspern-Essling that May raised the political temperature. Stein's hopes were dashed when Napoleon reimposed his will over the Austrians at Wagram in July.

When in exile in Austria, Stein also took the opportunity to write a book on the history of France and the Revolution from 1789 to 1799.

In the spring of 1812, Tsar Alexander I of Russia, anticipating war with Napoleon, called on Stein to serve him as an adviser on German affairs. From this advantageous position, Stein was able to pull strings throughout Europe, acting as the dynamo in the German liberation movement. He not only wrote a number of important memoranda on the German question, he also played an active role in the German Committee that plotted an anti-French uprising. Furthermore, he assisted in the formation of the Russo-German Legion, which was formed from prisoners of war from Napoleon's invading army and intended to be the spearhead of a new national German army.

Stein returned to Germany with the advancing Russian army at the beginning of 1813 and was appointed head of the military administration of the occupied territories. He acted as an intermediary between Tsar Alexander and Frederick William, negotiating their military alliance for the war against Napoleon. General Johann David von Yorck supported him in these negotiations. He was commander of the Prussian Auxiliary Corps that had gone to Russia with Napoleon, but later went over to the Russians. Stein's endeavors were rewarded that October at the Battle of Leipzig, in which Napoleon was decisively defeated and driven out of Germany.

Stein also acted as chief of administration of the provisional government of the liberated German territories, and later of occupied France. Although he did not play a decisive role in the first Peace of Paris in 1814, or at the Congress of Vienna, Stein nevertheless continued to advise the tsar and in that way influenced the shape of post-Napoleonic Europe. He also advised the Prussian delegation at the Congress and later declined offers from both Austria and Prussia to serve as an ambassador in the Federal German Diet in Frankfurt.

Once the Congress of Vienna had completed its business, Stein returned to his native Nassau for the first time in seven years. He participated in the conferences that prepared the treaty for the second Peace of Paris. In 1816, he

acquired the castle of Cappenberg in Westphalia, in exchange for his estate of Birnbaum, an act marking his return home to western Germany. It had formerly been ecclesiastical property and had been secularized in 1803. He made this castle his main place of residence, although he also had residences in Nassau and in Frankfurt. His personal contacts and his extensive correspondence kept him in touch with developments in society, politics, and science. He did not hold public office, but took an effective part in the political life of the newly formed Prussian province of Westphalia, as well as in the movement for constitutional monarchy and political representation in Prussia.

His days as a politician were now coming to an end. In 1819 Stein founded the Early German Historical Society and, largely from his own means, began the collection of medieval German historical sources that has continued to the present. He was very active in both the organization and research of the sources he gathered. From July 1820, he spent a year traveling in Switzerland and Italy, before returning home.

As a septuagenarian, Stein received his last public appointment, as marshal of the Provincial Chambers in the first three parliaments of the province of Westphalia, in 1826, 1828, and 1830–1831. He was active until six months before his death and died in 1831, aged seventy-three, in Cappenberg. He was laid to rest in the family graveyard in Frücht, near Bad Ems, in the Rhineland. Although he had spent much of his life as an administrator in Prussian service, Stein helped lay the foundation stones of modern Germany and is seen as a symbol of German patriotism.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Auerstädt, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Basle, Treaties of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Confederation of the Rhine; Emancipation Edict; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Jena, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Mainz, Siege of; Paris, First Treaty of; Paris, Second Treaty of; Prussia; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Saalfeld, Action at; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von; Tugendbund; Vienna, Congress of; Wagram, Battle of; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Stendhal (1783–1842)

Marie-Henri Beyle, known to the world as Stendhal, became one of the modern age's most important literary figures. Living as he did in the transitional period from the *ancien régime* through the age of Napoleon and into the period of the Bourbon Restoration and the July Revolution of 1830, Stendhal witnessed France's and Europe's movement into the modern era. His diary, letters, and fiction are vivid reflections of his life in this fascinating time.

Many careers were made in the footsteps of Napoleon's glory, including Stendhal's. The reader is struck by the central role played by Napoleon in the lives of Stendhal's literary characters, and this is no accident. Stendhal's career would rise and fall with the fortunes of Napoleon. Indeed, in his autobiographical work, *The Life of Henry Brulard*, Stendhal stated: "I fell when Napoleon did in April 1814" (Stendhal 1986a, 8).

Stendhal was a native of Grenoble, but he longed for the adventures of Paris. Thus, when he moved to the capital in November 1799 the day after Bonaparte seized power during the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November 1799), he was filled with great hopes for a new, more exciting life.

In Paris Stendhal came under the protection of his father's cousin, Noël Daru, who was important politically in both Grenoble and Paris and who had connections with many members of the government, including Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, Bonaparte's foreign minister. The elder Daru and his sons, Pierre and Martial, would serve as Stendhal's benefactors throughout the period of his life under the Consulate and Empire. Stendhal was given a job as one of the clerks at the ministry of war, working under the direction of Pierre Daru. When Bonaparte crossed the Alps in 1799, Stendhal eagerly accepted a commission as a

second lieutenant in the 6th Dragoons and followed Bonaparte to Italy. He soon adopted the general as his hero, writing of an earlier campaign in the opening lines of *The Charterhouse of Parma*: “On 15 May 1796, General Bonaparte made his entry into Milan at the head of that youthful army which but a short time before had crossed the Bridge of Lodi, and taught the world that after so many centuries Caesar and Alexander had a successor” (Stendhal 1958, 19).

Stendhal was eventually appointed provisional deputy war commissar for Brunswick. Shortly thereafter, he was raised to full war commissar, and in 1808 he became the intendant of the imperial domains. This position was one of considerable power and prestige and allowed Stendhal to live the kind of life he had once dreamed of living. His travels through Germany and Austria in 1809, however, opened his eyes to the true horrors of war, a disillusionment that would be reflected in both his later literary work and the letters and diary that he maintained.

Back in Paris, Daru arranged for Stendhal’s appointment as auditor of the Council of State, one of the top government officials in the Empire. He was soon given the additional appointment of inspector of the accounts, buildings, and furniture of the crown. These responsibilities included managing the Palace of Versailles, the Château of Fontainebleau, and the Musée Napoléon, now known as the Louvre.

In 1812 Stendhal, ever anxious for adventure, joined Napoleon’s army for the campaign in Russia. As a sign of his importance and his closeness to the court, he first stopped to pay a visit to Empress Marie Louise and her infant son, Napoleon, the King of Rome. The journey into and out of Russia provided Stendhal with images of war and life that would never leave him. More than ever before he would become involved in the dirty business of war, and more than ever before he would be threatened by it.

In 1814 Allied forces were moving into France from several directions. Stendhal organized the defense of Grenoble in 1814, for which he earned the respect and admiration of all who were with him. He returned to Paris and witnessed the departure of Marie Louise and the King of Rome as the Allies approached the capital.

After the final fall of Napoleon, Stendhal did not wish to live in a France that was intent on returning to the days before the Revolution. The Bourbons executed or imprisoned those who had served Napoleon and sought to slander his image. Stendhal, in disgust, moved to Milan, where he remained until 1821.

The Restoration left Stendhal and his literary characters longing for the Emperor and his past glories. While Stendhal is careful to point out Napoleon’s faults, he nevertheless makes his love of the Emperor clear. In his most fa-

mous work, *Scarlet and Black*, the main character Julien has but one hero: Napoleon. Julien’s most treasured reading material consisted of the bulletins of Napoleon’s army and Napoleon’s memoirs, written during his exile on St. Helena. Stendhal’s own feelings about the man who so influenced his life and literature are probably summed up in his *Life of Napoleon*: “I am writing this Life of Napoleon to refute a slander” (Stendhal 1956, 7).

J. David Markham

See also Brumaire, Coup of; France, Campaign in; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Marie Louise, Empress; Napoleon II, King of Rome; Russian Campaign; St. Helena; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince

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## Stettin, Capture of

See Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis, comte

## Stockach, First Battle of (25 March 1799)

Decisive Austrian victory over the French during the War of the Second Coalition.

When the French restarted the war in March 1799, Archduke Charles with his Austrian army engaged the Army of the Danube under General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Stockach, a key crossroads at the northwestern end of the Bodensee (Lake Constance), which controlled the road south into Switzerland. Charles counterattacked against the main French assault, but suffered heavy losses. The victory secured Austrian control of southern Germany, but politicians in Vienna prevented the archduke from exploiting his success for two months. The archduke’s strategy

was focused on retaking Switzerland from French control, as Switzerland controlled the central position between Germany and Italy. He did not want to waste troops annihilating Jourdan's small force.

On 1 March, Jourdan's 40,000-strong force advanced into southern Germany to support General André Masséna's Army of Helvetia in Switzerland, although war was not declared until 12 March. They faced an Austrian army under Archduke Charles numbering about 60,000. From 15 March, the two sides fought running skirmishes until Charles defeated Jourdan at Ostrach on 21 March, forcing the French to withdraw westward. On 24 March, Charles's advance guard under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Graf Nauendorff drove the French out of Stockach town, and Charles planned to press the attack the next day. The Austrian advance guard covered the whole front, with the left wing under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Joseph Staader Freiherr von Adelsheim based defensively around Wahlweis and the right under *Feldzeugmeister* Oliver Graf Wallis around Mahlspuren, with a reserve under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky at Stockach.

The French deployed General Pierre Marie Ferino's 1st Division near Muhlhausen, General Joseph Souham's 2nd Division on his left near the Stockach-Engen road; northwest of Engen was General Nicolas Soult's advance-guard division, while General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr's 3rd Division was in the nearby forest; General Dominique Vandamme's small Flanquers force guarded the left wing on the Danube, with General Jean Joseph d'Hautpoul's Reserve at Immendingen on the Danube. The Austrian advance guard's reinforced right wing under *Generalmajor* Maximilian Graf von Merveldt's command was to split St. Cyr and Vandamme from the main French army, while the rest of Nauendorff's advance guard would screen the rest off and push it back westward. Charles could thereby secure the main road into Switzerland and advance into Masséna's rear to force his withdrawal.

Based at Engen, Jourdan believed Charles had dispatched forces to the Tyrol to halt Masséna's advance. Knowing he would nevertheless lose another defensive action, Jourdan massed his army on the left to mount a surprise counterattack. St. Cyr, Soult, and the reserve would attack the Austrian right, attempting to outflank them and reach the Austrian rear by moving through Mösskirch. Ferino and Souham would attack frontally, join up around Nenzingen, and march on Stockach to secure the main road east. The French attack began at dawn on 25 March in the south, as Ferino advanced against Nauendorff's left under *Generalmajor* Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and pushed it back on Nenzingen, but Ferino could not get any farther that afternoon, as Souham had been halted by

Nauendorff's central units around Aach. Ferino made some further progress by late evening toward Wahlweis, where there was street fighting until late evening.

The battle, however, was decided in the north. Vandamme, Soult, and the French reserve had headed for Emmingen that morning to support the inactive St. Cyr, who was engaged by Merveldt down the Liptingen-Stockach road. The Austrian advance troops were soon put to flight, causing a general panic around Liptingen when the French advance guard approached. As Vandamme and Soult closed in from the flanks by 9:00 A.M., Merveldt's retreat fell into disorder, and his men fell back down the road toward Neuhaus. Believing he had destroyed the whole Austrian right, Jourdan fatally split his forces at 10:00 A.M.: Soult and Vandamme were to pursue Merveldt along the Stockach road, while St. Cyr's fairly fresh troops made an extended march around the northern flank to cut Austrian communications, and the Reserve cavalry remained at Liptingen.

When news arrived, Charles had initially ordered a general slow retreat by Schwarzenberg and Nauendorff, while the position was stabilized. The archduke then took some of Nauendorff's troops to reinforce the right, leaving Staader to fight a holding action in the south, which would isolate Ferino's French division around Stockach, while the Austrian counterattack destroyed Jourdan's left. Covering Merveldt, Wallis's main right wing established a position south of the Graue Wald (Grey Forest) and in two hours' ferocious fighting, halted the head of Soult's column as it emerged from the forest, before launching their attack back up the road toward Liptingen around 2:00 P.M. Charles had sent his grenadiers and Reserve cavalry to the Austrian right wing, and they joined Wallis's advance through the Graue Wald to emerge near Neuhaus around 4:00 P.M., where Soult had been able to reorder his men. The Austrians quickly took the Homburg hill and deployed three regiments and two grenadier battalions to engage Soult's infantry.

Meanwhile, *Feldmarschalleutnant Generalmajor* Franz Freiherr von Petrasch had moved into the gap between Soult and Vandamme, whose own advance had been halted. Knowing his left was being overwhelmed, Jourdan ordered St. Cyr to hasten his march on Mösskirch and moved his Reserve cavalry forward to support Soult. The light cavalry failed to dislodge the Austrians from the Homburg hill, while the heavy cavalry were destroyed by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf von Riesch's Reserve around 5:00 P.M. Jourdan had nothing left and withdrew on Liptingen. Charles now swung his right wing to attack this village from the flank, while his left advanced up the road. St. Cyr had driven a small Austrian force through Mösskirch by 4:00 P.M., but withdrew on receiving news of Soult.

The Austrians suffered heavy losses of about 5,000 men, nearly double those of the French. Jourdan evacuated the area as night fell and recrossed the Rhine on 5 April. Charles was ordered not to Switzerland, but to the central Rhine.

*David Hollins and Roland Kessinger*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Masséna, André; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Second Coalition, War of the; Souham, Joseph, comte; Sault, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Switzerland, Campaign in; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René

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### Stockach, Second Battle of (3 May 1800)

Also known as the Battle of Engen, this decisive French victory in southern Germany prevented Austrian interference with Bonaparte's advance through Switzerland into Italy.

General Jean Moreau's (French) Army of the Rhine crossed the Rhine in early May to attack *Feldzeugmeister* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova's Austrian army. The main attack came across the Rhine near Basle to draw Kray west, while Moreau's right advanced from Zürich to threaten Kray's communications with Ulm. The main French army defeated Kray at Engen, while Moreau's right under General Claude Jacques Lecourbe overwhelmed an Austrian division at Stockach, forcing Kray to withdraw.

Moreau's 120,000-strong army was divided into four corps: the left wing under General Gilles Bruneteau, vicomte de Sainte-Suzanne, the center under General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr and the right under Lecourbe, with Moreau commanding the Reserve. Kray deployed 80,000 men in eight divisions between Kehl and the Bodensee (Lake Constance). Moreau's plan was to draw Kray west toward Donaueschingen, while Lecourbe marched north from Zürich into Kray's rear around the key crossroads at Stockach. Over 25–30 April, Ste. Suzanne, St. Cyr, and Moreau crossed the Rhine between Strasbourg and Basle. As Kray massed his troops to support *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Graf Nauendorff's division in opposing them,

Lecourbe crossed the Rhine at Schaffhausen (near the Bodensee) on 1 May and drove Lothringen's small division back on Stockach. Moreau and St. Cyr attacked Nauendorff, who fell back to Engen. Kray ordered *Generalmajor* François-Joseph-Louis Freiherr de Klinglin and *Generalmajor* Carl von Lindenau to take their divisions to Engen and keep control of the road through to Stockach and the Austrian base at Ulm.

On 3 May, Lecourbe attacked Prinz Joseph von Lothringen near Stockach. General Gabriel Jean Molitor's division attacked frontally and on the left flank, while General Joseph de Montrichard tackled the Austrian right and General Dominique Vandamme cut their communications to Kray. Overwhelmed by 3:00 P.M., Lothringen withdrew on Mösskirch. The Austrian cavalry attempted to protect them north of Stockach, but were scattered by General Etienne Nansouty's Reserve cavalry. Meanwhile, Nauendorff engaged Moreau's Reserve at Engen, but around noon, Moreau assaulted the hills south of Welschingen. Attacked on both flanks, Nauendorff fell back to join *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky's Reserve division. An Austrian attack on Welschingen failed, but their gunners pinned the French into the village until nightfall. General Jean Thomas Lorge's division had taken Muhlhausen, threatening Kray's links to Lothringen. St. Cyr approached Engen around 4:00 P.M. His 1st Division under General Baraguey d'Hilliers drove the Austrian rear guard back on Archduke Ferdinand's division positioned in the hills 7 kilometers west of Engen, where they joined Lindenau's right flank. Once General Michel Ney's 3rd Division arrived, St. Cyr assaulted the archduke's lines, forcing him on Stetten, a small village 4 kilometers east of Engen, where fighting continued, but General Antoine Richepance's division could make no progress against Lindenau. The Austrians lost 6,400 men against French casualties of 2,000. Kray was forced to withdraw on Mösskirch, where Moreau defeated him on 5 May. With the Austrians driven from the Swiss border, Moreau dispatched part of Lecourbe's corps to Milan to support Bonaparte.

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*See also* Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Moreau, Jean Victor; Nansouty, Etienne Marie Antoine Champion; Ney, Michel; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René

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**Stokoe, John (1775–1852)**

Stokoe entered the navy at the age of nineteen and was present at the battles of Copenhagen and Trafalgar. He joined the crew of the HMS *Conquerant* as surgeon, and went with it to St. Helena. At some point he was introduced by Dr. Barry O'Meara to Napoleon, and soon began to engage in some secret correspondence to Longwood, Napoleon's residence on the island. When Sir Hudson Lowe, the island's governor, became anxious to provide Napoleon a doctor after O'Meara's departure, Stokoe was a natural choice, as Napoleon had refused to see Lowe's first choice, James Verling. Stokoe began to serve as Napoleon's doctor on 17 January 1819, and between that date and 21 January he visited Napoleon five times.

Lowe became convinced that Stokoe was going to be at least as close to Napoleon as O'Meara had been. When Stokoe went home on leave, immediately upon arrival in Britain he was ordered back to St. Helena, where he was court-martialed for disobedience to Lowe. Convicted on most counts, Stokoe was thrown out of the navy. Stokoe's court-martial is well documented in Verling's journal.

Like so many others in the cast of characters on St. Helena during Napoleon's exile, Stokoe kept notes and wrote his recollections of his time there. Many years later these memoirs were discovered and published, after heavy editing, by Paul Frémeaux as *With Napoleon on St Helena*. The treatment of Stokoe was not one of Lowe's finer moments, and contributed greatly to his image as a man overcome with suspicion.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Copenhagen, Battle of; Lowe, Sir Hudson; O'Meara, Barry Edward; St. Helena; Trafalgar, Battle of; Verling, James Roch

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**Stralsund, Siege of (30 January–19 April 1807)**

In early 1807 Marshal Adolphe Mortier was ordered to subdue Pomerania, Swedish territory situated on the European mainland, an objective that necessitated the capture of the town of Stralsund and its formidable defenses. The fortress was invested by the end of January, and the siege was to last until April, principally because in March much of the French force was withdrawn, allowing the Swedish garrison to launch a major counterattack. However, an

armistice was signed on 19 April when the fortress effectively surrendered.

In January 1807, Mortier deployed his corps along the line of the river Peene in Pomerania and shortly thereafter received orders to complete the occupation of the province. In order to do this, it was necessary to take the fortress of Stralsund. Mortier began his advance in two columns on 28 January with General Charles Grandjean on the right and General Pierre Louis Dupas on the left. Grandjean took the town of Greifswalde with little difficulty, defeating the Swedish outposts stationed there. Within two days, Mortier's corps was outside Stralsund, and the investment of the town began. However, the blockade could not be completed, first because Mortier could not cut off communications to the Swedish garrison by sea, and second because the Swedes were able to fire on the French siege lines by sailing gunboats out from the port.

For the following two months the French settled into their siege lines. A number of small-scale engagements took place, as Pierre, Count Essen, commanding the Swedish garrison, conducted an active defense. How active was shown to the full when on 29 January Mortier was ordered to move most of his troops to Kolberg, leaving only Grandjean to maintain the siege lines. Essen quickly tried to take advantage of this. Outnumbered by a Swedish force of around 13,000 troops, Grandjean was forced to fall back through the town of Greifswalde and then across the Peene. He then moved to Anklam, where he was attacked by Essen on 3 April. The situation seemed serious, and Mortier decided that he had to intervene to safeguard the French position. Mortier moved to Stettin and reached the city on 13 April, being met there by reinforcements from Berlin. The arrival of these troops brought Mortier's command up to equal strength with that of Essen. Mortier, thus strengthened, counterattacked and obliged the Swedish army to fall back on Anklam.

Despite poor weather, Mortier was able to build on this success, and by 17 April Essen's force was back across the Peene. Napoleon had instructed Mortier to attempt to negotiate an armistice with Essen and thus free up his troops to be used elsewhere. These negotiations proved successful after ten days of talks, and on 29 April an armistice was signed. It guaranteed that the Swedes would remain beyond the line of the river Peene, and a month's notice was required for termination of the armistice. Mortier's troops could now be released to operate with the main French army on the Vistula, in Poland, against the Russians.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Fourth Coalition, War of the; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph

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**Studienka, Action at**

See Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the

**Subservie, Jacques Gervais, baron (1776–1856)**

Jacques Gervais, baron Subservie, was born on 1 September 1776 in the southwestern part of France. Hailing from the prominent Subservie family, Jacques attended some of the most illustrious schools in the years preceding the collapse of the *ancien régime*. After his schooling, Subservie, inspired by the vigor and dynamism of the Revolutionary Wars, decided to join the French Army, serving at Malta during the expedition to Egypt. He remained on the island due to illness and was captured by the British in 1800. He became aide-de-camp to Marshal Jean Lannes and served in the campaigns of 1805–1807 before being sent to the Peninsula, where he fought at Medellín on 29 March 1809. He led the 10th Cavalry Brigade at the Battle of Talavera on 27–28 July 1809, and on 28 November of that year, Napoleon ennobled him as baron Subservie. As a result of this promotion, Subservie became one of the most trusted generals on Napoleon's staff.

On 6 August 1811 Subservie became *général de brigade* under Marshal Louis Suchet. He was badly wounded at Borodino during the Russian campaign, but recovered sufficiently to serve in Germany in 1813 and in the campaign in France, where he was present at Brienne, Champaubert, and Montereau. He received a second severe wound near Paris in March 1814 and was promoted to *général de division* the following month. During the First Restoration, the Bourbons annulled his new rank, though he was made a lieutenant general in July 1814. In 1815, as Napoleon prepared for his final campaign, Subservie again served in the cavalry, under General Claude Pajol, and fought at Waterloo. On the second return of the Bourbons, Subservie took a leading role in French politics and served as inspector of cavalry until his death on 10 March 1856.

*Jaime Ramón Olivares*

*See also* Borodino, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Champaubert, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Lannes, Jean; Malta, Operations in; Medellín, Battle of; Middle East Campaign; Montereau, Battle of; Pajol, Claude Pierre; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Suchet, Louis Gabriel; Talavera, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Waterloo, Battle of

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**Suchet, Louis-Gabriel (1770–1826)**

Louis-Gabriel Suchet emerged as the most successful of Napoleon's generals in coping with the difficulties of fighting in the Iberian Peninsula. After campaigning in Italy and Switzerland during the War of the Second Coalition, he fought with distinction as a divisional commander in the successful campaigns of 1805, 1806, and 1807. Although his early career brought him numerous laurels in conventional warfare, Suchet received no training in the complex task of fighting simultaneously against both guerrillas and regular enemy forces. But in 1808, Napoleon promoted the rising young leader to command a corps in Spain. There Suchet had a run of successes, pacifying the province of Aragón for several years and extending French control for a time into neighboring Catalonia and Valencia. His single greatest achievement, for which he won his marshal's baton, was capturing the Spanish fortress of Tarragona in May 1811. Only when the Earl (later Duke) of Wellington had defeated other French leaders and driven them from Spain into southern France was Suchet compelled to agree to an armistice with the enemy. Rallying to Napoleon in the spring of 1815, he held a high-ranking post in the defense of France's eastern border. Suchet survived the end of the Napoleonic era in France by a little more than a decade, dying in 1826.

Louis-Gabriel Suchet was a child of privilege, born at his father's country estate near Lyons on 2 March 1770. The son of a wealthy silk manufacturer, the young man joined the National Guard, then entered a volunteer battalion as a private soldier in 1792. Within a year, his fellow soldiers had chosen him as lieutenant colonel of the same unit. Suchet's battalion participated in the siege of the port of Toulon, where his battlefield exploits brought him to the attention of General Napoleon Bonaparte. During the 1796–1797 campaign in Italy, Suchet served at times in General André Masséna's division, at other times in the division led by General Pierre Augereau. He was wounded in battle several times, displayed both tactical skill and bravery, and rose to the rank of colonel. When the French army left Italy to pursue the Austrian enemy into their homeland, Suchet commanded the advance guard of Bonaparte's forces.

Although he reached the rank of *général de brigade* in 1798 and *général de division* in 1799, the years following



Marshal Suchet. A divisional commander in the campaigns against the Third and Fourth Coalitions, he numbered among the few senior French officers serving in Spain who managed to preserve his reputation intact. (Drawing by Jean Baptiste Guerin from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane. New York: Century, 1906, vol. 3)

the Italian campaign saw Suchet's career lose some of its upward momentum. His personal relationship with Bonaparte was cool: Suchet exhibited no affection for his commander, and Bonaparte reciprocated by excluding the young officer from the list of associates marked for promotion to the top of the military hierarchy. Moreover, a paradoxical combination of political traits made him suspect to the government back in Paris. Suchet's family background gave him the appearance of a sympathizer with the deposed aristocracy. At the same time, Suchet's extravagant rhetoric in favor of deepening the effect of the Revolution was seen as too radical for the post-Jacobin era.

Nonetheless, Suchet saw his reputation rise in the eyes of several senior commanders. Serving as a brigade commander under Masséna in Switzerland in the spring of 1799, he pulled his unit out of a perilous position after the

bold French advance into eastern Switzerland. After returning safely to French lines, the young general received the post of Masséna's chief of staff. Later that year, he served as chief of staff to General Barthélemy Joubert in Italy. In that capacity, Suchet advised his commander to avoid fighting a superior Russian force at Novi in August. When Joubert ignored the advice and was killed in the subsequent battle, Suchet helped to lead the defeated French army home.

Masséna's 1800 campaign in northwestern Italy, which culminated in the siege of Genoa, brought Suchet mixed success. As commander of the northern segment of the French line, Suchet was unable to hold back an Austrian force, being pushed as far westward as Nice and beyond. His failure forced Masséna into a defensive position behind the walls of the important Italian port city. Suchet redeemed himself, however, by halting the Austrian offensive along the river Var west of Nice, thereby safeguarding the route into southern France. By holding down some 30,000 Austrian troops in Provence during May with his own meager force of only about 8,000 men, Suchet contributed to Bonaparte's successful crossing of the Alps and subsequent victory at the Battle of Marengo.

In the years following, Suchet received only modest rewards. Named the French army's inspector general of infantry in 1801, he was passed over when several of his contemporaries received the title of marshal on 19 May 1804. With the formation of the Grande Armée, Suchet got the relatively lowly post of divisional commander. Fighting in V Corps under Marshal Jean Lannes, Suchet had a string of exceptional successes. His division advanced rapidly into Germany in the summer of 1805, thereby helping to confine and capture the Austrian army under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich at Ulm. At the subsequent Battle of Austerlitz in early December, Suchet's troops held the French army's northern flank against Russian attacks, permitting Napoleon to concentrate his forces in the center for the victorious strike against the enemy's lines. In October 1806, Suchet's division was the first to encounter the Prussian army and achieve a French victory in the fighting at Saalfeld; in the ensuing Battle of Jena, Suchet's men again spearheaded the French advance.

In the subsequent offensive into Poland in late 1806 and early 1807, Suchet received orders to guard the area around Warsaw. Although his troops saw action at Pultusk and Ostrolenka, Suchet had no role to play in the great battlefield dramas of Eylau and Friedland. Nonetheless, his solid, sometimes brilliant leadership now brought him appropriate rewards. In March 1808, Napoleon granted him several large estates and named him a Count of the Empire. Moreover, after fifteen years of service, Suchet as-

cended to command of an army corps. In September 1808, he received orders to take this force into Spain.

Suchet had never fought guerrillas as he was to do so often in Spain. But he had experienced enough leadership challenges to help him cope better than many of his contemporaries in the French army with the problems of both conventional and irregular warfare in the Peninsula. Campaigning in an area in which he was unlikely to receive reinforcements, Suchet saw the need to preserve the strength of his army at all costs. Ever since his service with the ragged troops of Bonaparte's Army of Italy in 1796–1797, Suchet had been a stickler for obtaining adequate supplies of food for his men. And he insisted on suitable medical care for them. At the same time, he had become convinced of the advantages of unwavering discipline in the army. He was also equipped by experience for the delicate task of occupying a hostile area. As military governor of Toulon back in 1793, he had begun to acquire experience in ruling over a civilian population, and he had served as military governor of the Italian city of Padua in early 1801.

Suchet arrived in Spain in December 1808. He was ordered to Aragón to join other commanders like Marshal Adolphe Mortier and General Jean Andoche Junot in besieging the key Spanish fortress of Saragossa. Dispatched to northeastern Spain at this early stage in the Peninsular War, Suchet was to spend most of the following five years here.

In helping with the siege of Saragossa, a major city on the river Ebro, the young general soon faced the problems of guerrilla warfare. His role was to hold the road center of Calatayud, to the southwest of Saragossa, thus maintaining the besiegers' supply line with Madrid. In dealing with the local population, Suchet tested some of the policies that served him well throughout his posting in the Peninsula. In particular, he worked to win over the Spanish under his jurisdiction by avoiding the harsh requisitioning policies that elsewhere provoked fierce popular resistance.

With the fall of Saragossa in February 1809, Suchet replaced Junot as commander of V Corps and received the assignment of pacifying Aragón. Although the three divisions he now led were notoriously ill-disciplined, Suchet transformed them into a potent fighting force that later received the title of the Army of Aragón. The French leader shook off an initial defeat at the hands of General Joaquín Blake at Alcaniz in late May. Dismissing incompetent officers and reconstituting his forces, he led his troops to victories over Blake in battles at Maria and Belchite the following month, thereby freeing Aragón of conventional Spanish forces.

Suchet's next task was to cope with insurgents within the Aragonese population. His success came from a mixture of conciliation and firmness. He capitalized on sepa-

ratist feeling in Aragón and the willingness of the local population to disavow allegiance to the old Spanish monarchy. He saw no need to harass local religious leaders, and he was comfortable calling on representatives of the population to offer him advice and suggestions. In forming a police force, he tried to rely on the local population for recruits, and he had some modest success in bringing local notables into the French administration. Meanwhile, Suchet made every effort to maintain discipline among his own troops by paying them regularly and providing them with adequate rations. By employing an entire army corps in controlling the people of Aragón, Suchet assured that local insurgents, who had not yet organized effectively, could not get a foothold in the region. He soon gained a reputation for unmitigated harshness in dealing with guerrillas who fell into his hands.

Success in counterinsurgency received a boost from the fact that, starting in mid-1809 after defeating the Austrians at Wagram, Napoleon did not face organized opposition elsewhere. Since the Emperor had no need to draw troops from Spain for a number of years, Suchet was allowed to keep his forces intact. He even received a stream of reinforcements from across the Pyrenees. On the other hand, cooperation among the generals in charge of individual provinces in Spain was conspicuous by its absence. While Suchet could clear Aragón of insurgent opposition, the elusive enemy could easily slip over into a neighboring province. Nor was Suchet, for all his abilities, willing to cooperate with his fellow French generals.

Pursuing a policy certain to rouse popular feeling against the occupiers, Napoleon insisted on draining away the resources of the Spanish countryside. The Emperor directed Suchet to undertake other responsibilities that undercut the successes in Aragón. By requiring Suchet to advance into the neighboring provinces of Catalonia and Valencia in February 1810, Napoleon began to spread Suchet's troops perilously thin. Insurgents in Aragón took notice.

Suchet failed in an initial attempt to take the port city of Valencia in April 1810, but he then produced a series of dramatic successes. His troops captured two main Spanish strongholds in southern Catalonia—Lérida and Tortosa—and Suchet became recognized as one French commander who could produce good results against both enemy regulars and enemy insurgents.

The highpoint of Suchet's command in Spain came in 1811 with the capture of Tarragona; on 8 July he received the baton of Marshal of the Empire as a reward for this achievement, becoming the only French general to win this distinction in the Peninsula. As a major port and key fortress, Tarragona enabled regular Spanish forces to maintain themselves in lower Catalonia. A difficult siege began

in early May, with the defenders aided by the presence of a Royal Navy squadron. British warships directed artillery fire against the French attackers, and British transports brought Spanish forces by sea to reinforce Tarragona's garrison. By the close of June, Suchet's Army of Aragón had breached the fortress walls, fought through the streets of the city, and captured a garrison of 9,000. But even Suchet, the disciplinarian and advocate of moderate treatment for Spanish civilians, found himself helpless to control his victorious French forces. Filled with excitement and postbattle exhilaration, Suchet's troops sacked the city and murdered thousands of Tarragona's population.

Suchet faced a new challenge when Napoleon ordered him to move against the city of Valencia. The city was the last base of support for Spanish regular forces in eastern Spain, and it provided crucial supplies for guerrillas operating in that part of the country. In October, a new victory over Blake at Sagunto, north of Valencia, put the Army of Aragón in a position to advance on Valencia itself. Suchet took the city in January 1812, capturing his longtime adversary Blake along with 18,000 troops. Napoleon recognized the feat of arms by naming Suchet duc d'Albufera, after a small body of water near the captured city.

But Suchet's success at Valencia had negative consequences. For one thing, concentrating the army for a conventional campaign enabled insurgents back in Aragón to renew their activities. Moreover, Napoleon diverted troops from the Army of Portugal in western Spain in order to reinforce Suchet. With the shrinkage in French troops there, Wellington received a golden opportunity to strike at his enemy's border fortresses at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. With these in his hands, the British commander in chief was able to advance into the center of Spain and even to take temporary possession of Madrid.

Reconstructing the Grande Armée in 1813 after his disastrous Russian campaign, Napoleon desperately needed troops in Germany. The Emperor transferred units from Italy to Germany, leaving a gap that Napoleon filled by drawing troops from Suchet's command. Thus, Italian regiments serving under Suchet were reconstituted as a single division and sent back to Italy. Besides his diminished resources, Suchet found himself confronted with the potent opposition of the Royal Navy. In the spring, a landing force of British and Sicilian troops tried to recapture Tarragona. He was able to bring sufficient forces together to relieve the city in August, but by then the overall situation in Spain was growing increasingly unstable.

After the defeat of French forces at Vitoria in June 1813, and Wellington's invasion of French territory in October, Suchet realized that holding extensive territory in northeastern Spain was no longer possible. He withdrew to northern Catalonia, and, in a controversial deci-

sion, refused to join Marshal Nicolas Soult in a counteroffensive Soult had planned against Wellington. In early 1814, Suchet was pushed northward to Gerona and then to the approaches to the Pyrenees at Figueras. At this time, new demands from Napoleon that troops leave Spain for the campaign in France deprived Suchet of over 20,000 troops, leaving barely 12,000 soldiers under his command.

Suchet's troops remained a disciplined, if small fighting force in southwestern France when Napoleon's resistance to the invading Allies collapsed in the spring of 1814. With his headquarters at Narbonne, Suchet negotiated an armistice with Wellington. It was his only important contact with the distinguished British commander. Alone among the senior French military leaders who served years in Spain, Suchet never faced Wellington on the battlefield. The French marshal also declared his allegiance to the restored monarchy of Louis XVIII and received a number of rewards. Elevated to the peerage, Suchet obtained a succession of prestigious military commands. Napoleon's return from exile in March 1815 found Suchet as commander of the 5th Division stationed at Strasbourg.

Suchet joined several of the other marshals in rallying to Napoleon's service. Although Suchet had not seen the Emperor since 1808, Napoleon showed that he was aware of the talents of this Peninsular veteran, awarding him a significant independent command. Suchet was sent to Lyons as Napoleon prepared to thrust his army into Belgium, and he was given the mission of defending southeastern France. His "Corps of Observation of the Alps" consisted of some 8,000 regulars and 15,000 members of the National Guard. With this meager force, Suchet had to shield France from an Austrian and Piedmontese attack expected to advance from Switzerland or Savoy.

Suchet took the initiative away from the enemy by driving into Savoy and seizing the key military routes through the Alps. His offensive began on 14 June, the day before Napoleon's troops entered Belgium. Facing a well-led, veteran Austrian army of some 48,000 men, however, Suchet was compelled to order a retreat, which most of the army carried out in a disciplined manner. More than a week after Waterloo, he learned about Napoleon's defeat and abdication, and he followed orders from the provisional government in Paris to negotiate an armistice with the enemy.

As a penalty for having renewed his ties with Napoleon, Suchet was deprived of both his peerage and his military post at Strasbourg. His peerage was restored in 1819, but he never again received any military responsibilities. After living his last decade in obscurity, Suchet died at his chateau near Marseilles on 3 June 1826.

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See also Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles; Austerlitz, Battle of; Badajoz, Third Siege of; Blake, Joaquín; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Genoa, Siege of; Guerilla Warfare; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Joubert, Barthélemy Catherine; Junot, Jean Andoche, duc d'Abrantès; Lannes, Jean; Louis XVIII, King; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Lieberich; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; National Guard (French); Novi, Battle of; Peninsular War; Pultusk, Battle of; Saalfeld, Action at; Saragossa, Sieges of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Switzerland, Campaign in; Tarragona, Sieges of; Third Coalition, War of the; Toulon, Siege of; Ulm, Surrender at; Valencia, Siege of; Vitoria, Battle of; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich (1729–1800)

Russian military commander notable for his achievements in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792 and in the French Revolutionary Wars.

His father, Vassily Suvorov, a senator, had been secretary to Peter the Great, and rose to the rank of lieutenant general in 1758. At the age of twelve, Alexander Suvorov was enlisted in the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment, then granted a leave of duty to study at home. In the eighteenth century, it was common for the nobility to enroll their sons in the Guards as children: As the children grew up, they climbed the ranks, enabling them to begin their later, true service in possession of an officer's rank.

In January 1748 at the age of eighteen, Suvorov began a military career that spanned five decades, as a corporal in the third company of the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment. From the very beginning, he was a zealous soldier, volunteering for dreaded sentry duty, even in bad weather. Not only did he excel at the expected military disciplines of fortification and mathematics, but he also delved deeply into philosophy and history, as well as languages. From his early education he spoke and wrote German and French. In later years he picked up Italian, Spanish, and Latin, reading classical literature in the original.

In 1754 Suvorov transferred from the Guard to the regular army and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the New Ingermanland Infantry Regiment. By 1758 he had been further promoted to lieutenant colonel. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), on 14 July 1759, eleven and a half years after entering military service, Suvorov fought his first battle, against Prussian troops, near Krossen in Silesia. A month later he fought at Kunersdorf, where Russian and Austrian troops crushed Frederick the Great's forces, and on 28 September 1760 he was among the Russian troops who entered Berlin under the leadership of Count Peter Saltykov.

On 5 September 1762 Suvorov was promoted to colonel and appointed commander of the Astrakhan, then, in 1763, the Suzdal Infantry Regiment. It was at this time that he wrote his *Suzdal Regimental Code*, outlining the organization of service and training in a regiment. Suvorov set forth three basic military precepts: First, measure and assess; second, value the element of surprise; third, focus on close combat. Suvorov's first victory in battle came on



Alexander Suvorov, a Russian field marshal who established a fearsome reputation in operations against the Turks and Poles before the wars with Revolutionary France. He performed well on the Italian and Swiss fronts in 1799. (By George Dawe [1781–1929] from Grand Duke Nikolay, 1905–1909. *Russkie portrety XVIII i XIX stol I et ii*, St. Petersburg, Izd: Velikago Kniazia Nikolaia Mikhailovicha)

13 September 1769, when he commanded three regiments to put down the Bar Rebellion for Polish independence. The victory led to a promotion to the rank of major general in 1770. More victories followed. On 26 April 1772 he accepted the surrender of the Polish garrison at the castle at Kraków.

Meanwhile, in the south, Russia and Turkey had been at war since 1768. Suvorov asked to be transferred to Field Marshal Peter Rumyantsev's army, in which he quickly scored victories at Karasu and Küçük Kaynarca. In May 1773 he led 3,000 Russian troops against 12,000 Turks and captured the Ottoman fortifications and town of Turtukai. In June 1773 he undertook a second successful raid and received the very prestigious Order of St. George (2nd degree), awarded only for major military victories. His victory over the much larger Turkish army of Abder-Rezak Pasha at Kozludji, in June 1774, established Suvorov's reputation for tactical brilliance.

Recalled to Russia in 1774 to deal with the peasant revolt of Emelian Pugachev, Suvorov arrived too late to suppress the rebellion, but he escorted its leader into captivity. In January 1774, on a furlough from the army, he married

Varvara Prozorovskaya, a tall, pretty girl twenty years his junior, and entered into the well-connected Golitsyn family. The marriage, which had been arranged by her father, was a total disaster, though the couple had a daughter, whom Suvorov adored. Between 1774 and 1786 Suvorov commanded various divisions and corps in the Kuban, the Crimea, Finland, and Russia itself. In 1778 he prevented a Turkish landing in the Crimea, thus obviating another Russo-Turkish War.

From 1787 to 1792, Suvorov participated in the new Russo-Turkish War during which he defended the coastal fortress of Kinburn against two Turkish seaborne assaults in September and October 1787. He then stormed and captured Ochakov in the Crimea in December 1788, and joined forces with the Austrian general Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld to defeat Osman Pasha at Focsani in August 1789. On 22 September 1789 Suvorov routed the Ottoman army under Yusuf Pasha on the Rimnic River and, for this decisive victory, he was rewarded with the title of Count of Rimniksky (of Rimnic) by Catherine the Great, while the emperor Joseph II made him a count of the Holy Roman Empire.

On 22 December 1790 Suvorov gained fame as a consequence of the storming of the fortress of Izmail, but also notoriety for the subsequent slaughter of most of its defenders. In 1793 he commanded the Russian forces that suppressed the Polish revolt of Tadeusz Kościuszko (Thaddeus Kosciuszko) and won more victories at Knupshchitse, Brest-Litovsk, Kobila, Praga, and Warsaw. He was promoted to field marshal in 1794, but the slaughters that followed the captures of Ochakov, Izmail, Praga, and Warsaw tainted his reputation in Western eyes. He was warmly greeted as a victor and national hero when he returned to St. Petersburg on 3 December 1795.

Less than a year later, on 6 November 1796, Catherine II died, succeeded by her son, Paul I. Paul was enamored of all things Prussian, as part of his allegiance to his German-born father, Peter III. Suvorov had nothing but scorn for Prussian parade-ground drilling and their heavy, tight uniforms, which Paul greatly admired. Suvorov was forced to retire and spent the next two years exiled to the village of Konchanskoe. Tsar Paul, meantime, became involved in the Second Coalition and mobilized his forces against France. A Russian squadron under the command of Admiral Fyodor Ushakov was sent to the Mediterranean, where it coordinated its actions with the British and Turkish fleets. Paul also committed the Russian army to military operations in Europe, where a combined Austro-Russian army was sent to drive the French out of Italy and Switzerland and put an end to the Revolutionary threat.

In February 1799 Paul summoned Suvorov from his estate and ordered him to take command of the army des-

tined for Italy. Suvorov was placed at the head of a united Austro-Russian army and reached Verona by mid-April. Later that month he launched an offensive against the French, who were defeated at Cassano on the river Adda, opening up the road to Milan. Turning westward, Suvorov then occupied Turin, the capital of Piedmont, in mid-May. In one month of campaigning he was able to secure all of Lombardy and large portions of Piedmont. As the French armies counterattacked, Suvorov made a prodigious fifty-mile, thirty-six-hour forced march to rout the French forces led by General Etienne Macdonald in a three-day battle on the Trebbia River on 17–19 June. Then, on 15 August, Suvorov scored the greatest victory of the campaign, at the town of Novi, where he crushed another French army led by generals Jean Moreau and Barthélemy Joubert. For this spectacular victory, Suvorov was conferred the title of Count of Italy. The victory at Novi opened a clear path for Allied forces into southern France; Suvorov began drafting plans for the invasion. However, the Austrian Military Council, which sought to reap the fruits of this victory for itself, demanded that Suvorov leave the Austrian troops in Italy and lead his Russians to Switzerland, to link up with the forces under General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov.

Suvorov, now sixty-eight years old, proceeded to lead his 20,000 battle-weary men over the Alps to take on four times as many French troops. In a sixteen-day march in September–October, Russian troops struggled through treacherous mountain passes, overcoming intermittent French resistance. In the most astonishing feat, while under fire, Russian troops repaired Devil's Bridge, which spanned a narrow gorge, and fought their way to the other side. The army's descent, however, was blocked by a French army under General André Masséna, who had just defeated Rimsky-Korsakov's corps at Zürich and now sought to entrap Suvorov in the Alps. Not one to balk at difficult odds, Suvorov ordered his starving troops to break out of the French encirclement, which they did with heavy casualties. In early October, Suvorov finally met up with Rimsky-Korsakov in Austria. Three-quarters of his army had survived the grueling march and battles.

Suvorov's heroic passage through the Alps was the most remarkable exploit of an already-remarkable military career. The Swiss were so impressed that they erected a monument in his honor, which still stands along the route of his march. For his outstanding military achievement Suvorov was given the highest possible military rank by the Russian tsar—generalissimo—a rank that required troops to salute him even in the presence of the tsar.

On his return trip to Russia, Suvorov was initially promised by Tsar Paul a grand welcome and reception in the capital. Relations between them rapidly deteriorated,

however, after Paul was told that Suvorov had revoked some of the Prussian-style reforms he had introduced, and, further, that he had a general serving as his duty officer—a privilege reserved for members of the imperial family. Incensed at this insubordination, Paul prohibited Suvorov from entering St. Petersburg in daylight, and it was said that he even wanted to deprive the field marshal of his titles.

Already in bad health after an exhausting campaign, Suvorov was shaken by this disgrace. He arrived at St. Petersburg late at night on 20 April 1800, unheralded and unwelcome. An imperial courier informed him that he was forbidden to visit the imperial palace. After almost a month of agony, Suvorov died on 18 May. Paul persecuted him even in death: the newspapers were not allowed to publish obituaries on Suvorov, and the military honors accorded to him were listed one grade below his rank. Suvorov nevertheless was laid to rest in one of the most venerated places of burial in Russia: the Lower Church of the Annunciation of Alexander-Nevsky Lavra.

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*See also* Cassano, Battle of; Catherine II “the Great,” Tsarina; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Joubert, Barthélemy; Catherine; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Novi, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Russo-Polish War; Second Coalition, War of the; Switzerland, Campaign in; Trebbia, Battle of the; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Sweden

Like the rest of Europe, Sweden was caught up in the revolutionary upheaval and, later, the Napoleonic Wars that

were unleashed by France. During the late eighteenth century, the ideas of the Enlightenment made their way into Sweden and were being transformed into government policy, creating what in Sweden is known as the Age of Liberty. Gustavus III instituted reforms abolishing censorship and encouraged free trade. By 1781, religious freedom was granted for all Christian denominations, and in 1782, Jews were given toleration. Culture flowered in Sweden under Gustavus, who was considered one of the most enlightened monarchs of Europe.

In promulgating reforms, Gustavus put himself in conflict with the aristocracy, who considered some of his actions to be unconstitutional. Through his enlightened reforms, Gustavus had become more autocratic, which alarmed the aristocracy. In 1788, he went to war against Russia, in hopes of gaining some Finnish provinces lost in 1721 by the Treaty of Nystad and in 1743 by the Treaty of Åbo. The aristocracy opposed this war and the further erosion of their privileges.

In 1792 Gustavus III was assassinated and succeeded by Gustavus IV. The new king was equally as autocratic as his father had been. His abhorrence of the French Revolution and Napoleon led Sweden to offer troops to the Third Coalition with Britain, Russia, and Austria on 31 August, supplemented by a formal treaty signed on 3 October. Austria was knocked out in December 1805, but Sweden remained in alliance with Russia, later joined by Prussia in the War of the Fourth Coalition in the autumn of 1806. On 17 June 1807, a treaty was signed between Sweden and Britain, in accordance with which Sweden sent 10,000 troops along the river Oder, though these saw virtually no action. Even before Napoleon's decisive defeat of the Russians at Friedland on 14 June, Sweden called for a cease-fire on 18 April. Nevertheless, Gustavus terminated the cease-fire, precipitating a French attack on 13 July, which overran Swedish Pomerania after the siege of Stralsund. The Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I of Russia, who abandoned the Fourth Coalition, stipulated that Sweden must break off its alliance with Britain and join the Continental System, which was intended to cut off British trade. As Gustavus refused to end his relationship with Britain, his country's major trading partner, Russia attacked Swedish Finland in 1808. By the following year the Russians had occupied Finland, a possession Sweden had controlled for almost 700 years.

The loss of Finland caused political reverberations for Sweden. Gustavus, by this time indisputably insane, was overthrown on 13 March 1809 in a coup that was staged by officers and members of the aristocracy. In December he went into exile in Germany, and then Switzerland, where he died penniless in February 1837. The Swedish parliament drafted a new constitution based on the Enlighten-

ment ideals of Montesquieu and on Swedish precedent. The 1809 constitution, which survived until 1975, limited the power of the monarchy by giving power to the Riksdag (parliament) and to the Royal Council. Subsequently, Gustavus IV's younger brother was elected king as Charles XIII on 5 June 1809. The problem of succession, however, was not resolved, for Charles XIII was childless. In addition to the problem of who would next occupy the Swedish throne, the greater problem lay in where the next king would lead Sweden. Because of the Napoleonic ascendancy in Europe, a Francophile faction gained influence in the government and believed that the best course for Sweden was to make an alliance with France.

The pro-French faction considered several candidates among Napoleon's marshals. The name that stood out particularly was Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, for his genuine interest in the affairs of the Baltic nations and for the kindness he had shown to Swedish prisoners in 1807. Napoleon, his commanding officer and friend, encouraged him to pursue his candidacy to the Swedish throne, on the basis that he would close the Baltic ports to Britain, enhance French influence in Europe, and possibly ally his country to France—though the Emperor released him from his oath of allegiance and allowed him to forswear his French nationality. In 1810 Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden by the Riksdag and took the name Charles John, and in effect, became the power behind the throne. Sweden played a small part in the Allied coalition of 1813 in Germany, where the former French marshal-turned-king consistently declined to commit his troops in battle for fear of sustaining heavy casualties and risking disapprobation at home.

When Bernadotte assumed his new position and name—Crown Prince Charles John—he assured Russia that Sweden would not make any attempt to retake Finland. Instead, he looked westward to Norway, which was under Danish rule. Charles John believed that Norway would be better compensation for Sweden because of their long common frontier and because of Norway's long coastline with the North Sea. To forward his designs on Norway, Charles John concluded an alliance with Tsar Alexander in 1814 obtaining Russia's support, in exchange for territorial concessions regarding Finland. Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia gave Charles John the opportunity to act. In doing so, he turned his back on Napoleon by attacking Denmark, an ally of France. A combined Russo-Swedish force overwhelmed Danish troops in December 1813. On 14 January 1814, King Frederick VI of Denmark signed the Treaty of Kiel, which ceded Norway to Sweden. On 4 November, the Norwegian parliament voted to create a dynastic union with Sweden, with Charles John as king, but retaining its parliament and legal systems.

These arrangements were confirmed when, during the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon's victors accepted the union with Norway.

On 5 February 1818, Charles XIII died, and Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, Crown Prince (Charles John) was proclaimed Charles XIV John, King of Sweden, of Norway, of the Goths, and of the Vandals. During the early years of his reign, Charles XIV John worked to secure the foundations of the new House of Bernadotte. He was constantly on his guard for assassination attempts by supporters of the descendants of Gustavus IV. During his coronation, he made sure of giving the appearance of continuity with the previous House of Vasa, which had ruled Sweden for almost 300 years. One of Charles XIV John's first actions as king was to secure a dynastic marriage in 1823 for his son, Oscar, to Josphine de Beauharnais, the granddaughter of Napoleon's first wife, the Empress Joseephine, who was also related to the Wittelsbach dynasty of Bavaria. On domestic policies, the reign of Charles XIV John was marked by conservatism on the part of the former Jacobin and by growing calls for liberalization, such as free speech, free trade, and civil liberties, among his subjects. Swedish foreign policy during the post-Napoleonic era was to take a neutral course between Britain and Russia. Charles XIV John died on 26 January 1844, beloved by his people. Peace and prosperity marked the reign of the first Bernadotte, whose ruling house was accepted by the Swedish people.

*Dino E. Buenviaje*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Continental System; Denmark; Finland; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Gustavus IV, King; Josephine, Empress; Norway; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Stralsund, Siege of; Swedish Army; Swedish Navy; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Swedish Army

The Swedish Army was small but generally well equipped. At the start of the Napoleonic Wars, the army was hampered by the use of outdated tactics, and it was defeated in the 1808–1809 war against Russia. From 1813 Swedish forces formed part of the (Allied) Army of the North and fought at Leipzig.

The Swedish Army was composed of two parts: the regular army and regiments that could be called up in case of war. These regiments generally had regular officers and noncommissioned officers. There were twenty-four infantry regiments in total throughout the period. In general, the light troops were the best in the army. However, many of these skirmishing troops came from Finland and were not available to the army after 1808, when Finland was lost to Russia. The Swedish cavalry was made up of thirteen regiments, of which ten were dragoons, the rest hussars and guard units. The artillery was composed of four regiments with twenty batteries in total.

The Swedish army was first involved in Swedish Pomerania in 1805. Here the army was seeking to hold the city of Stralsund. In 1806 Swedish troops were captured in an engagement with Prussian troops retreating from the advancing French. In 1808 the army fought a major campaign against the Russians in Finland. The Swedish army at this point had a strength of around 13,000 men. Although it won a series of small engagements, the army was not able to prevent the superior Russian forces from taking most of Finland. Swedish commanders relied on outdated tactics and were very conscious of protecting their supply lines, as a result of which their advances were always slow. The Swedes also possessed a poor system of intelligence, which led to their overestimation of the strength of the Russian forces. The war ended in 1809 and left Finland in Russian hands.

The next engagement of the Swedish army was in 1813, under the command of the former French marshal and new King of Sweden, Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte. Bernadotte led the Army of the North, of which the Swedes formed a part. It has often been suggested that Bernadotte deliberately protected the Swedish army from serious fighting—including at the great battle at Leipzig—an assertion generally borne out by the infrequency with which the Swedes were actually committed to battle. At Grossbeeren on 23 August, only the horse artillery commanded by Colonel Charles von Cardell were fully engaged, while the Swedish cavalry led by General Anders Frederik

Skjoldebrand fought at Dennewitz. At Roslau on 28 September, however, the Swedish army did fight an independent action. In this engagement, they showed that their tactical skills had considerably improved since 1808, so enabling them to force the French back. At Leipzig in October, the Swedish army was committed in the attack on Leipzig itself but only suffered about 200 casualties. Bernadotte thereafter employed Swedish forces in clearing northern Germany of the enemy and then turned his attentions toward Denmark. At Bornhöved, the Swedish cavalry led by Skjoldebrand made a fierce attack against a Danish force, and later Swedish troops were used to intimidate Norway into a union with Sweden.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Dennewitz, Battle of; Finland; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Norway; Russo-Swedish War; Stralsund, Siege of; Sweden

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## Swedish Navy

By the 1790s the previously renowned Swedish Navy was a shadow of its former self. The Baltic Sea is often shallow, has many dangerous rocks, and is bordered by a coastline of inlets, ideal for amphibious warfare. The Swedes had possessed two fleets: one was for high seas operations, the other for combined operations with the army. The high seas fleet (*Orlogs Flottan*) of 1808 consisted of seventeen men-of-war, of which eleven carried 64 guns or more. The ships for the coastal fleet (the army fleet, *Armens Flottan*) were shallow draught galleys and similar rowed boats.

The galleys were able to sail, but the oars were a necessary addition for the type of war contemplated: moving troops along the Baltic coast for raiding purposes. This fleet was to fight the equivalent Russian force, to support Swedish land forces with men, guns, and supplies, and to transport the army when needed. The fleet comprised two squadrons in 1788 (one at Stockholm, one at Helsingfors), with a total of some 143 galleys and similar vessels plus support craft.

The war against Russia of 1788–1790 was the result of King Gustavus III's need to increase his popularity at home: It was a dismal failure from the start, when the fleet ran away from the Russians at Hogland. Peace followed in 1790, and the Swedish fleet saw no further action until 1808–1809, once more against Russia. After the loss of much of their fleet after the capitulation of Sveaborg, the Swedes decided to build a new fleet.

Russia had, in agreeing to the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, accepted the task of persuading the Swedes to join the Napoleonic anti-British blockade known as the Continental System, but Sweden refused to agree, and remained opposed to Napoleon. This unwillingness to comply with the Russians resulted in the war of 1808. In the war the Swedes attempted to retake the Åland Peninsula, but they lost to the Russians, despite putting up a good fight. They lost again in the Battle of Sandström after two days of fighting. The Russians also defeated the army, and Russian occupation of Finland became a fact. Interestingly, the Swedes then engaged in guerrilla warfare, the units sometimes cooperating with the Swedish fleet and the army. With the winter of 1808–1809, however, guerrilla resistance ended.

The only time that the Swedish navy encountered any success was when operating with the Royal Navy in 1808, when the Russians were bottled up in Baltischport in Estonia for a time.

Because of this disastrous war against the Russians and extra conscription, King Gustavus IV (who ascended the throne in 1792) was ousted from power in a coup d'état, and Sweden also lost control over Finland. The result was that Sweden no longer had any military power to speak of and spent the rest of the Napoleonic Wars re-ordering itself internally, especially after the French marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was elected king.

*David Westwood*

*See also* Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Continental System; Finland; Gustavus IV, King; Russo-Swedish War; Sweden; Swedish Army; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## Swiss Forces

Fighting on the side of the French, the Swiss provided Napoleon with the services of four infantry regiments plus various other units during his various campaigns. They

were widely known for their excellent discipline and marksmanship, and particularly distinguished themselves during the Russian campaign in 1812.

Swiss regiments had historically fought as mercenaries in the armies of other nations, including that of France, long before the French Revolution. During the Revolution, the Swiss Guards of Louis XVI were massacred at the Tuileries on 10 August 1792. Eventually the Swiss took the side of the Revolution, forming the Helvetic Republic. Napoleon negotiated a convention with the Swiss in 1803. The agreement stated that the Swiss would provide four regiments to France, but no troops to any other nation. Swiss troops would be paid the same rate as French troops, and enjoy the same privileges. In addition, each Swiss regiment would have one Catholic and one Protestant chaplain, an unusual arrangement unknown in most of Napoleon's forces. The uniforms of the Helvetic Republic had been blue, but the Swiss reverted to red uniforms, which they had traditionally worn. The style, cut, and insignia of the uniforms would be the same as for French uniforms, except for the basic red color of the jackets. Each regiment would be distinguished by contrasting colors on collars and cuffs, yellow for the 1st, royal blue for the 2nd, black for the 3rd, and sky blue for the 4th.

The 1st Regiment was fully organized by 1805. The other three regiments were ready in 1806. Napoleon also had a separate agreement with the canton of Valais, which provided him with one infantry battalion wearing red uniforms faced with white. This battalion served in Spain until 1810, when Valais was incorporated into the French Empire. In addition, Napoleon's chief of staff, Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier, was given the principality of Neuchâtel, and formed a battalion of troops wearing chamois uniforms faced with red. The Neuchâtel battalion (nicknamed "the Canaries") saw service in Spain and guarded Berthier's headquarters on other campaigns. The other Swiss regiments fought mostly in Spain, and also in Naples.

The Swiss regiments formed part of Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's corps for the invasion of Russia in 1812. They fought well in several engagements, but were not at Borodino. The Swiss joined the main column during the retreat from Moscow, and helped save the survivors of Napoleon's army at the crossing of the Berezina River. The Swiss fought stubbornly there as part of the rear guard, making bayonet charges after expending their ammunition. Almost wiped out by the campaigns of 1812 and 1813, there were still some Swiss troops fighting in defense of France during the Allied invasion of 1814. One Swiss battalion fought at Wavre in 1815. Consistently neutral since the Napoleonic Wars, Switzerland no longer provides troops to other nations, with the exception of the Swiss Guard of the Vatican.

*Ralph Ashby*

*See also* Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Louis XVI, King; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Switzerland; Wavre, Battle of

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## Switzerland

On the eve of the French Revolution, the Swiss Confederation constituted a loose federation of thirteen virtually sovereign cantons, "allied districts," and "subject districts," ruled by various cantons. That confederation possessed no central government, no uniform administration, no army, and no unified law. Each province had its own government, legal system, and administration. Urban oligarchies dominated the cantons, possessing feudal privileges. A diet, with representatives from various cantons and their allies, met to discuss common interests such as war and commercial treaties.

The Swiss Confederation remained neutral during the War of the First Coalition. However, after 1795, the Directory began interfering in its internal affairs. Swiss expatriate liberals such as Frederick Laharpe and Peter Ochs, who supported the French Revolution and the formation of a united Swiss state, favored French intervention. Bonaparte, who visited Switzerland in 1797, urged the Directory to intervene in that country to gain control over the mountain passes. He also called for the formation of a united Switzerland.

In early 1798, revolts in a number of cantons, most notably the uprising in Vaud against Berne, provided France with an excuse to intervene and "liberate" those areas. The French invaded Switzerland in support of Vaud, and in March 1798 General Guillaume Brune occupied Berne. The French used Berne's sizable treasury to finance Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition. In April, Geneva was annexed to France. Berne's collapse marked the dissolution of the Swiss Confederation. A new Helvetic Republic, "one and indivisible," was proclaimed in April 1798. From then until 1813, Switzerland was a French protectorate.

A new liberal constitution, modeled on the 1795 French constitution, laid the foundation of modern Switzerland. It set up a Directory and a bicameral legislature and proclaimed legal equality, civic liberties, and the right of private property. It established, for the first time, a

common Swiss citizenship and universal manhood suffrage. Internal tolls and customs were removed. The cantons lost their traditional independence and became administrative units run by prefects. The number of cantons rose to eighteen when the former subject regions became cantons. The new Helvetic government abolished feudal dues and ecclesiastical privileges and confiscated Church possessions. The authorities created a single currency, the Swiss franc, reorganized the tax system, rescinded guild restrictions, and secularized education.

The Helvetic Republic, however, experienced economic difficulties and faced political opposition. French impositions and heavy requisitions caused fiscal hardships. A revolt by several cantons was crushed by French troops. In August 1798, France compelled Switzerland to sign a treaty of alliance, forcing it to supply troops, financial support, and free passage through its territory.

In 1799, Switzerland became a theater of operations during the War of the Second Coalition. That coalition aimed at expelling France from Switzerland, a goal supported by Swiss aristocrats. In early June, the Austrian Archduke Charles forced General André Masséna to evacuate Zürich and occupied the city. The Austrians were reluctant, however, to get involved in internal Swiss politics, and Charles withdrew to Germany. Masséna then defeated the Russian general Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov in the second Battle of Zürich (September 1799), thereby saving the Helvetic Republic. Yet the invading armies ravaged much of its territory, and heavy French taxes aggravated the economic crisis. Deep divisions between the pro-French Unitarians and the federalists, the latter of whom favored a weak central government and the restoration of the cantons' powers, caused considerable instability. A series of coups and constitutional changes marked that period.

Following the Treaty of Amiens (March 1802), Bonaparte ordered French troops to withdraw temporarily from Switzerland. The French evacuation weakened the Helvetic government, and a federalist revolt forced it to evacuate Berne. Twelve rebelling cantons formed a new federal diet. In September 1802, Bonaparte ordered his army back to Switzerland in support of the government, forcing the rebel diet to disperse.

Bonaparte was now determined to impose a settlement to guarantee stability and French control. He summoned a Helvetic committee of delegates of both parties to Paris to discuss a new constitution. The outcome was the Mediation Act, which Bonaparte ratified on 19 February 1803. The Mediation Act ended the Helvetic Republic and restored the federal system, comprising nineteen nearly sovereign cantons. A feeble federal diet constituted the central government. The chief magistrate, the *Landamman*, was in charge of foreign policy and internal secu-

rity. Each canton provided a quota of troops and paid its share of military costs. Freedom of speech and faith disappeared, yet the Mediation Act reaffirmed legal equality and the freedom of Swiss citizens to dwell and own property anywhere. Bonaparte endorsed the principle of cantonal autonomy and the restoration of the former ruling elites who, in return, recognized his supremacy.

The Mediation Act period (1803–1813) was marked by stability and conservatism. The urban aristocracies secured their power in the major cities of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, Solothurn, Basle, and Zürich. The authorities returned confiscated church land, reopened monasteries, and reestablished internal tolls. Various cantonal authorities regulated the morals of their citizens' lives. Internal stability and autonomy enabled cantonal governments to launch reform programs. They set up uniform administrative and judicial structures, established local police, maintained roads, stabilized finances, and managed welfare programs. Swiss education was viewed as a principal task of the state and became a model throughout Europe. The school founded in Yverdon by Henry Pestalozzi gained considerable esteem. The authorities also launched important public works.

While Switzerland remained officially independent and neutral, in reality it was a Napoleonic satellite. Napoleon ran its foreign and military policy and controlled the *Landamman*. In 1809, Napoleon became "Mediator of the Swiss Confederation." Switzerland had to abide by the Continental System (the French-imposed embargo of continental trade with Britain), despite the grave damage to its economy, especially to its textile industry. The Emperor also reduced the Confederation's territory. He gave Neuchâtel to Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier as a fief, ordered Italian troops to occupy the canton of Ticino, and annexed the Valais to his empire. Out of 9,000 Swiss troops who marched into Russia, only 700 survived.

The Swiss government sided with Napoleon until his defeat at Leipzig. Switzerland then declared its neutrality and withdrew from the Continental System. In December 1813, a large Austro-Bavarian army invaded Switzerland, bringing to an end the Mediation Act's regime and French influence. In September 1814, with the admission of Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva to the Confederation, the number of cantons rose to twenty-two. A few days before Waterloo, Switzerland formally joined the coalition against Napoleon. In August 1815, after lengthy discussions, a new constitution, the so-called Federal Pact, was proclaimed, restoring much of the old system. It endowed the cantons with full sovereignty and established a diet with limited power. The Congress of Vienna recognized Swiss neutrality and ratified the cantonal borders.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Continental System; Directory, the; Leipzig, Battle of; Masséna, André; Middle East Campaign; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Swiss Forces; Switzerland, Campaign in; Vienna, Congress of; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Switzerland, Campaign in (1799)

The series of battles fought in the area in 1799 formed part of the War of the Second Coalition. The fighting centered on French attempts to control Zürich. There were a number of separate engagements at this city. The Austrians and French were the main protagonists in the area, but in late 1799 Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov led a Russian army into the theater.

The war in Switzerland began as a result of the activities of the Second Coalition formed against the French. The coalition was formally completed in June 1799 with an Austro-British alliance, though it had begun the previous December with an Anglo-Russian alliance. Ranged against the French were the states of Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples, and the Ottoman Empire (Turkey). Marshal André Masséna, in his first independent command, led the 34,000-strong (French) Army of Switzerland. It was intended that Masséna should attack the Austrian commander *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze. General Barthélemy Schérer with the (French) Army of Italy was to support the right of Masséna's advance. Masséna advanced to the upper Rhine in order to threaten Vorarlberg. He assembled his forces near Sargans on 2 March in order to cross the river. He ordered sappers to build a bridge and attacked across the river on 6 March.

Masséna then ordered the storming of the fort at St. Luzisteig. Advancing further, the French took the town of Chur and around 3,000 Austrian prisoners. However, Masséna was finding it difficult to supply his troops and was unable to advance farther. His position was made worse by the fact that Archduke Charles had defeated General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Stockach on 25 March and the Austrian general *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajoval had pushed Schérer back around Verona.

The Allies were then reinforced by a Russian army led by Suvorov, totaling around 25,000. Due to his reputation, Suvorov assumed command of the Allied forces in the area. Masséna was given command of the remnants of Jourdan's and Schérer's armies.

In May Archduke Charles attacked Masséna's forces. He first retook Chur and then crossed the Rhine, threatening the communications of the French. Masséna launched a successful counterattack, but then withdrew his forces to a defensive position around Zürich, which he had fortified earlier. By the start of June, the Austrians were in a position to attack. The main attack came on 4 June against the 650-meter Zürichberg hill. The Austrian assault failed with Hotze, one of the Austrian generals, wounded. Masséna believed that he could not hold Zürich and withdrew to higher ground to the north. The Allies occupied Zürich and now dominated northern Switzerland. However, Masséna gradually received reinforcements and more importantly a formidable array of aggressive junior officers. Principal among these were generals Adolphe Mortier and Nicolas Soult, both future marshals under Napoleon.

At Novi in Italy, the French were once more defeated, which meant that a new strategy could be formulated. The Allies decided that Russian forces would unite in Switzerland and then strike westward into France. From the south, Suvorov was to march through the southern alpine passes, while General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov was to advance into Switzerland from the north, having moved through Germany. Suvorov was not convinced that this was the best strategy, but offered no resistance, due to the fact that he believed that the morale of the French armies was weakening. Archduke Charles left Switzerland, leaving only Hotze before Zürich until Rimsky-Korsakov arrived. Masséna saw his chance to strike at the Allied armies before they were able to unite against him. Masséna ordered a division to contest Suvorov's advance through the St. Gotthard Pass and turned the full weight of his army against Rimsky-Korsakov.

On 25 September Masséna attacked the Russians, Mortier's division leading the main attack. The French division commanded by General Jean Thomas Lorge was ordered to cross the river Limmat and sweep round to the north of Zürich to threaten any Russian retreat. By the early afternoon, the Russian forces were mainly crowded in front of the gates of Zürich, making a perfect target for the French. Rimsky-Korsakov withdrew his forces inside the walls, though he soon decided that the town could not be held and continued to withdraw. Masséna ordered his forces to pursue the enemy, and Rimsky-Korsakov's withdrawal degenerated into a rout. This attack effectively destroyed Rimsky-Korsakov's command, with the Russians losing many guns and over 8,000 men.

Soult had also attacked the Austrians under Hotze at the eastern end of Lake Zürich on the same day. His target was Uznach, which formed the junction between the Russian and Austrian forces. The heavy mist that filled the valleys helped the French attack. In the middle of the attack, while Hotze was leading reinforcements to strengthen the Austrian line, he was shot dead. The disheartened Austrians were defeated, with the loss of almost 6,000 men.

Suvorov meanwhile had stormed the St. Gotthard Pass on 25 September. The French then fought a number of delaying actions to impede Suvorov's advance. He joined an Austrian force at Glarus led by *Generalmajor* Fürst Franz von Rosenberg-Orsini and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Xavier Auffenberg. It was at this point that Suvorov heard of the defeats that had been suffered at Zürich. In a council of war it was decided that the Allied forces must strike to the east before they were surrounded. Rosenberg fought a two-day battle in the Muotatal valley against forces under Mortier's command. However, his victory did little to improve the situation of the Allies. Three French columns were now advancing on Glarus, and Suvorov had to extricate his forces once more. The Russians reached Chur by 10 October, but had lost almost one-fifth of the force that had begun the campaign in September. This was effectively

the end of the campaign, as the tsar ordered the return of Suvorov's army.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Masséna, André; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Novi, Battle of; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Second Coalition, War of the; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Gotthard Pass, Action at the; Stockach, First Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland; Zürich, First Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Swords

*See* Cavalry; Infantry

# T

## Talavera, Battle of (27–28 July 1809)

The first major encounter for the British in Spain during the Peninsular War, Talavera was fought between French forces under the nominal command of King Joseph Bonaparte—with de facto command resting with Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jourdan—and a British and Spanish force under Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) and General Gregorio García de la Cuesta, respectively. The Allies achieved a defensive victory, albeit one expensively bought.

Having driven Marshal Nicolas Soult from Portugal, Wellesley (who became Viscount Wellington after this battle) looked to the south, toward Marshal Claude Victor, whose force was concentrated in and around the old Roman town of Mérida. His Spanish allies were frustratingly difficult to get on with, as Lieutenant General Sir John Moore had found to his cost the previous year. In spite of this it was agreed that the British army should cooperate with the Spaniards in a joint operation against Victor's force. In fact, so eager were the Spaniards about the plan that they agreed not only to feed Wellesley's army but also to provide much-needed transport for it. This having been agreed upon, Wellesley crossed the border into Spain and marched his army to a prearranged area of concentration, north of the Tagus at Plasencia.

Victor's 20,000 men, meanwhile, had moved northeast from Mérida to Talavera, where he hoped to unite with other French forces under General Horace Sébastiani, who had 22,000 men at Madridejos, and Joseph Bonaparte, king of Spain, in command of a further 12,000 men at Madrid. In theory, this move would allow the French to field a combined army of around 50,000 men, all of whom were tried and tested soldiers. Against this Wellesley and Cuesta, the Spanish commander, could field 55,000, of whom 35,000 were Spanish.

Wellesley's doubts as to the merits of the Spaniards surfaced fairly soon, as did his frustrations when they failed to fulfill any of their promises regarding transport

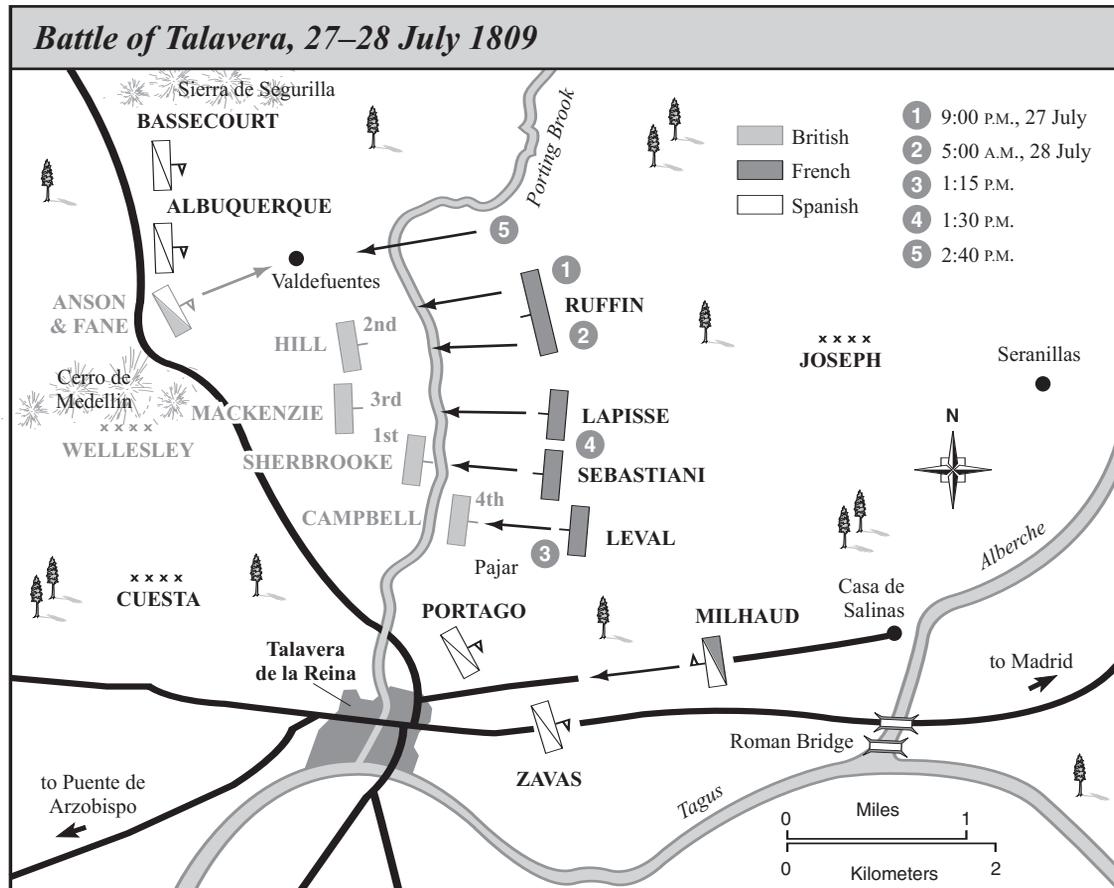
and supplies. And when he rode south to Almaraz to inspect the Spanish army, Wellesley was more than a little disillusioned when he saw the poor condition of their arms and equipment.

The seventy-year-old Cuesta himself gave little cause for optimism, and he adopted a singularly belligerent attitude toward his British ally as a result of which many hours were lost as the two men argued over the strategy to be employed against the French. Eventually, Wellesley and Cuesta agreed to unite their armies at Oropesa, about 30 miles west of Talavera.

The two forces duly met as planned on 20 July, and three days later had a perfect opportunity to attack Victor, who had yet to meet either Sébastiani or Joseph and who was outnumbered by just over two to one. Cuesta refused to move, however, and the chance was lost. He did agree to attack at dawn on the twenty-fourth, although by then, of course, Victor had retired toward Madrid.

Wellesley was naturally furious, and when a buoyant Cuesta decided to set off in pursuit of Victor, it was Wellesley's turn to refuse to budge. He had good reason, as intelligence reports showed that the French were only days away from uniting, which would give them a combined strength of 50,000 men. Nonetheless, Cuesta gave chase and was predictably mauled by Victor's veterans on the twenty-fifth.

By 27 July Wellesley had positioned his army a few miles to the west of the Alberche River, which flows north from the Tagus just east of Talavera. Later that day, he narrowly avoided capture while carrying out a reconnaissance from the top of the Casa de Salinas, a semifortified building on the left bank of the Alberche. As he peered out in the direction of the French army, he just caught sight of a party of French light infantry, stealing around the corner of the building. He rushed down the stairs, mounted his horse, and rode hell for leather away from the building, followed by a couple of volleys from the enemy infantry. It was the first of a couple of occasions in the Peninsular War when Wellesley narrowly avoided capture, the other notable occasion being at Sorrauren in 1813.



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 43.

There was some skirmishing throughout the rest of the day, including the celebrated incident during the evening involving four battalions of Spanish infantry who, when “threatened” by some distant French cavalry, let loose a shattering volley before running away at the sound of their own muskets, stopping only to plunder the British baggage train.

That night Wellesley had drawn his army up along a front stretching north to south from the heights of Segurilla to Talavera itself. On the right were positioned Cuesta’s 35,000 Spaniards, the right flank resting upon Talavera, being the strongest part of the line. The left flank of the British line rested upon the Cerro de Medellín, a large hill that dominated the landscape, separated from the heights of Segurilla by a wide, flat valley nearly a mile wide. In front of the Allied position, and directly opposite the Cerro de Medellín, was the Cerro de Cascajal, which was soon to become the center of the French position, and between the two hills, running along the valley between them, was a small stream called the Portina.

The sun had long since gone down when, at around ten o’clock, under the cover of darkness, an entire French division stole across the Portina and fell upon the British

and King’s German Legion troops (Hanoverians, abbreviated as KGL), on and at the foot of the Medellín, who were dozing off after a hard day in the field. The French advanced in three columns, one of which got lost and, failing to find any of its objectives, returned to the main French line. The other two columns, however, caused a great deal of panic in the British lines and at one point even occupied the summit of the Medellín after managing to completely pass by Colonel Rufane Shaw Donkin’s brigade, which occupied the forward slopes of the hill.

It was during this confusion that Major General Rowland Hill almost got himself captured when, riding forward to investigate with his brigade major, he found himself confronted by a number of French skirmishers, one of whom tried to drag Hill from his horse. The two British officers quickly turned tail and rode off, but the brigade major was killed when the French opened fire. Hill then brought forward Brigadier General Richard Stewart’s brigade of the 2nd Division, among which was the 29th Foot, which drove the French from the summit amid a blaze of musketry. The situation was eventually restored, and the French returned to their original positions having lost about 300 men, the British losing a similar number.

A single French gun, fired in the gloom at about five o'clock on the morning of 28 July, signaled the beginning of the main French attack. The gun triggered off a rippling fire that rolled along the French position from about sixty of their guns. On the Medellín, Wellesley's men were ordered to lie down as enemy cannonballs came bouncing in among them, while on the slopes of the hill British gunners worked at their own guns in reply.

From his position high on the Medellín, which was shrouded in smoke, Wellesley could see nothing of what was going on below, but the sounds—soon to become so familiar to him and his army—were unmistakable. Large numbers of French sharpshooters were pushing back his own skirmish lines, though Wellesley's light companies and riflemen disputed every yard of broken ground. The French came on in three columns, each three battalions strong, altogether numbering nearly 4,500 men from General François Ruffin's division. The most northerly of the columns, moving to the north of the Medellín, exchanged fire at long range with the 29th but went no farther. The other two columns, however, hit that part of the British line on the Medellín that was held by Stewart's and Major General Christopher Tilson's brigades. As at Vimeiro, the French attack was hampered by its formation, and the outnumbered British brigades easily outgunned the French columns, sweeping them with fire and forcing them to a standstill. French attempts to deploy into line proved futile and impossible amid the concentrated, controlled platoon fire from the 29th and 48th Regiments. After just a few minutes, those at the back and in the middle of the French columns, unable to see what was happening up front but aware that something very unpleasant was occurring to their comrades, decided not to wait and see for themselves but simply melted away to the rear, very few of them having fired any shot in anger. Ruffin's attack had ended in failure, and his beaten battalions were pursued for a short distance across the Portina, having suffered over a thousand casualties.

The initial French attack having been repulsed by 7:00 A.M., the battle lapsed into a duel between the two sides' artillery. This lasted for just an hour, and no more serious fighting occurred for another five hours, during which both sides quenched their thirst at the Portina brook and took advantage of the lull to collect their wounded.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the peace was shattered by another French artillery barrage, which heralded a large-scale infantry assault on the right of Wellesley's line around the Pajar, a semifortified farmhouse that marked the junction of the British and Spanish sectors of the Allied line. Laval's division numbered 4,500 men, who began to advance across the broken ground and through the olive groves to begin their attack on that part of Wellesley's line held by Campbell's 4th Division.

Again Laval's men attacked in three columns, each three battalions strong and supported by guns, but as had happened earlier in the day, his men found Campbell's musketry too hot to handle, and the French columns broke and fled before they did too much damage, having abandoned seventeen of their guns. Laval's attack was only the prelude to the main French attack, however, and shortly afterward, some eighty French guns were blazing away at the right center of the British line in an attempt to soften it up before the main infantry assault, which was delivered by no less than 15,000 seasoned troops under Sebastiani and General Pierre Lapisse.

It sounds rather repetitive to say that the French columnar formation gave the British line a distinct advantage, but that is exactly what happened—again. The twelve French battalions could bring only 1,300 muskets to bear on their British adversaries, some 6,000 men of Sherbrooke's 1st Division, among which were some of the best troops in the army, the Foot Guards and the King's German Legion. The irresistible and pulverizing firepower of these troops was turned on the French to devastating effect, and soon enough the French veterans were streaming back across the Portina. However, three of the brigades who had seen them off, including the Guards and the Hanoverians, were carried away with their success and, pursuing them too far, were in turn severely mauled by the French, large numbers of whom were still fresh. Sherbrooke's men returned to the British line in a sorry state, particularly the Foot Guards, who had lost 611 men.

This misadventure caused a large gap in the Allied center upon which some 22,000 French cavalry and infantry bore down with relish. There was no second Allied line, and Wellesley could spare only a single battalion to plug the gap. It was a major crisis. Fortunately, the battalion, the 1/48th (first battalion, 48th Foot), was the strongest in the army, but it still had to face a French attack of overwhelming numerical strength. The 48th was supported by the three battalions of Major General Alexander Mackenzie's brigade, which were moved slightly to their left to join the 1/48th. These battalions, numbering around 3,000 men, opened their ranks to let in the survivors of the Guards who formed up behind them and with a great cheer announced their intention to rejoin the battle.

The British troops waited silently in line as the French came noisily on, British 6-pounder guns tearing gaps in their columns as they did so. Lapisse's battalions had advanced to within just fifty yards when nearly 3,000 nervous British fingers twitched on the triggers of their Brown Bess muskets and whole files of Frenchmen came crashing to the ground amid rolls of thick gray smoke. The shattered French columns shuddered to a halt in the face of the savage onslaught. A series of withering volleys ripped into

them at the rate of four every minute, and although they stood to exchange fire with Mackenzie's men the French could not match the firepower of their enemies. In the face of such an onslaught, in which the Guards and the 14th Light Dragoons joined in, Lapisse's battalions broke and fled back across the Portina, leaving some 1,700 of their comrades behind them to mark their failure.

All French attacks to the south of and directly at the Medellín had resulted in bloody failure, and the French troops watching from the Cascajal did not wish to renew the attack in this part of the field. It was decided, therefore, to test the mettle of Wellesley's left flank to the north of the Medellín, Ruffin's infantry division being the instrument of this test. The nine battalions of Ruffin's division had already been heavily engaged the night before and on the morning of the twenty-eighth itself, and the men showed little inclination to attack in any positive manner, a reluctance not unnoticed by Wellesley, who decided to launch his cavalry against them.

Ruffin's columns advanced amid heavy shelling from the Allied artillery, and when Brigadier General George Anson's cavalry brigade, consisting of the 23rd Light Dragoons and 1st KGL Light Dragoons, was spotted advancing along the floor of the valley to the north of the Medellín, the French formed square, which provided an even better target for the guns. Anson's cavalry advanced in a controlled manner against the French, who were still a good distance away. However, this disciplined ride was not to last for too long, for the 23rd Light Dragoons were about to provide the British army with the second of its great cavalry fiascos of the war.

For no apparent reason, the British light dragoons suddenly broke into a full gallop, whereas the KGL light dragoons held back, keeping up a gentle pace. The 23rd Light Dragoons, under the command of Major Frederick Ponsonby, suddenly came up against a small, dry river bed, which was a tributary of the Portina. The cutting was deep and wide, and, while not the sort of ravine that it has often been called, it was nonetheless a serious obstacle for a cavalry regiment to negotiate at full speed. The first ranks crashed headlong into the cutting, while others tried in vain to leap across to the other side. It was a classic "steeplechase," in which scores of men and horses were lost, the majority with badly broken arms and legs. Those who were lucky enough to negotiate the cutting then found themselves vastly outnumbered by French chasseurs, who set about the blown and disorganized light dragoons with relish. Ponsonby's men rallied and fought as best they could, but they were overwhelmed and forced back to their own lines having lost half of their number. The 1st KGL Light Dragoons, on the other hand, had come on at an easier pace and took the cutting in their

stride. Their own attack failed to break any of the French infantry squares, and they too retired to their original position. However, the two cavalry attacks, combined with the constant shelling from the Allied artillery, caused Ruffin's wavering division to turn about and return to the Cascajal.

Although there were still three hours of daylight left, there was no further serious fighting, and as darkness fell, Wellesley's men camped on the ground they occupied around the Medellín, expecting a resumption of the battle the next day. However, when dawn broke on the twenty-ninth, the British troops peered out across the valley to see that Victor's army had retired, leaving Wellesley in possession of the field.

It had been a bloody battle, which had resulted in some 5,365 British casualties. The French themselves had lost 7,268. Cuesta's Spaniards had held the right flank of the Allied position throughout the day but had hardly been involved in any of the fighting, and their loss was trifling.

The victory at Talavera had earned for Wellesley the title Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington. There were few other comforts to be derived from the battle, however, as captured dispatches showed the French to be far more numerous than had been thought. On 3 August Wellington and his army were at Oropesa, but news that Soult was close by at Naval Moral, threatening to cut him off from Portugal, prompted a quick retirement upon Badajoz on the Spanish-Portuguese border.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Bonaparte, Joseph; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; Hanoverian Army; Hill, Sir Rowland; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Victor, Claude Perrin; Vimeiro, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, prince (1754–1838)

French foreign minister and statesman. Talleyrand was born to an ancient noble family of Périgord on 2 February 1754. Neglected by his family, he suffered a crippling accident in infancy when he broke his left foot, which remained deformed and forced him to wear a heavy brace to support his leg for the rest of his life. The accident also prevented him from pursuing a military career and compelled him to enter the church. He studied at the Collège de Harcourt and the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice and rapidly advanced through the church hierarchy; he became sub-deacon in 1775 and was ordained a priest in December 1779. In 1780 the Assembly of the Clergy chose him as one of the two agents general to manage ecclesiastical property. Using family influence, he later secured the position of vicar general of the diocese in Rheims, and in January 1789 he became the bishop of Autun. Throughout his service in the church, Talleyrand showed himself an independent spirit, enjoying worldly pleasures and sharing the ideas of the Enlightenment, even paying respect to one of the chief opponents of the Church, Voltaire himself. In April 1789 he was elected a representative of the clergy of Autun to the Estates-General and helped to prepare the cahiers of his constituency.

In the National Assembly Talleyrand took part in the committee working on the constitution and was instrumental in proposing the nationalization of Church lands in October 1789. Furthermore, he supported the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and was among the first to swear the civil oath. Denounced by the Church, he resigned his see in January 1791. The following year, Talleyrand made his debut in international politics, when he served on a diplomatic mission to London (January–May 1792). Returning to France, he witnessed the September Massacres of 1792 and obtained documents from Georges Danton to seek refuge in Britain. His property was confiscated in December 1792, and the British government expelled him from Britain in 1794. For the next two years, Talleyrand found refuge in the United States, where he lived in Philadelphia and was involved in various business transactions.

He was able to return to France only under the Directory in September 1796. Through his connections with Paul Barras, the most important member of the Directory, Talleyrand received the post of minister of foreign affairs in July 1797. He soon became notorious for his venality and his involvement in the infamous XYZ Affair, which resulted in the rupture of diplomatic relations with the United States and a two-year undeclared naval conflict known as the Quasi-War (1798–1800). In spite of this reputation Talleyrand proved himself a very capable and cunning



Prince Talleyrand. His exceptional capacity for intrigue and double-dealing enabled him to serve as foreign minister to both Napoleon and his successor, the restored Bourbon king, Louis XVIII. (Print after Henri Dupray, ca. 1890)

diplomat. Early on, he took notice of the rising star of General Napoleon Bonaparte and established close relations with him. In 1797–1798 he supported Bonaparte's plans for the expedition to Egypt and even promised to resign his post and travel on a peace mission to the Ottoman Empire.

In July 1799 Talleyrand tried to dissociate himself from the unpopular Directory and resigned his post of minister of foreign affairs. After Bonaparte's return from Egypt in October 1799, Talleyrand actively participated in the preparations for the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire (9–10 November) and personally persuaded Barras to resign. As First Consul, Bonaparte rewarded him with the position of minister of foreign affairs in December 1799. Talleyrand remained at this post for the next eight years and played an important role in conducting foreign policy in the service of Bonaparte (from 1804 known as Napoleon). He became the grand chamberlain of the Empire in 1804 and was granted the title of prince de Bénévent in 1806. Talleyrand actively took part in various business machinations that gained him huge financial advantage; he often demanded and received considerable kickbacks from the governments with which he negotiated. Talleyrand was involved in the duc d'Enghien incident in

1804, which involved the kidnapping and murder of a member of the Bourbon family, though he later denied any role in it. After 1807, in the wake of the Tilsit agreements, he disapproved of Napoleon's conquests and began secretly conspiring against him.

He resigned from the foreign ministry in 1807, but retained his titles; Napoleon, recognizing the value of Talleyrand's skill, continued to consult him on various issues, so Talleyrand remained actively involved in foreign policy. In 1808 he encouraged the overthrow of the Spanish Bourbon royal family, later confined at Talleyrand's château of Valençay. At Erfurt, Napoleon relied on Talleyrand to persuade Tsar Alexander to support France against Austria, but Talleyrand did exactly the opposite, urging him to oppose Napoleon. Furthermore, thereafter Talleyrand was on the payroll of the tsar, whom he secretly provided with crucial information on Napoleon's plans. In 1809 he clandestinely intrigued with Joseph Fouché, the minister of police, in Napoleon's absence from Paris. In 1810 he helped arrange Napoleon's marriage to Austrian princess Marie Louise.

Two years later, following the disastrous campaign in Russia, Napoleon offered Talleyrand the post of foreign minister, but the latter declined it. In 1814, as the Allies approached Paris, Talleyrand deftly maneuvered against Napoleon and persuaded the Senate to establish a provisional government, over which he presided. Talleyrand then convinced the government members to declare Napoleon deposed. After the Allies entered the capital, Alexander stayed at Talleyrand's house, and the latter convinced him that only the restoration of the Bourbons could guarantee peace in Europe. The Bourbon monarchy appointed him foreign minister in May 1814 and later the chief representative of France at the Congress of Vienna, where he fully demonstrated his diplomatic skills in an unequal struggle against the other European powers. He skillfully played off the Allies against each other, created a secret alliance between Austria, Britain, and France, and secured considerable concessions for France. During the Hundred Days in 1815, Talleyrand supported the Bourbons, and he was appointed president of the governing council, while retaining the office of foreign minister. However, he clashed with the ultra-royalists and resigned his post in September 1815.

For the next fifteen years, Talleyrand led a private life and worked on his memoirs. In 1817 he was granted the title of duc de Dino, which he transferred to his cousin. During the Revolution of 1830 he returned to politics one more time, helping Louis-Philippe to ascend the throne. At the age of seventy-six, he was appointed ambassador to London, where he played an important role in negotiations over the creation of Belgium in 1830. His last diplomatic achievement was the signing of an alliance between France, Britain, Spain, and Portugal in April 1834. After his return to France,

his health rapidly deteriorated, and he died in Paris on 17 May 1838. He was buried at his château at Valençay.

Talleyrand was an extraordinary diplomat, and his career continues to amaze. He served successive French regimes for over four decades and successfully outmaneuvered most of them. He led the French foreign ministry for more than a decade and played a crucial role throughout the Empire and Restoration. In his memoirs, he claimed that his changes in allegiance always served the interests of France, though he also profited greatly. Napoleon had once believed Talleyrand was the most capable minister he had, but he later changed his opinion, describing him as "*merde dans un bas de soie*" (s— in a silk stocking; quoted in Cooper 2001, 187) on a famous occasion in 1809.

On a minor note, in 1785 Talleyrand had a liaison with Adelaïde de Flahaut and sired a son, Charles de Flahaut. Charles later became a lover of Queen Hortense de Beauharnais of Holland and fathered a son, the duc de Morny, the half-brother of Emperor Napoleon III.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Bayonne, Conference at; Consulate, The; Directory, The; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; Erfurt, Congress of; Ferdinand VII, King; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; Louis XVIII, King; Marie Louise, Empress; Middle East Campaign; Russian Campaign; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Tamames, Battle of

*See* Peninsular War

### Tarbes, Battle of (20 March 1814)

The Battle of Tarbes was fought between French forces under Marshal Nicolas Soult retreating toward Toulouse and Anglo-Allied forces under the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington in pursuit.

As Soult attempted to withdraw to the fortified and well-supplied city of Toulouse, Wellington repeatedly used his newfound strength in cavalry and his overall superiority to encircle Soult's forces, pinning them against the Pyrenees. Elements of Wellington's forces repeatedly engaged Soult's retreating troops, lending a fairly modern texture to the closing days of the campaign. The largest of these engagements occurred along the river Adour at the town of Tarbes. By 20 March Wellington's forces had already cut off Soult's troops from the shortest and most direct route to Toulouse and were attempting to cut the remaining two routes and thus force Soult's army against the mountains. Soult continued to withdraw with three of his six divisions, leaving the divisions of generals Jean Isidore Harispe and Eugène Casimir Villatte of Bertrand, baron Clause's corps and Eloi Charlemagne Taupin's division of General Honoré, comte Reille's corps to defend from the heights above the river and the town of Tarbes. Taupin's division was to make a show of defending the town before withdrawing across the narrow bridge to the high ground beyond.

The pursuing British were organized in two columns under Marshal Sir William Beresford and Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill. Beresford's column was attempting to turn the French right and thus force a retreat into the Pyrenees, while Hill applied direct pressure on the French rear. Hill's task was to attack the town of Tarbes and the heights above it on the eastern side of the Adour River. His attack progressed slowly, as he had to fight through the town and then try to cross the river using the narrow bridge. He did not succeed until Beresford's turning movement had taken effect and forced Taupin's division to withdraw, almost too late to make its escape.

Beresford's troops, led by the Light Division, included the 6th Division, a Spanish force under Lieutenant General Manuel Freire, and several brigades of cavalry, with the 4th Division under Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole following. Beresford attacked Clause's corps on the French right, that is, the northern end of the line, along a high, steep, and heavily wooded ridge, known as the Heights of Oleac, which was crowned with a windmill. It was on the wooded steep slope of the Heights of Oleac that the bulk of the fighting took place. Rather than attempt a conventional infantry assault, Beresford directed the Light Division under Major General Charles, Baron von Alten to send the entire 95th Rifles, consisting of three battalions in skirmish order, up the ridge. After reaching the top of the ridge and emerging from the

woods, the 95th was counterattacked by Harispe's division, which presumably thought the dark-coated riflemen were Portuguese troops. After a fierce fight on top of the ridge, the French withdrew, as Lieutenant General William Clinton's division began to outflank them from the right.

The British forces then began an advance, which drove the three divisions from the heights above the Adour back toward the three divisions Soult had earlier withdrawn behind the next stream that formed an obstacle, the Larret. The British forces now faced the whole of Soult's army arrayed to their front. They had successfully pushed the French away from the second of the three routes to Toulouse. Wellington, noting that it was late afternoon and that the strength of Soult's forces made his position on the Larret unassailable, chose not to press the attack further. Had he done so, especially on the French right, it is possible that the French army would have had no choice but to withdraw against the Pyrenees, away from their third and final escape route to Toulouse. However, Wellington's decision not to attack permitted Soult to withdraw.

Even though Soult's forces were forced to take the longest route to Toulouse, a route almost 50 miles longer than that taken by the British, he was able to successfully withdraw to Toulouse. Although the British forces had roughly handled the three divisions Soult had left to delay the British advance, they were unable to prevent Soult from moving the bulk of his forces back toward Toulouse and safety. In the end, the longer route Soult was obliged to take proved the better one, as the two roads that Wellington used to approach Toulouse were low-lying routes and slow going for the Allied army. In the final analysis, the Battle of Tarbes must be considered a tactical success for Soult, because even though his forces were compelled to retreat, their delay ensured the survival of his forces and his continued resistance at the city of Toulouse.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Beresford, William Carr; Hill, Sir Rowland; Peninsular War; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Toulouse, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Tarragona, Siege of (8 May–29 June 1811)

A major fortress and seaport, Tarragona was from 1808 onward the chief bastion of Spanish resistance in Catalonia.

As such, it was always a major target for the French, but it was not until May 1811 that they were able to move to its capture. Led by General Louis Suchet, some 22,000 men marched against the city, and on 16 May operations began against the city's western front. Meanwhile, a further attack was launched against an outlying redoubt known as Fuerte Olivo, which crowned the heights that overlooked Tarragona from the north. Ten thousand strong, the garrison, which was commanded by the head of Spanish forces in Catalonia, the Marqués de Campoverde, put up a fierce fight, but on 29 May Fuerte Olivo was stormed in a desperate night action. On 3 June, Campoverde therefore left the city by sea to organize a relief force. In this, however, he proved ineffectual, while on 21 June the French stormed the main part of the city.

All that was left to the defenders, who were now led by General Juan Senen de Contreras, was the hill occupied by the old Roman town and the cathedral. Protected by city walls and steep slopes, this was a good place for a last stand, but no help was forthcoming, either from Campoverde, whose operations at this time were utterly incompetent, or from a small British expeditionary force that had just appeared off the coast. In consequence, Senen de Contreras resolved to break out, but in the event the French attacked his positions much sooner than he had anticipated. Thus, on 28 June a ferocious bombardment smashed a breach in the walls. No sooner had the last stones fallen, meanwhile, than three columns of attackers headed for the walls. There followed a desperate fight—300 soldiers, for example, held out to the last man in the cathedral—but by dawn on 29 June all resistance was at an end. In all, Spanish casualties numbered at least 15,000, including 2,000 civilians murdered in the course of the fighting on 28 June, and in recognition of his achievements, Suchet was awarded a marshal's baton.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Suchet, Louis-Gabriel

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### **Tauroggen, Convention of (30 December 1812)**

The signing of the Convention of Tauroggen between the Prussian general in Russian service, Hans Karl von Diebitsch, and the Prussian general Johann David von Yorck neutralized the Prussian contingent in Napoleon's

Grande Armée of 1812, which had invaded Russia earlier that year. This act symbolized the end of the campaign in Russia and the beginning of the campaign in Germany, which was to conclude with Napoleon being thrown back across the Rhine into France.

The Prussian Auxiliary Corps of 1812 that marched into Russia in June was 20,000 men strong. It was deployed to the left of the main body of Napoleon's army and was part of the force under the command of the French marshal Jacques Etienne Macdonald. It marched up the Baltic coast toward Riga, engaging Russian forces on several occasions.

Capturing Moscow did not achieve victory for Napoleon. As he was in danger of being isolated in Russia's great city, he evacuated it that October. His army disintegrated on its retreat toward the Prussian border, and Napoleon left the army to return to Paris. Macdonald's force also fell back toward the Prussian border, receiving orders to break off the siege of Riga on 18 December. Russian forces moved to cut off his line of retreat. Yorck allowed his corps to become separated from Macdonald, with Russian troops interposing themselves between them. From 25 December Yorck was no longer in contact with his chief, and he took this opportunity to engage the Russians in negotiations. The tsar was astute enough to send three native Prussians to conduct these talks: generals Diebitsch, Karl von Clausewitz, and Karl Friedrich Graf zu Dohna. On 30 December they met in the mill of Poscherun, near Tauroggen, just on the Russian side of the border with Prussia. Here, they agreed on and signed the Convention of Tauroggen, in which Yorck's corps declared itself neutral and in return was allowed to withdraw unmolested to the area around Tilsit, Memel, and the Haff, in the north of East Prussia. Yorck was to await further instructions from his king, Frederick William III.

It has been a subject of debate ever since whether Yorck was acting on secret instructions from Berlin, or whether he simply used his own initiative. In either case, this event dramatically altered the situation, making it impossible for the French to hold East Prussia. Macdonald abandoned Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) on 4 January 1813, the Russians entering the capital city of the province the same day. The tsar sent the German patriot Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein to Königsberg to take control of the province. He arrived there on 22 January and set about assembling the provincial estate, or governing council.

These events instigated an uprising in which, on 6 February 1813, the Estates of East Prussia declared themselves against Napoleon without waiting for instructions from the king. The next day, they set about raising armed forces for the forthcoming war, including a militia. These

acts, although initially condemned by Frederick William, were repeated throughout Prussia a month later. The Convention of Tauroggen sparked off what became known as the War of Liberation.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Clausewitz, Karl Maria von; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Russian Campaign; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf

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## Tengen, Battle of

*See* Teugn-Hausen, Battle of

## Teplitz, Treaty of (9 September 1813)

The small town of Teplitz-Schönau in the western part of the Czech Republic is currently best known as a health resort, though it was the site of one of the turning points in the campaign of 1813 between Prussia, Russia, and Austria on the one hand and Napoleon on the other. At this small and strategic village, on 9 September 1813, officers and diplomats from Prussia, Russia, and Austria met and reached an agreement known as the Treaty of Teplitz, which promised unity between Allied forces and pledged to restore Prussia and Austria to their 1805 boundaries.

Napoleon, who had remained the master of Europe throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century, had become vulnerable in the years leading up to the Teplitz agreement. Napoleon's fortunes began to turn with the beginning of the costly Peninsular War in the Iberian Peninsula against British, Spanish, and Portuguese forces led by the Marquis of Wellington. Later, with the failure of his Continental System—intended to cripple British trade with the Continent—Napoleon's dominance over Europe began to wane. Tsar Alexander of Russia was particularly skeptical of Napoleon's intentions and often acted in violation of the Continental System by conducting trade with Britain. In order to punish the tsar for his failure to honor the Treaty of Tilsit, concluded on 7 July 1807 and binding Alexander to the Continental System, Napoleon planned his massive and ill-fated invasion of Russia in 1812.

For the invasion, Napoleon assembled a force that totaled over 600,000 men, most of whom were not French, but citizens of French satellite states who were sometimes

unwillingly conscripted. Due to the vast size of the force and the enormous distances to be covered, the army's supply system struggled from the beginning. Compounding such problems, the Russians' scorched-earth policy denied the French access to vital local supplies.

Napoleon knew that he had to strike fast, but he did not achieve the decisive victory he desired at Borodino on 7 September 1812. Instead, the battle ended in stalemate, and produced some of the highest casualties ever suffered in action by Napoleon's forces. The Emperor was able to occupy Moscow, but it proved a hollow victory. Napoleon remained in the city for five weeks in September and October, hoping to reach terms with Alexander, who did not pursue negotiations since he knew the dire condition of Napoleon's troops. After suffering horribly at the hands of Russia's famous "General Winter," Napoleon's army left Moscow and began its horrific retreat at only a quarter of its original strength. Napoleon had never been more vulnerable than at this time.

Seizing the opportunity, Russia signed the Convention of Kalisch on 28 February 1813, allying itself with Prussia and inviting Austria and Britain to join the coalition against Napoleon. On 27 March the combined Russian and Prussian forces occupied Dresden, the capital of Saxony, but were soon after defeated by Napoleon at Lützen. Both sides were exhausted, so an Austrian-brokered cease-fire was reached on 4 June 1813.

A serious attempt at achieving a lasting peace followed, known as the Congress of Prague. Napoleon, however, angrily rejected all terms offered. Austria therefore declared war on France, joining Prussia and Russia, while Britain pledged financial and material support. On 26–27 August Napoleon again defeated his opponents, this time at Dresden, but the end was near. It was his last victory on German soil.

On 9 September officials representing Prussia, Russia, and Austria concluded the Treaty of Teplitz, which was to play an important part in sealing Napoleon's ultimate defeat. In the debates at Teplitz and in the treaty, the three countries strengthened their coalition, acknowledged the need to fight Napoleon's subordinates while avoiding him in major battles (the Trachenberg Plan), and pledged to restore the boundaries of Prussia and Austria as they stood in 1805.

In mid-October, at the Battle of Leipzig, also known as the "Battle of the Nations," Napoleon's forces were decisively defeated and forced to retreat all the way back across the Rhine into France proper. During the course of the battle and in the wake of this retreat, his former satellite states joined with the Allies and augmented their forces substantially.

On 9 November the Allies offered Napoleon terms for peace, but he again angrily refused them. In response, the

Allies resolved on 1 December to invade France. After a final campaign on French soil, the Allies occupied Paris on 31 March 1814, forcing Napoleon to abdicate and to accept exile on the island of Elba, off the western coast of Italy.

Arthur Holst

See also Alexander I, Tsar; Armistice of 1813; Borodino, Battle of; Continental System; Dresden, Battle of; Elba; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kalisch, Convention of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Tilsit, Treaties of

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## Terror, The (1793–1794)

Though restricted to a single year of the French Revolution, from 1793 to 1794, the Terror (*la Terreur*) has become emblematic of the Revolution, with the guillotine as its symbol. There is no doubt it was a terrible phenomenon, with perhaps 35,000 to 40,000 official victims of summary justice, not to mention those who died in prison or were killed in the civil war that accompanied this *annus horrendus* (horrible year). The cause of liberty and equality was fatally compromised by association with this bloodletting, which should nonetheless be kept in perspective. The Terror was a means of saving the Revolution and strengthening the war effort as France faced imminent defeat; it was a bundle of exceptional measures aimed at combating the great crisis that threatened the Revolution's very existence in 1793. Major cities and many parts of the countryside (notably in the west of France) had risen in revolt against the government in Paris, while the infant French Republic was facing invasion on all frontiers. The Terror was thus a mechanism for mobilizing resources and organizing the country for war, applying coercion where persuasion was no longer effective.

The Revolution was violent from beginning to end, but the official repression known as the Terror should be distinguished from the spontaneous violence that preceded and succeeded it. The overthrow of the *ancien régime* was essentially bloodless, but order was hard to restore, especially in the context of war after 1792. That summer, as the monarchy fell and invasion seemed imminent, numerous atrocities occurred, notably the September prison massacres at Paris. When crisis returned in the spring of 1793, the Terror represented an attempt to prevent such outrages by giving government more power to

contain it. The machinery comprised Revolutionary tribunals to judge political cases; the dispatch of representatives on mission to the provinces, where they took executive action (and administered most of the executions); and a Committee of Public Safety, which ruled by decree, though it was elected by, and was ultimately answerable to, the National Convention. As the situation worsened, other institutions such as watch committees, which arrested perhaps 200,000 people over the next year, and an infamous Law of Suspects, carrying a wide-ranging catalog of political crimes, were introduced in September. It was declared that *terreur* was the order of the day.

As these emergency measures began to bite, in order to implement the *levée en masse*, military requisitioning, and economic controls known as the Maximum, the repressive side of the Terror came into play. If nobles and priests were more likely victims than ordinary people, peasants were the largest group to succumb. Indeed, this was no class war, for sans-culottes were also on the receiving end, their anarchic activities brought to book. The Terror hit hardest in areas of unrest and revolt, in the rebel cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, and in the Vendée, in the west of France, where a vast rural region was enflamed. Yet, though it is true that the punishment was often far in excess of the crime, it is also true that many quiet areas did not witness a single execution during this period.

A recent trend in writing on the Revolution has suggested that the Terror was not so much the product of extraordinary circumstances as the result of a flawed political culture. The Revolutionaries were as incapable of tolerating dissent and accepting pluralism as the *ancien régime* monarchy. Talk of regeneration encouraged illusions about the ability of politics to reshape individuals as well as its institutions. Attempts to enforce a secular, republican culture wreaked havoc on the Church. Social aspects of the Terror, such as ambitious schemes for land redistribution, education, or poor relief, were pursued in a climate of severe intimidation. With the constitution suspended, nomination superseded election, and lower-class citizens enjoyed local office, pushing through exceptional measures their superiors were reluctant to embrace.

Yet equally significant is the reluctance with which the Terror was initially embraced and the fact that, once it appeared to be working, there were demands for its relaxation. That it continued into the early summer of 1794 is not easily explained, though perhaps the very momentum it had acquired kept the juggernaut rolling. In fact, the legislation became even more draconian, with the passage of the law of 22 Prairial (10 June 1794), which dispensed with defense counsel and the presentation of evidence, and offered only two verdicts: acquittal or death. There was a final surge of executions in Paris, where many prisoners

were now being sent: 200 a day on average between June and July. Yet this paroxysm only hastened the end, compelling the deputies of the Convention to reassert their authority and bring down Maximilien Robespierre, who seemed incapable of accommodating to the less demanding situation.

After 9 Thermidor (27 July), the machinery of the Terror was gradually dismantled: The Committee of Public Safety and the Revolutionary Tribunal were remodeled in August; the Maximum was abolished in December. It was now the turn of those who exercised power during the Terror to fear for their lives, though most of the killings that followed were the result of personal vendettas and mob violence. Government-sponsored violence on this scale was not to be repeated.

The Terror was not so much a deliberate choice by bloodthirsty Jacobins as a desperate response to the breakdown of government in the midst of an overwhelming situation. Resources were mustered, armies raised, inflation curbed, civil war ended, and invasion halted. In this sense the Terror might be termed a success. It was a relatively short-lived phase in the Revolution, but it did make the longer-term task of stabilization more difficult. Above all, it left an indelible mark on the French, indeed European consciousness, and it retains considerable resonance even today.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Constitutions (French); Convention, The; French Revolution; Jacobins; Levée en Masse; Lyons, Siege of; Public Safety, Committee of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of; Vendée, Revolts in the

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## Teugn-Hausen, Battle of (19 April 1809)

In the opening battle of the Bavarian campaign of the War of the Fifth Coalition, Marshal Louis Davout's 17,000 French troops defeated an equally strong Austrian corps under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Prinz Friedrich Hohenzollern-Hechingen (generally known as Hohenzollern) 15 kilometers southwest of Ratisbon (present-day Regensburg). Davout was able to escape encirclement by the Austrian army and reach Napoleon's Franco-German army, massing near Ingolstadt.

When the Austrian army invaded Bavaria in April 1809, Davout's III Corps was isolated at Ratisbon, while Napoleon's main army assembled 45 kilometers to the southwest, around Ingolstadt. The Austrian army commander, Archduke Charles, was attempting to catch Davout's corps in a three-pronged march northward over wooded, ridge-lined hills toward the upper Danube, as Davout withdrew southwest down the single riverside road. On 19 April around 8:00 A.M. *Feldmarschalleutnant* Fürst Franz von Rosenberg-Orsini's IV Korps (the central column) began an inconclusive engagement with Davout's rear guard under General Louis-Pierre Montbrun, 5 kilometers to the east, around Dünzling.

At about the same time the left column, Hohenzollern's III Korps, seized lightly defended Hausen village, while Archduke Charles held his reserve of twelve grenadier battalions at Grub, 4 kilometers to the southeast. Hohenzollern's advance-guard infantry crossed the heavily wooded Hausnerberg, and its skirmishers descended toward Teugn village, through which ran the crucial riverside road. About half of Davout's column had already marched through, but as *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Marquis de Lusignan deployed his brigade on the Hausnerberg, Davout dispatched three regiments from General Louis St. Hilaire's division up the Buchberg (a small hill to the west of the road) to repel this Austrian advance, while another regiment engaged the advance guard infantry on the higher ground to the west around Roith, on the Austrian left.

As the lead units of General Louis, comte Friant's division arrived, they were directed to attack the Austrian right, forcing Lusignan to withdraw into the woods on the Hausnerberg ridge, pursued by Friant's infantry. Hohenzollern had sent forward *Generalmajor* Alois Fürst Liechtenstein's brigade from Hausen, and they arrived as Lusignan's men came tumbling out of the trees. Liechtenstein led his men and Lusignan's re-formed infantry forward,

but they could make little headway in the woods against the French infantry, who now had artillery support. Hohenzollern, who had deployed his artillery and some hussars at Hausen, led his last infantry reserve in a final attack on the wooded ridge, but to his left the advance guard infantry was already being driven back.

By 3:00 P.M. the attack had failed, forcing him to withdraw to Hausen, while the exhausted French secured their positions in the woods. To the southeast, Archduke Charles had remained at Grub, awaiting news of developments, as the wooded ridges made it impossible to see far beyond Hausen. The archduke only committed his grenadiers to Hausen as the fighting died away, around 4:00 P.M., amid a huge thunderstorm. Davout's victory passed the strategic initiative from the Austrians to Napoleon, who would launch his counterattack at Abensberg the next day.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Friant, Louis, comte; Montbrun, Louis-Pierre; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond, comte de

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### Texel, Capture of the Dutch fleet off (23–29 January 1795)

Incident during the winter of 1794–1795, toward the end of the invasion of the Dutch Republic by General Jean-Charles Pichegru, during which the Dutch fleet, icebound before Den Helder in the strait between North Holland and the island of Texel (the Marsdiep), was forced to surrender.

Traditionally, the capture of the Dutch fleet has been characterized as an extraordinary, even somewhat heroic event. A small French detachment consisting of a squadron of hussars, three battalions of infantry, and horse artillery, under the command of one Lieutenant Colonel Louis Joseph de Lahure, marched from Amsterdam to Den Helder, secured the city on the evening of 22 January 1795, and hastened through the icy cold night the seven or eight miles over land to the fleet, marching over the thickly frozen sea that surrounded the icebound ships. They then proceeded to board and capture the fleet by surprise and prevent it from sailing off to Britain or Zeeland, which was still in the hands of those loyal to the House of Orange, which had been ousted from power as a result of the French invasion. Fifteen Dutch ships of the line were captured, of which eleven were in a ready state. In addition, a few merchantmen and a fleeing British vessel were cap-

tured, and some French prisoners held on Texel were released. This version of events, however, is disputed, and the event seems to have been somewhat less spectacular.

According to other sources, after Dutch resistance was broken and William V, Prince of Orange and *stadtholder* (de facto ruler, but de jure subordinate to the legislature, the States-General) of the United Provinces, had fled to Britain on 8 January, Pichegru quickly sent a regiment of hussars under General Johan Willem de Winter to Den Helder to prevent the port from being captured by the British and to capture the Dutch fleet. De Winter was a former Dutch naval officer who served in the French army in the Batavian Legion, a regiment of anti-Orangist “Patriot” sympathies. He seems to have arrived in Den Helder a few days later than his troops, and in consequence it is possible that de Lahure was in fact the actual commander in the field. There is no mention of artillery.

On 22 January the hussars reached Den Helder, and on the morning of the twenty-third, a trooper was reported looking through the gun port of one of the ships, having reached the vessels by riding over the thick frozen ice. The hussars seem to have been received aboard the ships in rather a friendly fashion; indeed, no mention is made of actual fighting. The senior fleet officer at the time of the attack, a certain Reyntjes, seems already to have been ordered not to resist the French, and it was agreed to await a clarification of orders, which arrived soon thereafter and confirmed the order not to resist. Five days later, officers and men aboard the ships vowed to retain naval discipline and comply with French orders, although the fleet remained under the Dutch flag. De Winter later became admiral of the Batavian fleet and held senior command at the Battle of Camperdown (Kamperduin) where, despite his defeat, he fought—as indeed did the crews generally—with distinction.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Camperdown, Battle of; Dutch Navy; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Winter, Johan Willem de

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### Thermidor Coup (27 July 1794)

The overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) that ended the Reign of Terror. In the

French Republican calendar, Thermidor was the eleventh month; it began on 19–20 July, and its name, from the Greek word for “hot,” alluded to the midsummer heat.

Maximilien Robespierre, a solitary-minded and principled lawyer from Arras with considerable oratorical skills, gained control over the Jacobin Club, and by July 1793 he had become the leading member of the twelve-man Committee of Public Safety (CPS), the National Convention’s executive body. With Robespierre its prime mover, the committee’s word was law, as it issued decrees, administered France, and controlled finances, the military, and the Popular Societies throughout the country. The committee instigated a deliberate Reign of Terror in the name of safeguarding the principles of the Revolution and protecting the nation from foreign threats. However, the Terror soon turned into a political tool wielded in the hands of the CPS to deal ruthlessly with its rivals. Among those who became its victim was Jacques Hébert, a journalist and voice of the sans-culottes, and Georges Danton, who had served in the first CPS from April to July 1793 but who now disagreed with Robespierre.

By early summer 1794 the policies of the CPS led to thousands of executions and established an atmosphere of terror and fear. However, the French successes against the armies of the First Coalition led some Jacobins, who also feared becoming the next victims of the CPS, to oppose its policies. In June and July, Paul Barras, Joseph Fouché, and Jean Lambert Tallien covertly rallied the deputies of the Convention to oppose the CPS. On 27 July, as he was delivering a speech to the Convention, Louis Antoine de Saint-Just, a member of the CPS, came under attack by deputies who accused the CPS and Robespierre in particular of dictatorship. Led by Tallien, François Louis Bourdon, and Jean-Nicholas Billaud-Varenne, the deputies proceeded to declare Robespierre an outlaw and had the members of the CPS arrested at the Hôtel de Ville. After a hasty trial, which effectively (and ironically) employed the system earlier established by the CPS itself, Robespierre and his fellow members of the CPS were found guilty and guillotined.

Historians usually acknowledge the Thermidor coup as one of the turning points in the French Revolution. It marked the end of the radical stage of the Revolution, which seemed to stagnate as the bourgeoisie sought stability and peace. The Directory, with a five-member executive, was established and governed France until 9–10 November 1799, when Bonaparte staged the coup of Brumaire and established the Consulate.

*Annette E. Richardson*

*See also* Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Brumaire, Coup of; Consulate, The; Convention, The; Directory, The; First Coalition, War of the; Fouché, Joseph, duc d’Otrante; French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins;

Public Safety, Committee of; Republican Calendar; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Terror, The

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### **Thielmann, Johann Adolph Freiherr von (1765–1824)**

Saxon, Russian, and Prussian general. As a reward for his service in the Battle of Borodino, he was made a Saxon *Freiherr* (baron) on 8 October 1812. In spring 1813 he was commander of the important Saxon fortress at Torgau. In the combat at Wavre (18 June 1815) against superior French forces, the Prussian III Corps under his command secured the rear of Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt’s main forces, which were advancing toward Waterloo on the same day.

Thielmann entered military service in 1780 and became a corporal (7 June 1782); cornet (30 March 1784); second lieutenant (13 July 1791); premier lieutenant (3 May 1798); captain 2nd class (15 January 1807); captain (5 February 1807); major (1 March 1809); lieutenant colonel (12 April 1809); colonel (17 July 1809); major general (26 February 1810); and lieutenant general (12 May 1813). He entered Russian service as a lieutenant general on 19 March 1815 before transferring to Prussian service as a lieutenant general (the patent later being postdated to 10 June), which made him junior to generals Ernst Julius Freiherr Schuler von Senden, Karl Christian von Elsner, Levin Karl von Heister, Ludwig Mathias von Brauchitsch, and Friedrich Erhard von Roeder. His final promotion was to general of cavalry on 30 May 1824 (the patent being postdated to 31 May). During the French Revolutionary Wars, he served in the campaigns of 1793–1795. During the Napoleonic Wars he fought in the campaigns of 1806 in Saxony, 1807 in East Prussia, 1812 in Russia, and 1813–1815 in Germany, France, and Belgium, respectively.

Born 27 April 1765, the son of a Saxon high official, Thielmann early on developed a love for the military and

joined the Saxon cavalry at a young age, remaining in the line until 1806. Not being a nobleman, his advancement was slow. Nevertheless, his intelligence and abilities were recognized. After the Battle of Jena (14 October 1806), he was sent to French headquarters to discuss the terms of peace. Advancement followed, and on 1 April 1807, Thielmann became adjutant to General Georg Friedrich von Polenz, who commanded the Saxon auxiliary corps. On 15 June 1808, he became the Saxon military representative and adjutant to the French marshal Louis Nicolas Davout.

On 28 April 1809 Thielmann was made commander of the (weak) Saxon army corps defending Saxony against a corps of émigré Brunswick troops (the “Black Legion”) commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. On 26 February 1810, he became commander of a brigade of cuirassiers, which he also led to Russia in 1812, assigned to IV Reserve Cavalry Corps. His brigade distinguished itself at the Battle of Borodino (7 September 1812) but suffered extremely heavy losses, which were compounded by the ravages of the retreat from Moscow; only a handful of men returned with Thielmann to Saxony in December 1812. On 2 January 1813 Thielmann was made commander of the cavalry in Torgau, becoming governor of this fortress on 24 February. He resigned from Saxon service on 10 May, after his king decided to hand the fortress over to the French.

Entering Russian service on 1 September 1813, he was made leader of a raiding corps. On 26 October he was charged with the organization of a new Saxon army corps, which on 1 December formed the principal part of III Federal German Corps under the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. On 9 June 1814 Thielmann became commander of this corps.

During the Waterloo campaign, he was assigned command of III Corps of the Prussian army on 9 April 1815, and fought at Wavre, on the same day as the Battle of Waterloo. After the peace, he became commanding general in Westphalia on 3 October. On 3 April 1820 he was transferred as commander to VIII Corps. Thielmann died from a sudden stroke of apoplexy on 10 October 1824.

*Oliver Schmidt*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Borodino, Battle of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Jena, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Saxon Army; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of

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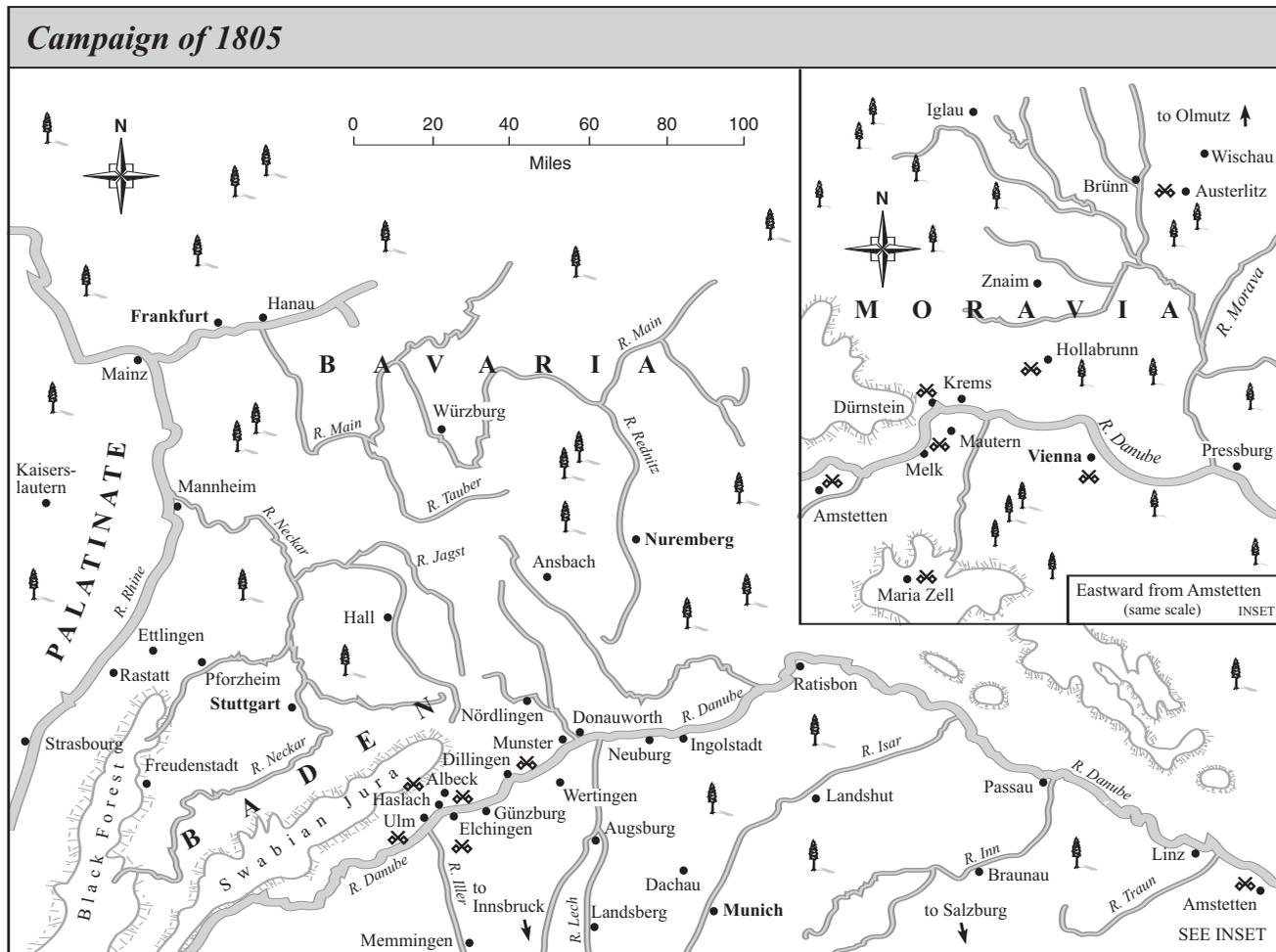
## Third Coalition, War of the (1805)

Although the Treaty of Amiens, concluded in March 1802, returned peace to the European continent after a decade of war, it proved no more than a fragile peace, and was broken within fourteen months of its signature when Britain declared war on 18 May 1803. Britain immediately reimposed a naval blockade of French ports, while Bonaparte (a year later to become the Emperor Napoleon I) resumed the preparations to cross the English Channel and invade Britain that had been interrupted by Amiens. Invasion would be impossible without either the defeat of the Royal Navy or the diversion of sufficient numbers of British ships away from the Channel so that the French could effect a crossing. But apart from the French occupation of Hanover in 1803, a British patrimony as a result of George III’s German ancestry, there were no operations on the European continent until 1805, the war being confined to minor naval operations between Britain and France.

Britain would not acquiesce to a French-controlled Europe and, by 1805, had found allies for a new coalition against Napoleon. Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined with Britain in April, August, and October, respectively, making circumstances apparently auspicious for the Allies. The bulk of French forces, some 200,000 men in the Grande Armée, were encamped along the English Channel, near Boulogne, preparing for the long-awaited invasion of Britain. Marshal André Masséna had 50,000 men in northern Italy, and, of course, there remained reserve forces in France. The Allies had a simple and seemingly effective plan. They would move first to destroy Masséna’s army, and then move north of the Alps, cross the Rhine, and invade France while Napoleon and his main army remained in quarters along the Channel.

When Napoleon realized his enemies’ plan, he moved swiftly. On 27 August the Grande Armée quietly left its camps around Boulogne, and, marching swiftly, crossed the Rhine by 26 September. Continuing its rapid advance, Napoleon’s army reached the Danube by 6 October, the speed of its advance upsetting Allied calculations and putting the bulk of the Grande Armée in the rear of an Austrian army commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Leiberich von Mack near Ulm. In so doing, Napoleon managed to cut Mack’s lines of communications, supply, and retreat to Vienna.

As Napoleon moved swiftly, the Allies continued with their original plan, unaware of the trap that awaited. Mack’s 50,000 men moved toward Ulm, with the purpose of guarding the northern flank of the main advance into northern Italy that was to seek to defeat Masséna’s army. The Archduke Charles of Austria had 100,000 men, and he intended to move against Masséna as a prelude to a subse-



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 388–389.

quent advance north of the Alps, across the Rhine, and into France. Meanwhile, a Russian army of 120,000 men was moving westward into Germany, while to the north, Sweden was preparing to send an army to Pomerania, Sweden's only continental possession. All these offensives, operating along different lines of advance into eastern France, were designed to overwhelm Napoleon's forces.

As the Allies moved at a somewhat leisurely pace but with superior numbers, Napoleon raced to the critical point. As French cavalry emerging from the Black Forest in southern Germany demonstrated in front of Mack's Austrians at Ulm (the French moved back and forth out of the Black Forest, confusing the Austrians, who seemed unaware of the approaching trap), Napoleon's infantry advanced in six great columns in a wide arc around to the north and then east of Mack's position. The French infantry averaged some 18 miles a day—an astounding speed of advance.

By 30 September Mack, realizing that he was in danger of being encircled, tried to break out of the trap and

open a line of retreat toward Vienna. He attacked the French twice: at Haslach and again at Elchingen. At Haslach 4,000 French troops commanded by General Pierre Dupont managed to withstand an assault by 25,000 Austrians, while at Elchingen Marshal Michel Ney sought to regain the town the French had only recently abandoned. As French reinforcements arrived, the Austrians retreated. Napoleon's unexpected advance demoralized Mack and his army, a demoralization made more complete by the fact that the promised Russian support was too slow in coming. Two groups, however, did break out of the encirclement, only to surrender later: the Archduke Ferdinand, with 13,000 cavalry eventually capitulated at Trochtelfingen, while another 12,000 men wound up laying down their arms at Neustadt. Mack surrendered his army, consisting of some 30,000 men and 65 pieces of artillery, at Ulm on 20 October. For Napoleon this constituted a great strategic rather than tactical victory, demonstrating the value of superior use of the principles behind maneuver and surprise.

Napoleon moved quickly to follow up this overwhelming success. He detached troops to prevent Archdukes Charles and John from moving across the Alps from northern Italy, and himself drove eastward toward Vienna. Masséna in Italy followed Charles and sought to keep him engaged, to prevent Charles from concentrating on moving through the Alps to contest Napoleon for the Austrian capital. On 30 October Masséna's and Charles's armies met at Caldiero. Charles made a spoiling attack to create time for his baggage and slowly moving forces to retreat farther eastward. After the battle, he and the main body of his army safely retreated across the Julian Alps into the broad Hungarian plain.

Driving back the Russians under General Mikhail Kutuzov in front of him, Napoleon gained the Austrian capital on 14 November, though the Russian army had fought an effective delaying action at Dürnstein on the eleventh and later under Prince Peter Bagration at Hollabrunn on the fifteenth and sixteenth. With only 7,000 men, Bagration held off the advancing French and, although he lost half his men, enabled the main body of the Russian army to escape.

Napoleon continued north, his army becoming progressively weaker as it moved away from Vienna. He had to detach troops to guard an ever-lengthening line of communications back to France, and other units to occupy Vienna. He began to concentrate his men around Brünn, several days' march north of the capital. When troops from the formations under marshals Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte and Louis Davout, respectively, joined Napoleon's army, the Emperor commanded about 73,000 men.

The Allies were not idle. To Napoleon's northwest was the Archduke Ferdinand with 18,000 men at Prague; to the northeast, Tsar Alexander of Russia and Emperor Francis of Austria had some 90,000 men near Olmütz; and the Archdukes Charles and John were still trying to break through the French units defending the southern Alps. The Allied plan was clear—to concentrate their superior forces and trap Napoleon far from France. The French, therefore, needed to strike before the opposing armies could combine to overwhelm him.

The result was a tactical masterpiece (as opposed to the strategic masterpiece of Ulm), achieved on 2 December. Napoleon was setting a trap, as he concentrated his army just east of the village of Austerlitz. He deployed his men on low ground, which normally would be a disastrous decision, and greatly extended his right wing in plain sight of his gathering opponents. He wanted them to concentrate their attention on the apparent vulnerability of his overextended right wing, and to fix in their minds a sense of the weakness of the overall French position. The French right wing seemed an irresistible target, for, if the com-

bined Austro-Russian army could break Napoleon's right, the Allies could sever his line of retreat to Vienna and then to France and trap him for the winter in Bohemia. Napoleon, on the other hand, was betting that late-arriving reinforcements would strengthen his right sufficiently to enable it to hold while he delivered the decisive blow elsewhere.

Napoleon initially had placed his men on the hills to the east, the Pratzen heights, for he recognized that this position was the critical point for the battle. When he moved westward to lower ground, he deliberately weakened and overextended his right, although he would have Davout's 8,000 men help strengthen the right in the event of the expected Austrian attack. Further, he planned for a coup de main to destroy the critical hinge of the Allied position. The Austrian attack began early on 2 December on a battlefield shrouded in mist, and by midmorning it had succeeded in bending the French position.

At this point Napoleon struck the overstretched Allied center. In retreating from the hills, he had his men stamp the snow on the slope to allow for an easier climb when they returned. He waited as perhaps a third of the Allied army moved across his front to attack the French right. In doing so, the Allied center was stretched and weakened to maintain the tempo of the attack on the French right.

At the critical moment, around 9:30 A.M., Napoleon sent Marshal Nicolas Soult's corps forward. The mist burned off, and the so-called Sun of Austerlitz lit the battlefield as the French troops seized the heights. As the French split the Allies in two, the French right now moved around the Austrian left to surround it. To further complicate matters, French artillery sent round shot onto the frozen ponds behind the Russian position on the Allied right, breaking through the ice and thus making movement and retreat difficult. There were many desperate and furious attacks and counterattacks, including those by the Russian Imperial Guard and by the French Imperial Guard—together some of the best infantry and cavalry in the world. The French, including the Mameluke cavalry Napoleon had incorporated into his forces after his campaign in Egypt in 1798, held the vital center, eventually driving the Russians off.

Napoleon had outmaneuvered his opponents and gained a great victory. At a cost of 9,000 French casualties, he inflicted more than 27,000 casualties on the Allies. In the course of the fighting, Napoleon had caused his enemies to divide their larger army in two, which he had then been able to overwhelm by seizing the central position—the Pratzen heights. He had destroyed the Austrian left, and had driven off the Russian right in what was to become one of the greatest battlefield victories of the Napoleonic Wars, and perhaps of all military history.

Two days after Austerlitz, the Austrian emperor agreed to an armistice, and the Russian armies marched east. On 26 December, Austria made clear the extent of its defeat by signing the Treaty of Pressburg. By the terms of that treaty, Austria withdrew from the Third Coalition and accepted French control over northern Italy and western and southern Germany. Pressburg marked the high point of Napoleon's domination on the European continent until the Treaties of Tilsit were concluded with Russia and Prussia, respectively, eighteen months later.

Austerlitz notwithstanding, French victories on the Continent did not affect British mastery of the seas. Britain maintained its naval superiority with Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805. In the spring and summer of 1805 a French fleet commanded by Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve eluded the British blockade of the French port of Toulon, rendezvoused with a small Spanish fleet, and made for the West Indies.

The Franco-Spanish fleet had a complex task, which likely exceeded the capacity of its commanders. Napoleon wanted to combine this fleet with another at Brest (which, in the event, never broke through the British blockade of that port). Villeneuve's sailing to the West Indies was merely diversionary—to draw off British squadrons from the Atlantic and Mediterranean—so that Villeneuve could return to European waters, combine with other squadrons, escort Napoleon's army across the English Channel, and land his troops in England.

Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson, in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, pursued Villeneuve's fleet to the West Indies and back to Europe, where it sought shelter in Cádiz on the southwestern coast of Spain. By late August, with Austria and Russia confronting him, Napoleon broke up the invasion camp at Boulogne and marched his army to the Danube. He then ordered Villeneuve to leave Cádiz and steer for the Mediterranean in order to provide flank protection for Masséna's army in northern Italy.

When Villeneuve emerged from Cádiz, Nelson confronted him on 21 October off Cape Trafalgar. While Villeneuve's fleet of thirty-three ships was arranged in a single file (line ahead), Nelson divided his smaller fleet, of twenty-seven ships, into two squadrons that he used to pierce the Franco-Spanish line—a risky maneuver, but one that in the event worked extraordinarily well. A weak wind meant the British had to approach very slowly, allowing French gunners to pummel the lead British ship in each squadron, Nelson's *Victory* and the *Royal Sovereign*, under the second in command, Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood. Yet the British held their course, and the two columns drove into the long line of Franco-Spanish ships. For five hours the battle raged, in the course of which Nelson was killed by a

musket shot. Seventeen ships of the Combined Fleet were captured and one was destroyed; no British ship was lost. Nelson's flagship returned his body to Britain for a lavish ceremonial burial in St. Paul's Cathedral. France never again contested British control of the seas.

Nevertheless, the Third Coalition lay in tatters, for Napoleon stood as the most powerful individual on the European continent.

Charles M. Dobbs

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Blockade; Caldiero, Second Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dupont de l'Étang, Pierre-Antoine, comte; Dürnstein, Battle of; Elchingen, Battle of; Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Ferdinand d'Este, Archduke; Francis I, Emperor; George III, King; Hanover; Hollabrunn, Action at; Imperial Guard (French); John, Archduke; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Masséna, André; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Ney, Michel; Pressburg, Treaty of; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Tilsit, Treaties of; Trafalgar, Battle of; Ulm, Surrender at; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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### Thugut, Johann Amadeus Freiherr von (1736–1818)

Austrian diplomat and foreign minister; known as the War Baron for his implacable opposition to the instability caused by the French Revolutionaries. From 1793 he worked to create alliances to defeat successive French governments, but once Bonaparte had restored stability in late 1799, he was keen to make peace. Defeat in the War of the Second Coalition led to Thugut's dismissal on 1 January 1801. Skillful and cunning, he was too inclined to intrigue, but despite being grasping, he rarely indulged in financial irregularities. Genuinely praised by his allies, he was passionately loathed by his opponents, who included most of the military establishment.

The son of an army paymaster, his linguistic abilities led to sponsorship by Empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740–1780) at the Oriental Languages Academy. He joined the diplomatic service in 1754, working as a translator in Constantinople, before Chancellor (foreign minister) Wenzel Anton Fürst Kaunitz made him ministry secretary, in which capacity he accepted bribes from France. Again in Constantinople, he secured the Turkish cession of the Bukovina in 1775 and was ennobled as a *Freiherr* (baron). After fruitless negotiations with Frederick the Great and service in various embassies, Thugut was appointed director general of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatskanzlei (deputy foreign minister) in 1793 and promoted to minister of foreign affairs in 1794.

Moving Austria away from its traditional focus on Germany to create a centralized, consolidated empire, Thugut aimed to contain both growing Prussian power and the impact of the French Revolution, while seeking opportunities for gains in southern and eastern Europe. In

1795 he signed an offensive-defensive treaty with Russia to participate in the Third Partition of Poland and gain a free hand in the Balkans. Supporting the religious rulers of the Holy Roman Empire as a bulwark of Austrian influence in Germany, he had to concede the loss of the Rhineland to France under the Peace of Campo Formio on 17 October 1797, which led to pressure to secularize these territories to compensate the German princes, though he secured Venetia and Dalmatia in return.

As the only official with individual access to the emperor, Francis I, he could place his supporters in key positions. Ferdinand Graf Tige was made head of the Hofkriegsrat (War Ministry) in 1796, which appointed the powerful army chiefs of staff, so Thugut could ensure his candidates were selected and thus direct military strategy. After concluding alliances with Turkey and Russia in 1798, Thugut pushed Austria into the War of the Second Coalition, focusing Austrian armies on securing southern Germany and northern Italy. This policy led to Russian withdrawal from the war in late 1799. Frosty relations with Britain meant no subsidies were agreed on until June 1800, and Thugut was sacked as minister when the war ended. Awarded a substantial estate in Croatia and a 7,000-florin pension, he left Vienna for Pressburg on 27 March 1801. Although he later returned to Vienna, Thugut remained in retirement and unmarried until his death on 28 May 1818.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austria; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Francis I, Emperor; Holy Roman Empire; Poland, Partitions of; Second Coalition, War of the

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### Tilsit, Treaties of (7 and 9 July 1807)

Two peace treaties that ended the War of the Fourth Coalition, which had pitted France against Russia and Prussia. These latter two powers, which had allied against Napoleon in July 1806, were forced to ask for terms when Russia, the stronger of the two states, was decisively defeated at Friedland on 14 June 1807. The terms of both treaties were dictated by Napoleon, the first being that with Russia. On 25 June, Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River near the French-occupied



Napoleon meets Tsar Alexander and the King and Queen of Prussia at Tilsit in 1807. This historic conference marked a dramatic shift in Russian policy and confirmed French supremacy in Europe. (Library of Congress)

town of Tilsit in Poland. Negotiations unfolded over the next two weeks and concluded with the signing of an agreement on 7 July 1807.

The terms were not wholly disadvantageous for Russia, as the treaty established an alliance between the two powers and virtually divided Europe into western and eastern spheres of influence controlled by France and Russia. This division was accomplished through territorial concessions and diplomatic guarantees. Many of the territorial terms that benefited France came at the expense of Prussia. Russia agreed to the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw from formerly Prussian-controlled Polish lands and accepted that King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, an ally of Napoleon, would govern it. Russia also acquiesced in the French creation of the Kingdom of Westphalia in northern Germany and its eventual rule under Jérôme Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother. In addition, the Duchy of Berg, founded by Napoleon in 1806, was expanded. The creation of these new bodies, coming only a year after the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, firmly es-

tablished Napoleon's control in central Europe while greatly weakening Prussia, which also lost the port of Danzig (now Gdansk), as the Treaty of Tilsit established it as a free city. France also gained influence through Russia being forced to withdraw from Romania and accept the rule of Napoleon's brothers Joseph in Naples and Louis in Holland.

Finally, in secret articles, Russia was made to cede the port town of Cattaro (now Kotor, Montenegro) and the Ionian Islands to France. Russia outwardly gained only a small portion of East Prussia, but diplomatic guarantees offered by Napoleon held the promise for much greater territorial aggrandizement. Napoleon agreed not to impede Russian operations to expand into Swedish-controlled Finland. He also offered to mediate for peace between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, as the two powers had been at war since the previous year. If the Ottomans refused the gesture, Napoleon implied that France would help Russia expand into the European portion of the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of Constantinople. This provision

concerning the Ottoman Empire was vaguely worded, but was a step for Russia toward the goal of expansion at the expense of Turkey.

Further measures solidified the military alliance between the two powers. Alexander agreed to try and negotiate peace between France and Britain. If this measure did not produce positive results by 1 November 1807, Russia was compelled to declare war. In the event of hostilities against the British, the treaty stated that Russia and France would force Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal to close their ports to British shipping. This measure was an expansion of Napoleon's Continental System, which was an effort to deny European markets to British commerce and thus bankrupt Britain, which relied on overseas trade for its economic well-being, and to force the country to make peace with France. In seeking to achieve this end, the Treaty of Tilsit also stipulated that Russia join the Continental System and use its naval power against British trade in the Mediterranean.

The second Treaty of Tilsit, with Prussia, concluded on 9 July 1807, was much harsher than that between France and Russia, as many of the terms in the initial agreement were concluded at the expense of Russia's former ally. In return for peace with France, King Frederick William III of Prussia had to agree to all of the territorial losses stipulated by the treaty between Napoleon and Alexander. All Prussian lands west of the river Elbe were lost in order to create the Kingdom of Westphalia, while the Duchy of Warsaw consumed most of the Prussian-controlled Polish lands. Frederick William was also forced to surrender the port city of Danzig.

In effect, Prussia lost nearly half of its territory, which decreased from about 89,000 square miles to just over 46,000 square miles. Prussia was also required to formally recognize all of Napoleon's newly created kingdoms. Additional measures were as harsh as the territorial terms. Napoleon compelled Prussia to enter into a military alliance with France and Russia in the event of war against Britain, a situation that he had already engineered in the terms with Russia. Frederick William also had to bring Prussia into compliance with the Continental System. Finally, additional legislation, signed on 12 July 1807, forced Prussia to agree to the occupation of all of its remaining territory by French troops pending the payment of a war indemnity. The amount of the indemnity was set in 1808 at 140 million francs.

Although Napoleon succeeded in bringing western and central Europe under his control through the Treaties of Tilsit, the agreements did not produce the desired result of a lasting peace in a French-dominated Europe. The treaty with Prussia guaranteed that the Prussians would remain openly hostile to Napoleon. The agreement with

Russia also contained problematic terms. Not only would disagreement later arise between France and Russia over the status of Polish lands, but the Continental System proved a vexing issue. The economic hardship it later created in Russia led to Russian defiance of the system as early as 1810, and contributed directly to the breakdown in Franco-Russian relations that led to war in 1812.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Louis; Confederation of the Rhine; Continental System; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Frederick William III, King; Friedland, Battle of; Ionian Islands; Poland; Prussia; Russia; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Saxony; Sweden; Westphalia

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### Tolentino, Battle of (2–3 May 1815)

Fought at Tolentino, a small city in the Italian Marche (a region abutting the eastern coast of central Italy), this was an Austrian victory against the Neapolitan army. The main and final clash of the war waged by King Joachim Murat to keep his throne, it led to the Treaty of Casalanza (20 May) whereby Murat abdicated, thus paving the way for the Bourbon restoration in Naples.

Murat declared war on Austria on 15 March 1815, marching northward from central Italy and gaining some minor successes. In mid-April, however, the course of the war quickly turned in favor of the Austrians, as Murat failed to force the line of the river Po in Emilia. He then retreated southward to the Marche, with two Austrian armies in pursuit. While *Feldmarshalleutnant* Adam Graf von Neipperg's 11,000 troops were on Murat's heels down the Adriatic coast road, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vincenz Ritter von Bianchi's force (about 12,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and twenty-eight guns) followed a more westerly route under the cover of the Apennines. On 30 April the latter column reached the walled city of Tolentino, in the narrow and impenetrable valley of the Chienti River, stretching

eastward from the mountains down to the sea. By that time Murat was in Macerata, 10 miles east of Tolentino. The Neapolitan army could field about 15,000 infantry, 3,800 cavalry, mostly raw conscripts, and twenty-eight guns, with substantial reinforcements on the way.

On 2 May at 11:00 A.M. two Neapolitan columns marched on Tolentino. The first column, with most of the artillery and the cavalry, advanced along the valley-bottom road, pushing back the Austrian outposts at Sforzacosta. The battle raged for many hours, the Neapolitan momentum being eventually checked at the bridge at Rancia. Meanwhile, the second Neapolitan column, trudging over rough tracks across the left hillside, had taken Monte Milone, a village dominating Tolentino, and threatened the Austrian left flank at Cantagallo. In the late afternoon, however, an infantry counterattack repulsed the Neapolitans behind Monte Milone. As night fell, Bianchi strove to strengthen his defensive line between Monte Milone and Rancia, while Murat awaited reinforcements at Macerata.

On the second day Murat ordered his army forward in three columns. General Giuseppe Lechi's left wing advanced over the hills on the southern bank of the Chienti. The central column under Murat moved up the main road to take Rancia, while General Principe Francesco Pignatelli-Strongoli's right wing attacked Cantagallo. Though outnumbered, the Austrian right did not give way before Lechi. In the other sectors, the Neapolitans were more successful, dislodging the enemy from Rancia, Cantagallo, and Il Casone. At noon, Murat ordered his reserve (General Carlo d'Ambrosio's division and the Royal Guard, about 8,000 men) forward. As soon as they emerged from the woods, the Neapolitan infantry spotted some enemy cavalry and immediately formed four big squares. Under strong artillery fire and pressed at close quarters by enemy infantry and cavalry, the slow-moving and dense formations started wavering and soon retreated in disorder.

Despite this unexpected reverse, at this junction Murat was still strong enough to gain the day. It was the poor morale of his troops, together with Neipperg's upcoming threat from the north and political concerns about the kingdom's domestic situation that convinced him to give up the fight. At Tolentino the Neapolitans lost 1,100 killed and wounded, and 2,200 prisoners. Austrian losses were 700 and 450.

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*See also* "Italian Independence," War of; Murat, Joachim; Naples

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## Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count

*See* Osterman-Tolstoy, Alexander Ivanovich, Count

## Tone, Wolfe (1763–1798)

The eldest son of Peter and Margaret Lamport Tone, Wolfe Tone was born in Dublin on 20 June 1763. Although Peter's carriage-making business failed, patronage from Theobald Wolfe, a prominent barrister and politician and Tone's godfather, allowed the family to survive. Tone entered Trinity College in 1781, and despite a raffish career, which included dueling, went on to the Inner Temple in London, returning to Ireland in 1789 as a lawyer. In 1785 he married Matilda Witherington, against the wishes of her family.

In 1791 Tone took part in founding the United Irishmen, simultaneously writing pamphlets for the Catholic Committee as well, advocating religious toleration, parliamentary power and reform, and ultimately, independence for Ireland. After 1793 British crackdowns on the United Irishmen, as well as the revelation that Tone had written material for William Jackson, a French Revolutionary agent, prompted him to flee Ireland in June 1795 for the United States. Tone and his family languished in Philadelphia and Princeton before getting support from the French ambassador to the United States to petition the French government. With introductions from James Monroe, Tone made contact with Lazare Carnot and General Louis Lazare Hoche, who agreed that Ireland could serve as a staging area for an attack on Britain.

Unfortunately, the December 1796 invasion led by Hoche and Tone floundered when a storm off the Irish coast scattered the French fleet and forced a return to Brest. Tone spent the next year at Hoche's command on the Rhine and touring the Netherlands, whose government he admired. The deaths of both Hoche and Carnot, as well as the advent of Bonaparte, prevented Tone from succeeding in pushing for a second invasion, which would have been in competition for resources with Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition. Rebellion broke out in Ireland during the summer of 1798, and Tone was hastily recalled by the Directory and dispatched with 8,000 French troops. Poor planning guaranteed that the fleet was followed by a British naval squadron, which attacked off the Irish coast near Donegal, capturing the flagship *Hoche* and arresting Tone.

Tone claimed the protections of his French uniform, but was treated as a revolutionary and criminal, imprisoned at Derry, and then transferred to Dublin for trial on 10 November. He was found guilty of treason and sentenced to hang, but Tone cut his throat in his cell, dying

from those injuries on 17 November. His wife and surviving son William lived in France on a pension, and William was a Napoleonic officer during the Hundred Days.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Directory, The; Donegal, Battle of; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; Middle East Campaign

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### Torgau, Siege of (8 October 1813–10 January 1814)

The fortress city of Torgau was situated at an important crossing of the river Elbe in the Kingdom of Saxony. Being of strategic significance in both the spring and fall campaigns of 1813, its possession was contested until it finally fell to the Allies in January 1814.

Torgau was a fortress of the first order and had been well maintained. Its defenses consisted of a strong outer wall, fosses, and external works. There were seven bastion fronts along the perimeter of the wall. There was no wall along the eastern side, as that side ran along the Elbe. A bridgehead of considerable strength stood on the eastern bank, covering the bridge. Three bastions ran along the front of this bridgehead. Its ditches could be flooded; the bridge was wooden and covered. In the city itself there were 557 dwellings. Two external forts, Fort Zinna and Fort Mahla, had been built on the hills to the northeast of Torgau, and there were also two lunettes on each bank.

This fortress town was garrisoned by Saxon troops under the command of General Johann Adolph Freiherr von Thielmann. In the immediate aftermath of the campaign of 1812 in Russia, Frederick August, the king of Saxony, maintained a policy of neutrality. Thielmann had been ordered to deny access to the fortress to any foreign power. He refused to hand it over to Prusso-Russian forces in the spring of 1813, when they advanced into Saxony.

The French victory over the Allies at Lützen, on 2 May 1813, materially altered the situation. While Napoleon pressured Frederick August to join him, he sent General Jean Reynier's corps toward Torgau. General Pierre François Durutte's division arrived there on 7 May, but Thielmann refused entry to it. Frederick August acceded to Napoleon's demands, and on 12 May, Thielmann received orders to join forces with Reynier. He complied, opening

the city and fortress to the French, but went over to the Allies with his staff.

For the remainder of the campaign in Germany, Torgau remained in French hands. On 14 September the comte de Narbonne was made governor. Additional defenses were constructed to protect the bridge from fire ships.

After the Battle of Dennewitz on 6 September, a Prussian observation corps took up positions on the east bank, harassing shipping along the great river. On 3 October, the Prussians forced a crossing of the Elbe at Wartenburg and moved along the west bank toward Torgau. On the eighth, Narbonne declared the city in a state of siege. The garrison was around 25,000 men strong, with 199 guns. The Saxon troops left Torgau on 22 October. At the end of the month, a Prussian force under General Friedrich von Tauentzien sealed off the western side. The siege of Torgau now commenced. Throughout November, sorties, raids, and bombardments were undertaken. The besiegers started the construction of a mine. A plague of typhus broke out.

Narbonne attempted to negotiate surrender from 4 to 7 December, but Tauentzien did not accept his proposals. Further talks were held that month, before agreement was finally reached on 20 December. On 10 January 1814 the survivors of the garrison departed. Their losses numbered around 15,000 men.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Dennewitz, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Lützen, Battle of; Reynier, Jean Louis Ebénézer, comte; Siege Warfare; Thielmann, Johann Adolph Freiherr von

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### Tormasov, Alexander Petrovich (1752–1819)

Russian general and army commander. Born into an ancient Russian noble family, Tormasov began his career as a page at the imperial court in February 1762 and enlisted as a lieutenant in the Vyatka Infantry Regiment on 13 March 1772. He was promoted to captain in May 1772 and served as adjutant to Count Bruce, who was appointed commander of the Finland Division in 1774. Tormasov became lieutenant colonel and commander of the Finland *Jäger* Battalion in 1777. He served in the Crimea in 1782–1783 and commanded the Aleksandria Light Horse Regiment in 1784. From 1788 to 1791, he participated in the Russo-Turkish War, commanding a cavalry brigade that remained in reserve at Ochakov. Tormasov was promoted to brigadier general on 5 April 1789 and to major general on

1 April 1791. He distinguished himself at Babadag and Macin.

From 1792 to 1794, Tormasov served against the Polish insurgents, fighting at Vishnepol, Mobar, Warsaw, Maciejowice, and Praga. He was appointed *chef* (colonel proprietor) of the Military Order Cuirassier Regiment on 14 December 1796 and promoted to lieutenant general on 18 February 1798. However, Tormasov had an argument with Tsar Paul in 1799 and was discharged from the army on 23 July 1799. He returned to service on 28 November 1800 and was restored as *chef* of the Life Guard Horse Regiment on 18 December. Two days later, he was appointed commander of the Life Guard Horse Regiment. Tormasov was promoted to general of cavalry on 27 September 1801 and enjoyed a rapid succession of promotions, including to cavalry inspector of the Dniester Inspection on 23 July 1801 and cavalry inspector of the Lifland Inspection on 20 February 1802.

After briefly retiring in late 1802, Tormasov became military governor of Kiev on 7 February 1803. In 1804 he was awarded an estate in the Courland *gubernia* (province), and in 1805 he began organizing the Army of the Dniester against the Turks. He took a prolonged furlough because of poor health in 1806. After recuperating, Tormasov was appointed military governor of Riga on 28 March 1807 but retired again because of poor health that December. After the death of his wife, Tormasov returned to the army on 21 June 1808 and was appointed commander in chief of the troops in Georgia and the Caucasus in September 1808 during the Russo-Turkish War.

Tormasov secured the Russian administration in the Transcaucasia, defeating several Persian raids into Georgia and launching a successful offensive against the Turks in western Georgia. Simultaneously, he forced the remaining independent Georgian principalities, including the Kingdom of Imereti, into submission to Russia. He captured the fortresses of Poti and Akhaltsikhe and negotiated with the Persians at the fortress of Askoran in early 1810. He crushed the Persian Prince Abbas Mirza at Migri and Akhalkalaki in September 1810. During October, November, and December, Tormasov suppressed an uprising in Daghestan, then engaged King Solomon of Imereti at Akhaltsikhe and prevented a Turkish invasion of southern Georgia. Tormasov was appointed commander in chief of the 3rd Reserve Army of Observation in Volhynia on 27 March 1812.

During the Russian campaign of 1812, Tormasov engaged Austrian and French troops at Brest, Kobryn, and Gorodechnya. He took command of the 2nd Western Army after Prince Peter Bagration's death in late September, but he arrived at the camp at Tarutino after the two Russian armies were merged. Tormasov thereupon as-

sumed command of the main Russian forces, excluding the advance guard. In November, he fought at Maloyaroslavets and Krasnyi, and pursued the French to Vilna. In early 1813 he briefly commanded the Russian army after Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov's death and took part in the Battle of Lützen during the spring campaign in Germany. However, he had to leave the army because of poor health, and, on being appointed a member of the State Council, he returned to St. Petersburg. He became military governor of Moscow on 11 September 1814 and was awarded the title of Count of the Russian Empire on 11 September 1816. Tormasov died on 25 November 1819 and was buried in the Don Monastery in Moscow.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Germany, Campaign in; Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kutuzov, Prince Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Lützen, Battle of; Maciejowice, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Paul I, Tsar; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Turkish War

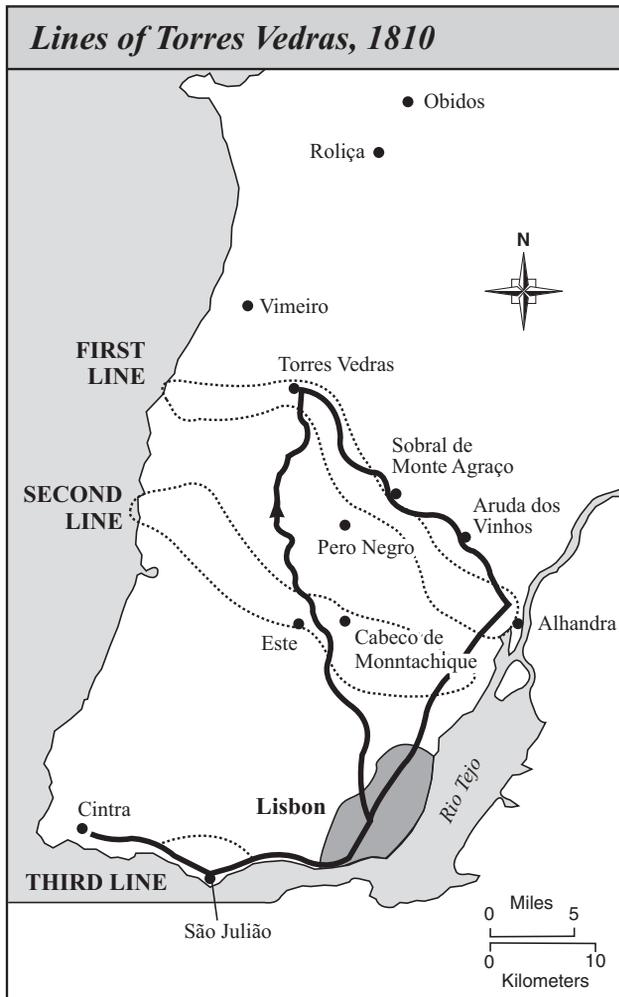
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## Torres Vedras, Lines of

An enormous network of forts, batteries, and redoubts, built into the natural terrain, constructed in secret approximately 40 miles north of Lisbon, which could be used by Viscount (later the Duke of) Wellington, if needed, as a last line of defense. Construction of the Lines of Torres Vedras was ordered by Wellington in November 1809, and, when completed, the network included three separate defensive lines rendering a French invasion down the Peninsula into Lisbon impossible.

The Lines, 30 miles long at their widest, took a year to build, utilizing over 10,000 Portuguese laborers, supervised by fewer than twenty British and Allied engineers, at a total cost of nearly £100,000. The construction teams dammed rivers to form inundations, scarped whole hillsides to create precipices, and blocked numerous valleys with vast stone walls. When completed, the Lines included approximately 150 redoubts and earthworks of various descriptions mounting over 600 cannon. Even including the Portuguese militiamen supported by the British, Wellington's force was far too small to garrison the Lines. To deal with this problem, his engineers built lateral roads behind the hills, making it possible to concentrate troops rapidly at any threatened point. All the roads on the French side of the hills were destroyed, making it difficult for Marshal André Masséna to move troops into position for an attack.



Adapted from Paget 1997, 112.

In April 1809, when Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (shortly to be raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington) took command of the British expeditionary force in Portugal, he understood the need to conserve his army. Unlike the French, the British could not lose entire armies and return months later with larger ones. Additionally, the key to success for Wellington, as for all generals, was protecting his supply lines. For Wellington, that meant always having access to the sea through a good port, which also provided an escape route, both of which were available through Lisbon. Wellington was certainly mindful of what had happened to Lieutenant General Sir John Moore and the army during the disastrous retreat to Corunna earlier the same year. The Lines of Torres Vedras helped Wellington to meet these strategic objectives.

In the summer of 1810, the French, under Masséna, were in the early stages of an invasion of Portugal. The British and their Portuguese and Spanish allies suffered a series of setbacks: The French captured the great Spanish fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo (10 July); the British were

forced to withdraw during the action at the Coa (24 July); and, as a result of a huge accidental explosion that destroyed the magazine, the Portuguese fortress at Almeida surrendered to the French (26 August). The pursuing French forced Wellington to fight a major rearguard action at Busaco (27 September).

Although the British completely and bloodily repulsed a series of French assaults, many historians have criticized Wellington for not counterattacking in order to drive Masséna back toward Spain. Wellington, however, was interested in more than a small tactical victory; his overall scheme was to pull the French further into Portugal. Predictably, the French found a way around the British right flank and continued to push Wellington back toward Lisbon, unknowingly falling deeper into Wellington's strategic trap.

Wellington, knowing that the Torres Vedras defensive positions were ready, continued to retreat, instituting a policy of "scorched earth" (burning crops in his wake) as he moved toward Lisbon. The British entered the Lines in early October. On Wellington's orders, the British left nothing behind as they headed south; all the Portuguese were forced to move with the British army, and any food that could not be transferred behind the Lines was destroyed. The French continued to follow the retreating British, but suddenly, to their complete shock, they encountered the Lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna halted his troops, gazed at this military feat, and knew his 65,000 men were insufficient to breach Wellington's defenses. As Masséna pondered what to do, he sent General Maximilien, comte Foy to Napoleon with news of the campaign and a request for reinforcements.

The French made a couple of half-hearted attempts to force the Lines (12–14 October), but the superior defensive positions afforded by the Lines enabled the British to repulse them with ease. Wellington's strategy was simple: Do not lose men in battle, and let starvation and illness destroy the French army. With winter fast approaching and no Portuguese peasants to plunder, the French troops suffered terribly. Finally, in November, with no other viable option, Masséna began a slow retreat back to Spain. By the time the French returned to Spain in April 1811, they had lost over 30,000 men, most to starvation and illness, as a result of Wellington's scorched-earth policy.

Unfortunately, the French were not the only casualties. In order to make the land north of the defenses bare of supplies for the marauding French, Wellington forced 300,000 Portuguese to relocate behind the Lines. Most of the refugees lived in shantytowns in and around Lisbon. Over 40,000 died during the winter of 1810–1811 from the effects of exposure, malnutrition, and disease, in spite of the best efforts of the British and Portuguese governments. Many British soldiers and officers made substantial volun-

tary contributions of food and money to aid the refugees, and Wellington himself wrote several letters back to London requesting assistance.

The Lines of Torres Vedras epitomized Wellington's style of strategic thinking. Not only did he focus upon his major priorities; protecting Britain's only field army in Europe, protecting his supply route through Lisbon, and providing his army a place to disembark in case of disaster, but he used the defensive lines as a jumping-off point for a major offensive. Throughout the Peninsular War, Wellington was at his best utilizing a defensive position to gain the advantage before shifting to the offensive. Wellington saw the possibilities the topography north of Lisbon afforded him, and his military brilliance enabled him to develop a strategy encompassing all eventualities, good or ill. Once the Lines proved impenetrable to the enemy, he could then plan and launch an offensive campaign for the liberation of the whole Iberian Peninsula.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Almeida, Sieges of; Busaco, Battle of; Ciudad Rodrigo, First Siege of; Corunna, Retreat to; Foy, Maximilien Sebastien, comte; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Wellington, Arthur Wellesey, First Duke of

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## Toulon, Siege of (7 September–19 December 1793)

Napoleon Bonaparte initially came to national attention after the siege of Toulon, where he, a mere captain in the artillery, played a decisive role in dislodging British and Allied forces from the great Mediterranean naval port. Bonaparte was the latest in a succession of military leaders entrusted with the task. He owed his appointment partly to Corsican deputy-on-mission Antonio Salicetti, sent from Paris to oversee operations, but also to his support for the dominant Jacobins, who were attempting to crush the widespread urban revolts of summer 1793, which their seizure of power had provoked. Bonaparte's success was due to his vigorous pursuit of an obvious strategy to end the siege, by seizing a vital promontory (the so-called Petit-Gibraltar) dominating the bay of Toulon, thus threatening the escape of the enemy fleet.

The Toulonnais inhabitants, like their counterparts in larger towns elsewhere, notably Lyons and Marseilles, had withdrawn allegiance from the Jacobin-led government. Their new town council denounced the National Convention, from which provincial deputies had been purged on 2 June 1793, and compromise seemed unlikely. The Army of the Alps was diverted to deal with rebels in Provence, and when Marseilles surrendered on 25 August, Toulon was isolated. Its leaders turned to the British fleet, then blockading the Mediterranean coast, for assistance in resisting “the wrath of Robespierre.” Vice Admiral Samuel, Lord Hood, the British commander working with allied Spanish and Neapolitan contingents, responded positively, but only in return for surrender of the naval base and a declaration in favor of the infant pretender to the throne, Louis XVII. The Toulonnais reluctantly accepted this gross act of treason to avoid imminent defeat and bloody reprisals, admitting their former adversaries to the port on 27–28 August, though all they achieved was a stay of execution.

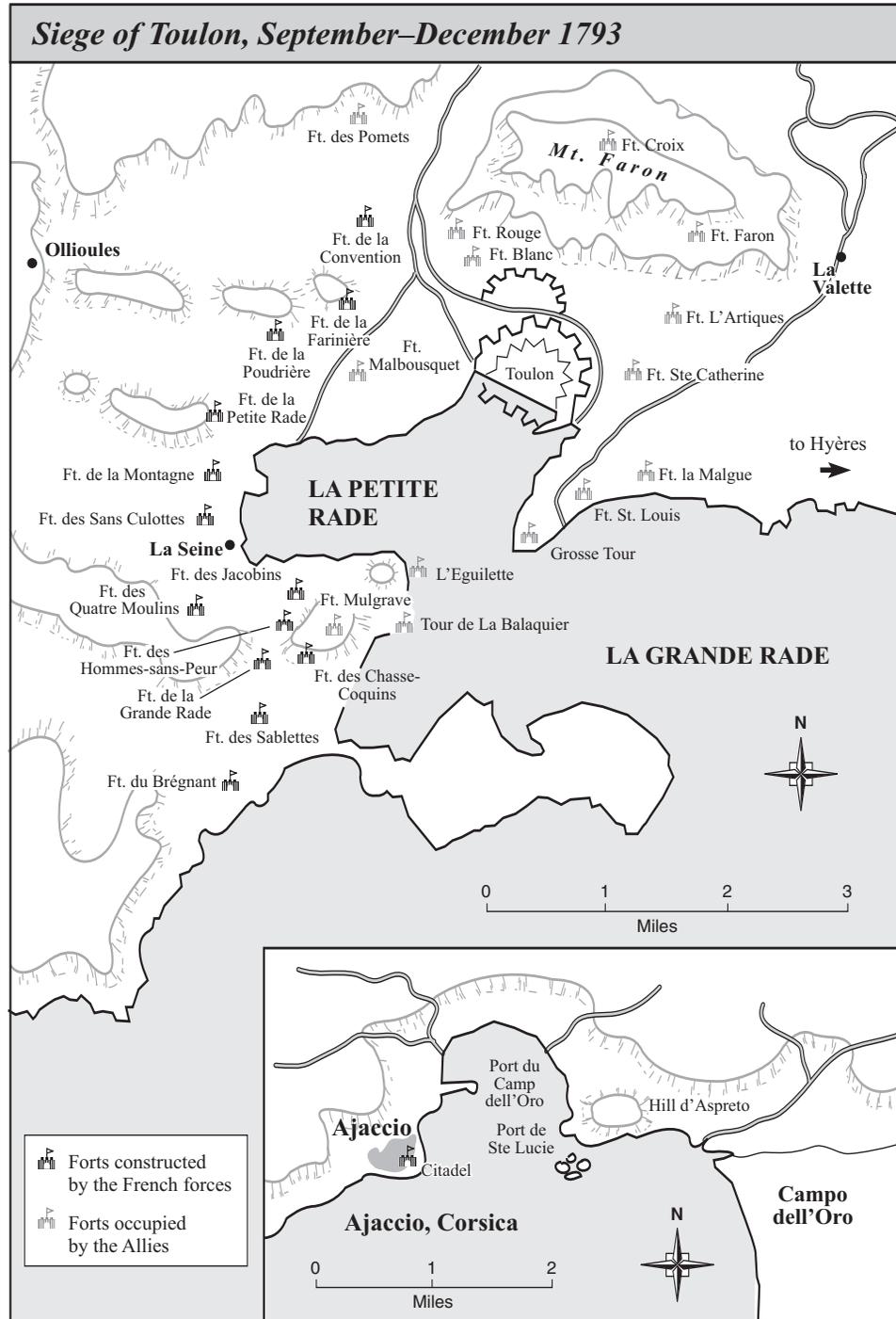
The Allied forces proved unable to exploit this unanticipated windfall. A potential bridgehead for the invasion of southern France required reinforcements, which failed to materialize. In their absence, preparations were made to withstand a siege, unsustainable once the maritime escape route was removed. That it took three months for republican forces to break the resistance at Toulon was a reflection of inefficiency, overcome once Captain Bonaparte was given command of the artillery in November. He led the successful assault on the key redoubt on 17 December, and with republican artillery rendering their position untenable, the Allies began to withdraw the day after. In doing so, they removed or destroyed much of the French Mediterranean fleet, inflicting a naval disaster worse than Trafalgar, though the dockyards remained virtually undamaged. Many rebels fled with the Allies, but repression was severe for those left behind—over 1,000 executions followed. For Bonaparte, who played no part in this punishment, the siege represented a vital stepping-stone to renown; rewarded with promotion to brigadier general, his name (then Buonaparte) appeared in the newspapers for the first time.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Convention, The; Jacobins; Lyons, Siege of; Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore; Siege Warfare

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Adapted from Chandler 1966, 18.

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### Toulouse, Battle of (10 April 1814)

The last major engagement of the Peninsular War, fought between the Marquis of Wellington's Allied army of approximately 50,000 men, and Marshal Nicolas Soult's 42,000 French troops. Unbeknownst to the combatants, Napoleon had already abdicated in Paris a few days before, thus rendering the Battle of Toulouse a pointless bloodletting.

Wellington's victorious army was too tired to give immediate chase to the defeated French after the Battle of Orthez, but on 2 March 1814 caught up with it at Aire, at which engagement the Allies lost 150 men before hastening the French on their way. The pursuit stalled here, however, due to political expediency, for Bordeaux was known to have royalist sympathies and, as such, Marshal Sir William Beresford, with the 4th and 7th Divisions, marched north to that city, which was given up to him on 12 March. The 7th Division remained in Bordeaux while Beresford returned with the 4th Division to rejoin Wellington on the sixteenth.

There were further clashes between the two armies as Soult continued his retreat to Toulouse, notably at Vic Bigorre on the nineteenth and at Tarbes the following day, an action that Wellington later called the sharpest fight of the war.

Soult finally entered Toulouse on 24 March. His first task was to issue fresh arms and ammunition, clothes, and supplies to his men. Eight thousand French troops were without shoes, and thousands more lacked even the most basic of equipment, much of it having been abandoned during the pursuit from Orthez. Fortunately for him, Toulouse was a main French Army depot, and stocks and supplies were plentiful. Reinforcements were also to be found here, which made good some of the losses of the previous few weeks.

The city of Toulouse was surrounded by a high wall, flanked with towers, but the defenses were not constructed along the lines laid down by Vauban and were nowhere near as strong as those at any of the other main towns besieged by Wellington. The wide river Garonne flows to the west of Toulouse, and it was a major obstacle. On the left bank of the river was the fortified suburb of St. Cyprien, while to the east lay the suburbs of St. Etienne and Guillemerie. To the north and east of the city flowed the Langue-

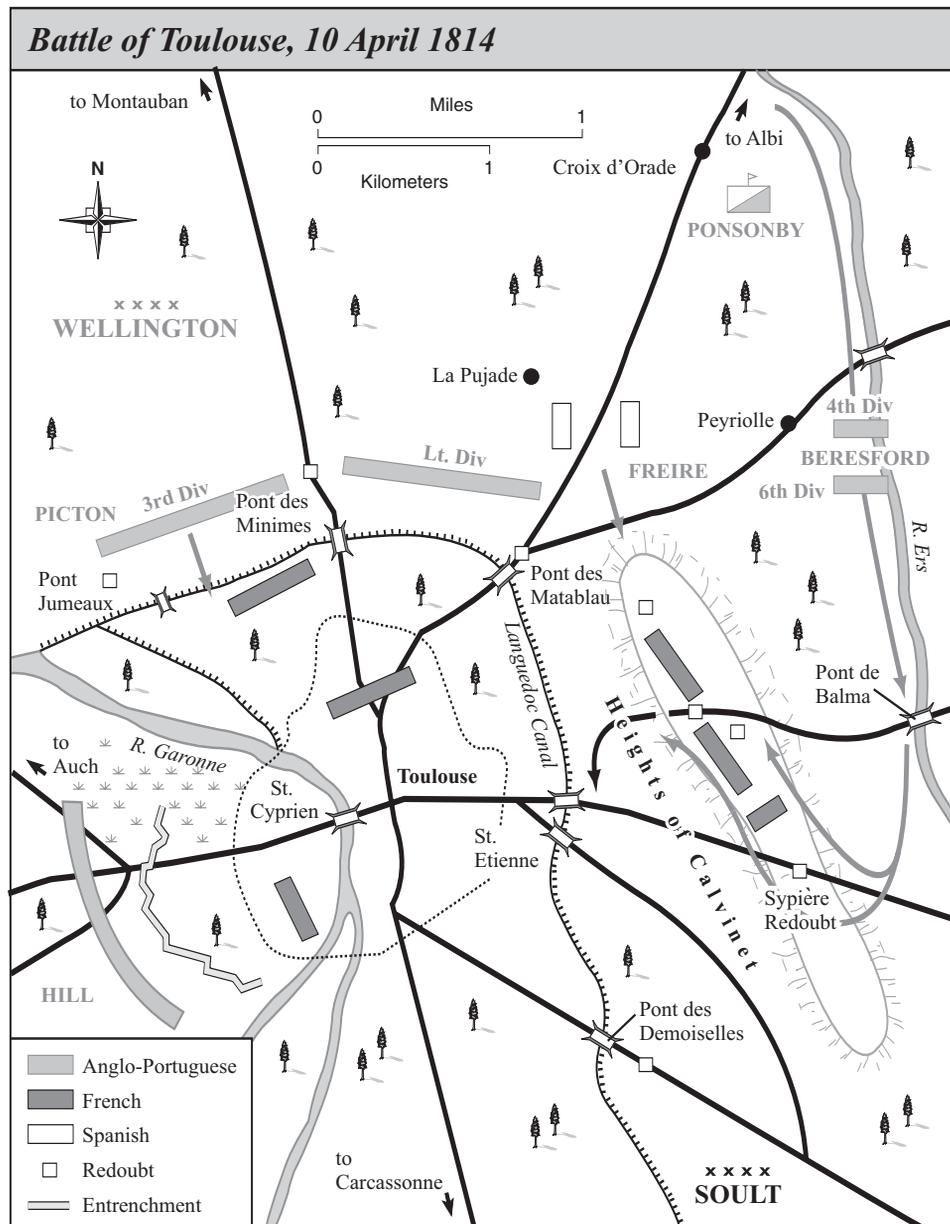
doc Canal, and even farther still to the east was the river Ers. The key to the city, however, was the Calvinet ridge, which ran between the Ers and the canal to the east of the city. In fact, the feature called the Calvinet was two ridges, the second actually being Mont Rave. The ridge, standing some 600 feet high, overlooked the city, and once it was taken, Wellington's siege guns would be able to pound away at the place with ease. A series of redoubts were therefore constructed upon the ridge, notably the Augustins and the Sypière, while other entrenchments were dug also.

On 27 March an attempt was made to bridge the Garonne, but the pontoons fell some 80 feet short. On the thirtieth another attempt was made, about a mile farther south, but this too proved unsatisfactory, as the roads were not of sufficient quality to allow the passage of wheeled vehicles. The bridge was therefore taken up and laid some fifteen miles north of the city, and on the evening of 4 April Beresford crossed with 19,000 men. Unfortunately, heavy rain swept the bridge away—in a repeat of the episode during the crossing of the Nive in December 1813 when part of Wellington's forces had been stuck on one side beyond immediate support—leaving Beresford stranded on the right bank of the river. On this occasion, Soult chose not to attack, and three days later the bridge was operational once more.

On 8 April the rest of Wellington's army crossed the Garonne, leaving Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill's corps on the left bank, from where it was to threaten the suburb of St. Cyprien. Elsewhere, the 3rd and Light Divisions were to attack the line of the canal along the northern front, with the main attack being delivered by Beresford with the 4th and 6th Divisions, who were to advance along the left bank of the Ers before wheeling to the right and moving against the French positions on the southern end of the Calvinet ridge. The northern end of the ridge was to be attacked by Major General Manuel Freire's Spaniards, who, having a much shorter distance to cover, were to begin their attack only when Beresford was in position in front of the ridge.

The Allied offensive got underway at 5:00 A.M. with Hill's diversionary attack west of the Garonne against the defenders at St. Cyprien. Several battalions worked their way around the French works here, but the object of the game was to keep Soult from withdrawing his men to the area of the main Allied attack against the Calvinet ridge. Hill's attack petered out with skirmishing and artillery fire between the two sides, but no attempt was made to storm the suburb. Soult soon recognized the ruse and withdrew General Claude Pierre Rouget's brigade to assist in the defense of Mont Rave.

To the north, meanwhile, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton began his feint with an effective attack on



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 83.

the French positions close to the canal. However, Picton got carried away and ordered Major General Thomas Brisbane's brigade to storm the bridge over the canal and take some French positions in and around some farm buildings and orchards. This was against Wellington's express orders, and the attack was driven back with loss. Major General Charles, Baron von Alten's Light Division, on the other hand, on Picton's left flank, acted precisely in accordance with the commander in chief's wishes and restricted itself to skirmishing with French pickets at the Matabiua bridge.

To the east of Toulouse, Freire's Spaniards waited while these attacks progressed. Beresford's two divisions had still not arrived opposite Mont Rave, owing to the

boggy nature of the ground over which they marched. They were still out of range of the enemy guns, and so in spite of the slow pace of their march there was little danger. However, when they had got to within a mile of the position from which they would wheel to their left, they came under fire from the guns on Mont Rave. This prompted Beresford into abandoning his guns, as they sank deep into the mud and slowed the columns down. The guns were left on a knoll, from which they commenced firing on the guns on Mont Rave.

The impatient Freire appears to have mistaken the fire from Beresford's guns as the signal for his own infantry attack to begin, and at once ordered his two brigades for-



British infantry exchanges fire with the French across the Languedoc Canal during the Battle of Toulouse. (Print after Henri Dupray, ca. 1890)

ward in line with two others in support. Freire's Spaniards came on bravely in the face of a heavy artillery barrage from the Calvinet ridge, but when they came within musket range the defenders opened up a withering fire, which brought the Spaniards to a halt just sixty yards from the French. At this point tragedy struck, for the disordered Spaniards sought the shelter of a sunken road that gave them some relief from the storm of lead being turned on them. Unfortunately, they were reluctant to leave the security of the lane, and when the French defenders left their trenches and came forward, Freire's men were trapped. The French just fired blindly into the helpless target before them, and they were joined by other French troops and by two heavy guns that poured out a shower of grape into the Spaniards. It was only with great difficulty that the survivors managed to extricate themselves, and they fled in panic back to their original positions.

Wellington acted quickly to ease the plight of the Spaniards and sent orders to Beresford telling him to wheel right and begin his attack, irrespective of where he was. Beresford, however, had also seen the result of Freire's attack and decided, as he could be of little use there, to ignore the order and continue his march south. Finally he

reached his position; the 4th and 6th Divisions wheeled to their left and formed in line to begin their assault on Mont Rave. The British troops set off with a front of over a mile and a half but had gone only a short distance when two French brigades, under General Eloi Charlemagne Taupin, appeared to their west attacking in column. Six years of fighting the British had taught the French little of the disadvantage of sending column against line, and in the ensuing firefight Beresford's men swept the French before them, killing Taupin himself. Soon afterward, the two British divisions reached Mont Rave and cleared the defenders from it. Beresford then waited while he had his guns brought up.

At about 4:00 P.M., the 6th Division advanced north to clear the French from the Calvinet ridge, but it succeeded in driving them from the southern end of the ridge only, and even that was achieved only after heavy fighting, during which the Augustins redoubt changed hands five times.

While the 6th Division struggled for possession of the ridge, Picton launched another attack to the north of the city. Once again he was beaten back with heavy casualties, including Brisbane, who was wounded, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Forbes, of the 45th Foot, who was killed.

Altogether, Picton's division suffered 354 casualties in his vain assaults north of the canal.

At about 4:30 P.M. Soult finally ordered the Calvignet ridge to be abandoned. The remaining defenders there had come under increasing pressure, not only from the 6th Division but also from a battery of horse artillery that Wellington had sent forward. With the withdrawal from the ridge, all French troops were now within the perimeter defined by the canal, and at 5:00 P.M., with the light beginning to fade, the fighting died down. Both armies slept that night on the blood-soaked ground they had fought so hard for during the day, a day that had cost Wellington some 4,558 casualties, against Soult's 3,236.

The following morning, Soult began to prepare to abandon Toulouse, and at nightfall on the eleventh his troops began to file out of the city along the road south toward Carcassonne. The whole tragedy of the battle was that it need never have been fought in the first place, for even as Soult's men headed south, Wellington received news of Napoleon's abdication, which had taken place on 6 April, four days before the battle. Toulouse, therefore, had been a tragic and needless waste of life.

Even so, there was still one last pointless postscript to the war. On 14 April, four days after Toulouse and a full eight days after Napoleon's abdication, General Pierre Thouvenot, commanding the garrison at Bayonne decided, either out of ignorance or malice, to launch a sortie against the besieging Allied troops. In the resulting fight, 843 British troops became casualties, including Lieutenant General Sir John Hope, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and Major General Andrew Hay, who was killed. The French themselves lost 891 men in this futile action.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Beresford, Sir William Carr; Hill, Sir Rowland; Orthez, Battle of; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Tarbes, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Tourcoing, Battle of (17–18 May 1794)

The Battle of Tourcoing halted the Allied advance from Flanders into northwest France during the campaign of 1794. The fighting was scattered and confused, and did not produce a decisive victory for either side. The Allies, however, decided to take up defensive positions and make their main effort farther south.

The French plan for 1794 called for an advance by the Army of the North on Brussels, capital of the Austrian Netherlands. The Allies hoped to make their main effort around Landrecies. By the second week of May several French divisions under General Joseph Souham had advanced in the midst of the Allied right wing. *Generalmajor* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich recognized the opportunity to cut off Souham and crush his force by means of a concentric attack by Allied forces around Tourcoing. Mack's plan called for six separate columns, but their movements were hampered by lack of communications and coordination. Although the Allies had 80,000 men in the area, only 62,000 were able to participate in the battle.

Souham recognized the situation as well. In the absence of General Jean-Charles Pichegru, he planned to throw most his forces against the Allied right under *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Sebastian de Croix Graf von Clerfayt. Reports of movements by Austrian and British troops on 16 May caused Souham to scrap that plan and concentrate his forces on the two columns advancing against him in the center. When the Allied attack began on 17 May, things quickly fell apart. Clerfayt's column on the right was held up by an unexpectedly fierce French defense on the river Lys. Columns on the left under Archduke Charles and *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Kinsky Graf von Wichnitz und Tettau were hampered by fog and moved more slowly than expected. Only the central columns, consisting mostly of British and Hessian troops under the Duke of York, achieved their goals for 17 May. The Guards Brigade particularly distinguished itself in overrunning several French defensive positions.

By the morning of 18 May Souham had massed his forces. Archduke Charles and Kinsky ignored orders to move faster, and Clerfayt was diverted by General Dominique Vandamme's brigade. Souham's main attack quickly captured Tourcoing and forced the British from their advanced positions. Showing remarkable discipline,

the British Guards cut their way out of several encirclements, though the British cavalry and artillery suffered great losses. During the retreat on 18 May the civilian drivers cut the traces and abandoned most of the guns and caissons, and thus the cavalry regiments following on the same road were not able to pass easily. Needless losses of horses and men resulted.

By 19 May most of the Allied forces were back at their starting point. French losses were approximately 3,000 men killed and wounded, and 7 guns lost. Allied losses were heavier, with 4,000 men killed and wounded, and another 1,500 captured. As many as 50 guns were captured.

Tourcoing was a moral defeat for the Allies. The Austrians, who were the dominant partners, decided to remain on the defensive in Flanders. The Battle of Tournai on 22 May confirmed this decision. The French, on the other hand, saw Tourcoing as a victory, confirming their method of warfare as superior to prevailing orthodox tactics.

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*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Landrecies, Battle of; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Souham, Joseph, comte; Tournai, Battle of; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### Tournai, Battle of (22 May 1794)

In the spring of 1794, French forces in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) fought several large-scale battles against the troops of the opposing Allied coalition. On 22 May, after its success at the Battle of Tourcoing, General Jean-Charles Pichegru's Army of the North failed in an assault on the fortress city of Tournai in western Belgium. Although Austrian and British troops under *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg) fended off the French attack, the Battle of Tournai showed the ability of French units to maintain their cohesiveness in difficult circumstances. It also forced Saxe-Coburg to pull reinforcements from the southern sector of the Allied front, thereby setting the stage for the decisive French victory at Fleurus in late June.

The French and their Austrian, British, and Hanoverian opponents launched offensives starting in April 1794. After two years of fighting, each side hoped to seize the initiative in this new campaign. The French forces that took

the field reflected the growing strength of their country's military system. The amalgamation of units of volunteers and conscripts had been completed by February, and the conscription law of the previous year—the famous *levée en masse*—provided a military manpower pool of unprecedented size. Tactical training in the newly formed field armies produced units that could attack with skill and élan, as well as remain steady in adversity.

By late May the French had gained the initiative, and in the northern sector in Belgium, they compelled Saxe-Coburg and his army to retreat to the fortified city of Tournai. French attacks there lasted from early morning until the evening of 22 May. Saxe-Coburg defeated Pichegru's efforts to take Tournai, and the French lost 6,000 men in the battle compared to only 4,000 Allied casualties. Nonetheless, the French fought well. General Jacques Macdonald, a future Marshal of the Empire, directed his brigade's complex movements on the battlefield with particular skill.

Tournai proved only a temporary French setback. In the aftermath of the battle, Pichegru besieged and eventually took the city of Ypres. Moreover, Saxe-Coburg felt compelled to draw reinforcements northward from Allied units on the Sambre. In the face of weakened enemy forces in the south, General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan was able to attack and take the key Allied stronghold of Charleroi. Saxe-Coburg attempted to counter this French offensive, and as a result, he was defeated by Jourdan at the decisive Battle of Fleurus. The French now occupied all of Belgium.

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*See also* Flanders, Campaigns in; Fleurus, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Levée en Masse; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Tourcoing, Battle of

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### Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803)

Toussaint Louverture (born François-Dominique Toussaint, and generally referred to as Toussaint) was the leader of a thirteen-year struggle for the abolition of slavery in St.

Domingue (present-day Haiti). He strongly opposed Napoleon's ambitions to reinstate slavery. Toussaint's defiant stance was instrumental in Haiti gaining independence from France.

Pierre Dominique Toussaint Breda was born a slave around 1743 on L'Habitation Breda, a plantation near Cap-Haïtien. He served as a house servant and coachman. Toussaint's grandfather had been an African king from present-day Benin who had been enslaved and transported to St. Domingue. Toussaint had four living siblings. As a gifted youngster, Toussaint acquired a self-taught education, nurtured by his liberal and humane owner, the comte de Noé. Toussaint became literate and read all of the books in de Noé's library. He taught himself Latin and French. Toussaint's interest in healing herbs and his people's history was supplemented by his awareness of Enlightenment thought, which framed his liberal ideals. The comte de Noé freed him in 1777; in the same year, he married single mother Suzanne Simone Baptiste, with whom he had two sons.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, St. Domingue was the most lucrative of the French colonies. The prosperous island produced nearly 70 percent of France's overseas trade. The class structure had three tiers: whites, who were the masters and owners; 28,000 former black slaves and mulattoes; and 500,000 black slaves; this structure was regulated by the Code Noir, the slave labor code. The slaves sustained the sugar, cotton, and coffee plantations. Their horrendous living and working conditions and the appallingly inhumane treatment they received resulted in countless deaths, requiring constant replenishment of their numbers by new slaves from Africa.

St. Domingue endured considerable political upheaval under successive Spanish, British, and then French colonial governments, all of which represented slave-trading nations. Trouble began when French troops sympathetic to the Revolution encouraged the St. Domingue troops to mutiny in 1790. The St. Domingue Colonial Assembly of white plantation owners declared their loyalty solely to the king of France, rather than the Revolutionaries who controlled the French government. In February 1791, an unsuccessful mulatto uprising resulted in the public torture and execution of organizer Vincent Ogé. In May 1791 the French National Assembly decreed that colored people of free parents would have equality. However, the National Assembly reversed the May decree, rescinding it on 24 September 1791.

Slaves, angered that their petition for an extra day to work their own parcels of land was refused, began a revolt at the Turpin plantation. They burned entire plantations, massacred masters and owners, and attacked various towns. This uprising was exacerbated by a civil war between the mulattoes and whites on one side and the Revolu-

tionaries and rebel slave groups on the other. Toussaint felt betrayed by the French and joined the latter group as a medical aide in September 1791. The newly arrived civil commissioners from France were given responsibility for the mulattoes and free blacks; however, they refused to negotiate with the leaders of the uprisings. On 4 April 1792, the French Legislative Assembly reversed their September decision when King Louis XVI signed a decree of universal equality for property-owning free men.

The second group of civil commissioners, which included lawyer Léger Félicité Sonthonax, arrived on 18 September 1792 to enforce the April decree. Sonthonax was caught in the maelstrom of events. To gain a fighting force, he freed 15,000 blacks. Louis XVI was executed on 21 January 1793. France became a republic, and the French declared war on Britain on 1 February. After France declared war on Spain in March, Toussaint took service in the Spanish army in neighboring Santo Domingo, which occupied the eastern side of the island of Hispaniola, with a colonel's commission. After an unsuccessful revolt was waged against the commissioners in June, Sonthonax emancipated all the slaves on 21 August.

From the outset of the war with France, Britain, with its dominant naval presence in the Atlantic and Caribbean, began to pursue its traditional strategy of seizing French colonial possessions in the West Indies. A British expeditionary force led by Brigadier General Thomas Maitland arrived to aid the Spanish, and it occupied the coastal areas. By this time, owing to his formidable leadership and organizational skills, Toussaint had risen through the ranks in the Spanish army. Adept at finding weaknesses in his opponents' strategies, he earned the sobriquet of "L'Ouverture" (now generally spelled "Louverture"), meaning "the opening." His strategic network of shelters and weapons caches proved eminently valuable to the troops, whose privations, trials, and tribulations he shared in the early stages of the conflict. By such conduct, Toussaint earned his troops' implicit trust.

On 4 February 1794, the French National Convention abolished slavery in the French colonies. This action caused Toussaint to defect from the Spanish side on 6 May. The Spanish ceded Santo Domingo (the present-day Dominican Republic) to the French under the Treaty of Basle on 22 July 1795, although in practice they retained possession. Toussaint, by now a French general, was proclaimed lieutenant governor of St. Domingue on 1 April 1796. The French general Etienne-Maynard Laveaux, whom Toussaint had rescued from an earlier insurrection, appointed Toussaint as commander in chief of the French forces in May 1797.

By October, the exceptionally disciplined and often harsh Toussaint was in complete charge. He expelled all the

French officials, renounced French authority, and governed on his own. St. Domingue prospered under his rule; he brought peace and restored stability. He reinstated the Roman Catholic Church, wrote a new, if hastily contrived, constitution, and changed to the Gregorian calendar. Although Toussaint's main focus was the well-being of his countrymen, discontent prevailed. He forced the amicable Maitland to withdraw completely in September 1793, but the two countries maintained trade relations.

The tightly disciplined Toussaint practiced a strict, confining military dictatorship, which created enemies. On 16 June 1799 Toussaint defeated mulatto general André Rigaud in the exceptionally cruel "War of the Knives." In January 1801 Toussaint successfully conquered the Spanish side of the island. As well as requiring forced labor to repair the damage to the island, devastated by continuous warfare, he also made notable public improvements. On 8 July a new constitution was promulgated; it declared nominal independence and approved Toussaint's role as governor for life. The constitution was published, and copies appeared throughout the Western world.

Bonaparte, who had overthrown the Directory in Paris in November 1799 to become First Consul and, in 1804, Emperor, continued the West Indian policy of his predecessors. He personally disliked Toussaint, whom he called "this gilded African." Bonaparte's ultimate long-term goal was to return St. Domingue to its pre-1791 state of production, using slave labor, on the premise that only free men had the right to equality as promised by the Revolution. He believed that the French should hold dominion over large areas of the New World. Bonaparte fully realized that the events in St. Domingue could serve as a rallying cry for other countries subjugated by France.

To that end, in January 1802, Bonaparte sent his brother-in-law, General Charles-Victor Leclerc, who was married to Pauline Bonaparte, to St. Domingue with a sizable fleet and 25,000 men to subjugate and defeat Toussaint. During the conflict, the French were initially defeated by Toussaint's guerrilla tactics and scorched-earth strategy, and later by dysentery, yellow fever, and a shortage of food. Yet the French replenished their losses, even though they eventually lost approximately 50,000 men to war and disease. Toussaint capitulated on 1 May 1802 and retired to his plantation. However, Leclerc then had the elderly Toussaint seized and shipped in chains to France, where he was imprisoned in the French Alps near Besançon. He died there of neglect on 27 April 1803.

Despite the death of Toussaint Louverture, the struggle for independence continued, and Haiti, the "Land of Mountains," the basis of French trade in the West Indies, was established as an independent state on 1 January 1804.

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*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Bonaparte, Pauline; Convention, The; Directory, The; Haiti; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Louis XVI, King; Santo Domingo; Slave Trade; Slavery; West Indies, Operations in the

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## Trachenberg Plan

*See* Armistice of 1813

## Trafalgar, Battle of (21 October 1805)

Decisive British naval victory over a combined Franco-Spanish fleet, which in the short term ended all prospect of a Napoleonic invasion of England and in the long term established Britain as undisputed mistress of the seas for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The campaign in which the Battle of Trafalgar was fought constituted only a short period in the naval conflict between Britain and France that had begun in 1793 and ended in 1815. It was, however, the most decisive, demonstrating not only Britain's naval power, but the country's significance as a major participant in a war



The Battle of Trafalgar. Nelson's overwhelming triumph over the combined Franco-Spanish fleet ensured Britain's protection from invasion for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars. (Print after W. L. Wyllie, 1905)

waged on an unprecedented scale that was not to be surpassed until the First World War. Within that campaign, Trafalgar itself stands as one of history's greatest naval encounters and the last significant battle fought between wooden navies. In the course of a few hours, Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson, with a fleet of twenty-seven ships, eliminated forever the threat of French invasion, and made Britain secure at sea for the next hundred years. It was a victory marred only by his death, although the fact that Nelson's demise coincided with his crowning achievement made possible his legendary status, which persists to this day.

Napoleon realized by the summer of 1804 that, while his traditional emphasis on land operations had resulted in great territorial acquisitions for France in the campaigns of the 1790s, at sea Britain remained dominant. With French squadrons sitting idle, blockaded in every port, Britain stood between Napoleon and French hegemony over the Continent. Blessed with lucrative colonial goods and secure sea-lanes, Britain could continue to finance any nation opposing Napoleonic rule with massive subsidies. These subsidies were made possible by a combination of

levies on imported goods, domestic taxation, and loans secured by Parliament. British control of the sea, moreover, left France unable to pursue any colonial ambitions, thus further reducing France's ability to increase its revenue through maritime trade. Finally, and most importantly, the protection afforded by the Royal Navy prevented the possibility of a direct invasion of England by French forces sent across the Channel.

In July 1804, therefore, Napoleon developed a grand strategy that, though it underwent half a dozen variations before the spring of 1805, never changed in its basic objectives: that of breaking the blockades of its ports, combining as many French and Spanish ships of the line as possible, and sailing them in overwhelming force to the English Channel. There they would escort an invasion flotilla—the most formidable one assembled opposite the English coast since 1066—that by the beginning of 1805 was intended to carry six army corps, totaling 160,000 men borne in over 2,000 craft. Success depended on control of the Channel—even if only for a few days—in order for the flotilla, otherwise defenseless against warships, to make the short crossing to the coast of Kent.

In April 1805, with plans to coordinate the union of various French squadrons from Brest, Rochefort, and elsewhere, French admiral Pierre de Villeneuve eluded the British blockade off the Mediterranean port of Toulon and met up with a Spanish fleet under Admiral Don Federico Gravina at Cádiz. Thus reinforced, Villeneuve, now in command of what was known as the Combined Fleet, sailed for the West Indies in an attempt both to rendezvous with other naval forces and to divert the attention of British ships keeping watch in the Channel. Villeneuve was not initially aware that Nelson, commander in chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, had followed him to the West Indies, albeit some weeks behind. The British admiral, while he made up the lost time, narrowly missed Villeneuve who, immediately upon learning of Nelson's proximity, promptly returned to European waters, which he reached in July, in hopes of clearing the Channel. When this plan failed, partly owing to an unexpected though indecisive encounter with a British squadron off the northwest coast of Spain, Villeneuve took refuge, first in Ferrol, and then in Cádiz, far to the south, where he was blockaded by Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood.

By August, however, Villeneuve's fate fell rapidly down the list of Napoleon's strategic priorities, with a fundamental change in French grand strategy instituted by the Emperor. With war looming with Austria and Russia, Napoleon broke up his invasion camp at Boulogne and began marching his army to the Danube. The invasion of England was consequently postponed, and the Combined Fleet was ultimately ordered to leave port and assist in diversionary operations in the Mediterranean. Villeneuve did not in fact venture out of Cádiz again until 20 October, heading south for the Strait of Gibraltar. Yet on learning that some British ships were watering at Gibraltar and aware of Nelson's presence, Villeneuve decided to reverse course and return north to Cádiz. His pursuer, however, intercepted him and forced an engagement off Cape Trafalgar.

The Battle of Trafalgar was an exceedingly complex affair, with sixty ships of the line engaged, several bearing the same names on both sides, but the basic outlines of the action may be broadly sketched here. On sighting his opponents early on the morning of 21 October, Nelson, in his flagship the *Victory* (100 guns), gave the signal to prepare for battle. His opponent's fleet consisted of thirty-three ships of the line, carrying 30,000 officers and men and 2,632 guns, plus five frigates and two smaller vessels. The British fleet, though numerically inferior—twenty-seven ships of the line, carrying 17,000 officers and men and 2,148 guns, plus four frigates and two auxiliary vessels—was decidedly superior in terms of training and morale.

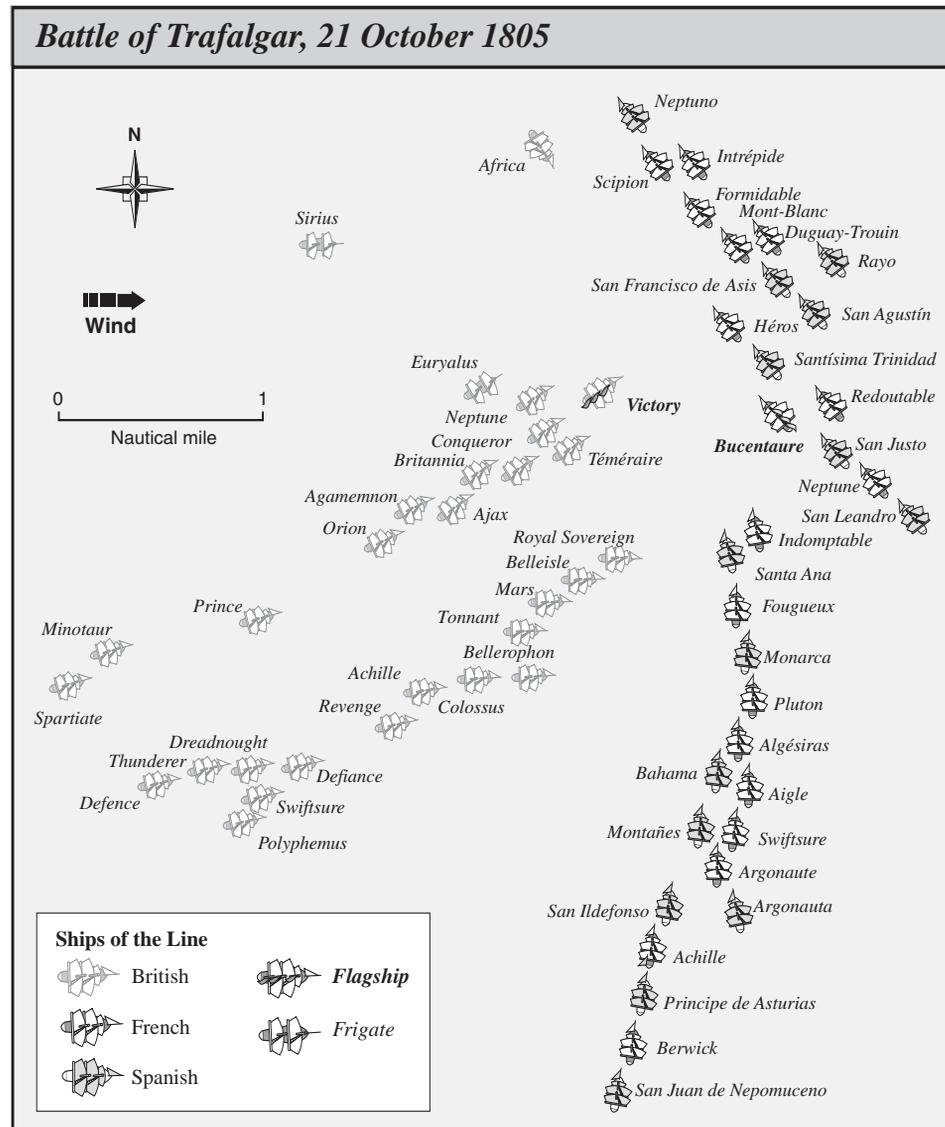
By 11:40 A.M. Nelson, leading the weather column, and his second in command, Collingwood, in the *Royal*

*Sovereign* (100), leading the lee column, both on parallel courses, were proceeding at right angles straight for the Franco-Spanish line. Nelson's plan was to pierce Villeneuve's line about a third of the way down from the van, or leading squadron, engaging the center squadron, while Collingwood's column would pierce the enemy's line farther south, confronting vessels belonging to the center and rear. By this bold maneuver, the Franco-Spanish van, thus separated from the main body, would require considerable time to change course and come to the aid of its outnumbered consorts, while the rearmost vessels in Villeneuve's line would also take time to reach the action. Nelson calculated that in so isolating the Franco-Spanish center, he could overwhelm it with superior numbers. The battle would then develop into a series of small actions between individual ships or groups of ships, actions in which the British could rely on their superior gunnery, seamanship, and morale to prevail over their divided and despondent adversaries.

Just before noon, Nelson hoisted the famous signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty," and shortly thereafter the *Royal Sovereign*, slightly ahead of the *Victory*, reached the enemy line near the Spanish flagship, Vice Admiral Don Ignacio de Alava's 112-gun *Santa Ana*. Firing at the *Fougueux* (74) as he approached, Collingwood came alongside the *Santa Ana* and delivered several broadsides. The two ships then spent the next two hours engaging one another at close range, in the course of which the Spaniard was badly mauled.

The *Royal Sovereign* was not alone in confronting the Spanish flagship. The *Belleisle* (74) fired a broadside into her port side and others into the starboard of the *Fougueux* before proceeding to take on the *Indomptable* (80), which Collingwood managed to rake. In the meantime, the *Fougueux* had returned fire on the *Belleisle*, and the two began a vicious exchange. The third ship in Collingwood's column, the *Mars* (74), under Captain George Duff, also took on the *Fougueux*, which raked her. Shortly after 1:00 P.M. Duff was killed, but the vessels in Collingwood's column continued to engage the enemy line with considerable vigor, bringing on the individual ship-to-ship actions that Nelson had wanted.

Meanwhile, in Nelson's column, the *Victory* began to receive fire at about noon from the French 74-gun *Héros*. The British flagship, unable due to light winds to reach the enemy line for another half an hour, was left unable to reply. In the course of her slow progress, the *Victory* lost the use of her wheel—smashed by a round shot—while her sails began to tatter. Thereafter the *Victory* was steered from the gunroom below deck. On reaching the Franco-Spanish line, the *Victory* passed across the stern of the *Bucentaure* (80), Villeneuve's flagship, firing her broadside at



point-blank range through the *Bucentaure's* stern windows, causing massive damage to her interior and inflicting horrendous casualties. Soon thereafter, the French *Neptune* (80) began to fire on the *Victory*, which then collided with the *Redoutable* (74), the rigging of both vessels becoming entangled.

A short time later, about 1:15 P.M., a marksman positioned in the mizzen top of the *Redoutable* fired at and hit Nelson in the left shoulder, the musket ball puncturing his lung before lodging in his spine. The admiral was carried below to the orlop deck and attended by Dr. William Beatty, the *Victory's* surgeon, who soon discovered that the wound was mortal. Command devolved first on Captain Thomas Hardy and then on Collingwood.

The *Redoutable's* captain, Jean-Jacques Lucas, had made use of his time in port to train his crew in boarding

tactics, small-arms drill, and the use of grenades. Thus, no sooner had the *Victory* run on board his ship than Lucas ordered his men to use grappling irons to lock the vessels together. Broadside exchanges were made from just a few feet away, with predictably devastating effect, and from the fighting tops of the French 74, sailors and marines fired down on to the decks of the *Victory*, picking off, in addition to Nelson, many of her gunners, officers, and marines. Having left the *Victory's* upper deck practically deserted, Lucas then attempted to board, only to discover that the curve of the vessels' hulls left them too far apart at the bulwarks to make the enterprise viable. The powerful HMS *Téméraire* (98) under Captain Eliab Harvey then approached the port side of the *Redoutable* and began a heated exchange. When a third British vessel came within easy range of the *Redoutable*, the French vessel's mainmast

collapsed and fell across the deck of the *Téméraire*, knocking down that ship's topmasts. Despite terrific punishment and heavy losses, Lucas refused to surrender, until at last his stricken vessel, having engaged at least three British ships, began to founder. While Nelson lay mortally wounded below decks aboard the *Victory*, the battle raged on as before, with no signals issued—for fear of adversely affecting the morale of the British crews—to indicate that the fallen admiral could no longer exercise command.

To return to Collingwood's column, around 2:00 P.M. the frigate *Euryalus* tied a line to that admiral's battered *Royal Sovereign* and took her in tow. The struggle between the *Belleisle* and *Fougueux* had meanwhile abated, enabling Captain William Hargood of the former to take on the French *Neptune* (80) under Commodore Esprit-Tranquille Maistrail. The two ships exchanged broadsides for nearly an hour before the *Neptune* was obliged to move off when the *Polyphemus* (64) arrived to give relief to the beleaguered *Belleisle*. Against all the odds, she had survived successive broadsides from the *Pluton*, *Aigle*, *San Justo*, all 74s, and the *San Leandro*, with 64 guns, as well as from the *Fougueux* and *Neptune*. Undaunted, Hargood now took on the Spanish *Argonauta* (80), as well, though Commodore Don Antonio Pareja's ship had in earlier fighting already sustained severe damage of her own—so much so that she soon surrendered to the still defiant but now mastless, motionless, and scarcely floating *Belleisle*. The long ordeal suffered by Hargood's crew finally came to an end when HMS *Swiftsure* (74) appeared on the scene and engaged the French *Achille* (74), so diverting that vessel's attention. Thus the *Belleisle* was saved, to be taken in tow by the frigate *Naiad*.

The *Tonnant* (80), the fourth ship in the lee column to reach Villeneuve's line, engaged the Spanish *Monarca* (74) before taking on the French *Algésiras*, also of 74 guns, against which the *Tonnant* issued such a devastating broadside that she did not reply for several minutes, and then only feebly. Nevertheless, French marksmen in the fighting tops killed many of the gunners on *Tonnant's* upper deck, as well as her captain, Charles Tyler, as a prelude to boarding. In the event, the French were repulsed by grapeshot from *Tonnant's* starboard guns. Paradoxically, the situation soon became reversed; when the *Algésiras* lost all three of her lower masts, shot through below the deck, the crew of the *Tonnant* leapt over the gunwales and carried her, finding Admiral Charles Magon dead at the foot of the poop ladder.

The *Monarca*, which had lowered her colors as a sign of surrender, but found no British ship in a position to take possession of her, thereupon rehoisted her colors and prepared to fight on. The British reply was immediate: *Bellerophon* (74), fresh from action with the *Aigle*, which

had made two attempts to board her, not only reopened the contest with the *Monarca*, but issued such a destructive fire that the *Aigle*, unable to reply in kind, cleared off, her starboard side dreadfully battered. The *Bellerophon* then proceeded to engage the Spanish *Montanez* and *Bahama* and the French *Swiftsure*, all 74s.

The *Colossus* and British *Achille*, also 74s, approached from astern of the *Bellerophon*, the *Achille* exchanging fire with two vessels before taking on the French *Berwick*, which struck to her after fierce resistance. The *Swiftsure* and *Bahama* later surrendered to the *Colossus*. Meanwhile, the *Revenge* (74) passed the *Dreadnought* (98) and *Polyphemus* and fired on the Spanish *San Ildefonso* (74). *Polyphemus* also dismasted the *Achille* and went on to engage the Spanish flagship under Gravina, the 112-gun *Principe de Asturias*. Gravina's men prepared to board the *Polyphemus*, but small-arms fire issued by Captain Robert Redmill's marines, together with close-range blasts from carronades, kept them at bay. Soon after, the *Principe de Asturias* bore away, her decks strewn with dead.

The *Defiance* (74) then engaged the *Aigle*, boarding her for a short period before the men were recalled and the cannonade resumed. Within half an hour, however, the French vessel, suffering from severe casualties and accepting the inevitable, raised her colors in token of surrender and received a prize crew. Astern of the *Defiance* came the *Dreadnought*, which came alongside the Spanish *San Juan de Nepomuceno* (74), which surrendered after a few minutes' fighting. The *Dreadnought* then sought out Gravina's ship, which was heading for the safety of Cádiz. As for the remaining ships in Collingwood's column, these suffered far fewer casualties and received considerably less damage than the leading vessels.

The same was true in the case of Nelson's column. The initial actions of the *Victory* and *Téméraire* have been considered. The third ship to go into action was the *Neptune* (98), not to be confused with the French vessel of the same name. The *Neptune* passed between the *Victory* and *Bucentaure*, firing as she went, and approached the massive four-decker, the *Santísima Trinidad* (130), whose stern she raked. At 1:50 P.M. the Spanish behemoth's main and mizzen masts crashed overboard, followed fifteen minutes later by her foremast, upon which she surrendered to the *Neptune*. Meanwhile, the *Leviathan* (74) was busily engaged with the *San Augustín* (74), which she boarded and captured. The *Conqueror* (74), coming into action, took on Villeneuve's already crippled *Bucentaure* and the *Santísima Trinidad*, while the *Intrépide* (74) surrendered to the *Orion* (74).

At the same time, Rear Admiral Pierre Dumanoir Le Pelley, commanding the Franco-Spanish van from aboard the *Formidable* (80), had spent the action adhering strictly

to the letter of his instructions from Villeneuve to proceed north. Whether he had deliberately ignored Villeneuve's subsequent frantic signals to come about, or had failed to notice the commander in chief's signals through the smoke of battle, Dumanoir had continued on his course while the battle raged to the south. The only British vessel that saw action far to the north was the 64-gun *Africa*, which entered the fray around noon, fighting the Spanish 80-gun *Neptuno* before proceeding to assist her consort, the *Neptune*, then exchanging fire with the *Santísima Trinidad*. By 3:00 P.M. Dumanoir Le Pelley finally obeyed Villeneuve's repeated signals for the van to come about and assist the center and rear, but by then the opportunity to restore Franco-Spanish fortunes had passed. The best that Villeneuve's ships could hope for was that individual vessels could somehow disengage themselves from the disaster and make their way to Cádiz. If some of his ships still stood a chance to save themselves, for Villeneuve, personally, it was too late: The *Bucentaure*, a floating wreck, struck her colors and surrendered with the French commander in chief on board.

Nelson, meanwhile, aware that death was imminent, asked that financial provision be made by the nation for Lady Hamilton, his wife in all but name and mother of their daughter, Horatia. Soon thereafter, learning that victory was assured, Nelson died around 4:00 P.M.

In less than five hours of savage fighting, the Combined Fleet had been comprehensively defeated, with eighteen out of thirty-three ships of the line either captured or destroyed, and no British vessels lost. Spanish losses amounted to approximately 1,000 killed or drowned and slightly more wounded. French losses are estimated at approximately 3,300 killed or drowned and over 1,000 wounded. Twenty-six of the flag officers and captains of the Combined Fleet were killed or wounded, and approximately 7,000 French and Spanish became prisoners, representing a loss of almost 25 percent of their total. British losses were remarkably small: 449 officers and men killed and 1,214 wounded, or approximately 10 percent of the total force. The greatest loss for the British, of course, was that of their revered admiral, who had saved the nation through brilliant leadership and bold fighting tactics.

The battle had important consequences in the short, and the long, term. Within three months of Trafalgar, British troops were ensconced on Sicily, securing that island as a permanent British station until Napoleon's fall. With Malta also in British hands, and with the Mediterranean under the control of the Royal Navy, French expansion into the eastern Mediterranean was considerably less likely than ever before. The French fleet was unable to pose any significant threat for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars. Having defeated France decisively, Britain was enabled to assume the offensive in the struggle against Napo-

leon, making it possible only three years after Trafalgar to land troops and supplies in the Iberian Peninsula, so opening a new front against the French Empire. The Peninsular campaigns, led by the Marquis of Wellington (his most senior of many titles in Iberia), placed heavy demands on the French Army between 1808 and 1814, whereas British command of the sea enabled Wellington to receive reinforcements and supplies completely unmolested. In short, Trafalgar confined Napoleonic rule to the European continent, at the same time enabling Britain to oppose France in what became by 1812 a major theater of conflict on land.

In the longer term, Trafalgar stands as the most decisive naval battle of modern times. It marked both the beginning and the end of an era: the beginning of over a century of British naval mastery, and the end of fleet actions fought under sail, as well as to two centuries of maritime rivalry between Britain, France, and Spain. Nelson's objective—to destroy the Franco-Spanish fleet in order to eliminate the threat of invasion to the British Isles—had been achieved, and with overwhelming success. For a hundred years after the Napoleonic Wars, Britain's control of the seas went undisputed. The battle came at a time when the Industrial Revolution was gaining momentum; with Britain undisputed mistress of the seas, the nation was assured of raw materials for export and home consumption, and of food for a population too large to be fed by domestic production alone. The routes to markets overseas remained uncontested, and the foundation was laid for imperial expansion on a scale not seen since the height of the Roman Empire. In short, the naval supremacy that Britain won at Trafalgar laid the basis for the country's position as a world power in the Victorian era and beyond.

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*See also* Artillery (Naval); Blockade; Collingwood, Cuthbert, Viscount; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; French Navy; Frigates; Naval Warfare; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Peninsular War; Royal Navy; Ships of the Line; Spanish Navy; Third Coalition, War of the; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Trebbia, Battle of the (17–19 June 1799)

A three-day major engagement in northern Italy between the Austro-Russian and French armies during the War of the Second Coalition. In the spring of 1799, the Allied army under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov launched a successful offensive, driving the French armies out of Lombardy and Piedmont. In response, the French prepared for a counterattack involving General Jacques Macdonald from southern Italy and General Jean Moreau from Genoa.

Hearing about Macdonald's advance, Suvorov decided to destroy the French forces separately. Leaving *Feldmarschalleutnant* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde to keep an eye on Moreau, Suvorov marched with some 24,000 men, moving with the remarkable speed of over thirty miles in twenty-four hours. As he approached the river Tidone on 17 June, Suvorov received urgent news from Austrian *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Ott Freiherr von Bartokez, who was attacked by superior French forces. The Allied army arrived on the battlefield at a crucial moment, when the French forces were spread out and vulnerable to a flank attack. The fighting was particularly savage on the right flank, where Cossacks attacked the Polish Legion, yelling "Praga, Praga," in reference to the brutal Russian assault on Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, in 1794. By late afternoon the French held their ground on the right flank, but the Russians threatened their left flank and forced them to withdraw across the river. Both armies took up positions between the rivers Tidone and Trebbia. The French received reinforcements under generals Jean-Baptiste Olivier and Joseph de Montrichard, bringing the French strength to 33,500 men.

The Allies attacked early on the morning of 18 June, and by late afternoon they had cleared the left bank of the Trebbia, while the French occupied their positions on the right. During the night of 19 June, Suvorov received reinforcements, bringing his forces to almost 35,000 men.

On the French side, Macdonald decided to thwart Allied plans by attacking first. After a brief cannonade, the French advanced at around 10:00 A.M. on 19 June. The Poles made a flanking maneuver against the Allied right flank and created a gap of some 1,500 yards in the Russian line, which the French immediately exploited. Suvorov personally led the reinforcements that drove the French back across the Trebbia. Meantime, Montrichard and Olivier attacked General Ivan Förster's division in the center of the

Allied position. The French moved without coordination and exposed themselves to an attack by *General der Kavallerie* Johannes Fürst zu Liechtenstein's cavalry, which charged the left flank of Montrichard's division. Liechtenstein then continued his advance and engaged generals Olivier and Jean-Baptiste Salme to the north. At the same time, General François Watrin reached Calendasco and threatened to overwhelm the Allied left flank from the rear. However, with Olivier and Montrichard retreating, he was in danger of being cut off from the main forces, and he withdrew his troops across the Trebbia. By 6:00 P.M. the Allies regained the left bank of the river, and the belligerent armies stood in the same positions as the night before. Late on the evening of 19 June, the French retreated across the river Nure, ending the two-day battle on the Trebbia. The Allies' total casualties in the actions on the Tidone and Trebbia were some 5,500 men killed and wounded. French casualties were even higher, with some 2,000 killed and over 7,000 men wounded, including two *général de division* and two *général de brigade*. In addition, the Allies entered Piacenza, where they captured over 7,000 wounded.

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*See also* Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Cossacks; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Liechtenstein, Johannes Joseph Fürst zu; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexander; Moreau, Jean Victor; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich

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## Trianon Decree (5 August 1810)

Implemented in 1810 as an element of Napoleon's Continental System, the Trianon Decree imposed tariffs on imported goods including colonial and American products.

Napoleon had implemented what is known as the Continental System on 16 May 1806, with the passage of the Berlin Decrees. The basic purpose behind the System was to blockade Britain and bring the country to its knees economically. However, the Continental system tended to affect all of Europe, as well as the United States, by imposing trade restrictions on continental ports. Many countries, including the United States, believed that neutral ships should be able to carry the goods of both neutral and belligerent states to and from Europe—that is to say, to trade without restriction—a principle of free trade known by the contemporary concept of “free ships make free goods.”

The Continental System did not function as Napoleon envisioned, and as a result, the French emperor attempted to tighten the economic noose around Europe, issuing, on 5 August 1810, the Trianon Decree. This proclamation imposed stiff import tariffs on twenty-one (or twenty-four, depending upon how one categorizes the products) colonial items, including cinnamon, cloves, cochineal, cocoa, coffee, cotton, dyewoods, indigo, mahogany, nutmeg, pepper, sugar, and tea. The tariffs ranged greatly for each item, depending upon its origin and method of transportation to France. For example, the tariff on cotton from the Americas reached 800 percent. Cotton from the Middle East was taxed at 400 percent if carried by sea and 200 percent if transported overland. The French confiscated goods all over Europe and even sequestered American vessels, citing the Trianon Decree.

Napoleon's rationale for the Trianon Decree apparently was based on his belief that all colonial goods entering Europe were British in origin or intended for purchase in Britain, even if carried aboard the vessels of other countries. In line with mercantile theory, the high tariffs would increase the flow of currency into France, render British businesses less profitable, and encourage the growth of French industry and agriculture.

The Trianon Decree has received considerable criticism by scholars. Napoleon lacked a keen understanding of political economy, and the Trianon Decree constituted one of many related declarations issued by the French emperor in his attempt to patch and modify the failing Continental System. It was, moreover, very unpopular on the Continent. Tsar Alexander of Russia refused to comply with the stipulations of the Trianon Decree when requested to do so by Napoleon, for the tsar did not view the decree's provisions as consistent with Russian national interests. The decree also angered merchants in Frankfurt, Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna, resulting in the establishment of *zollvereins* (customs unions) and serving as an impetus to anti-French sentiment across Germany.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Berlin Decrees; Mercantilism; Milan Decrees; Continental System

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### Trinidad, Expedition to (January–February 1797)

Following Spain's declaration of war on Britain in October 1796, Henry Dundas, the British secretary of state for war and the colonies, decided to launch another offensive against Spain's possessions in the West Indies, particularly Trinidad and Puerto Rico. In January 1797, 3,750 troops stationed on Barbados were loaded aboard three ships of the line, two frigates, and smaller craft. This expedition was under the joint command of Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby and Rear Admiral Henry Harvey. On 16 February, as the British made their way around Trinidad, they spotted a Spanish squadron anchored in Chaguaramas Bay, 8 miles west of Puerto de España. With only four undermanned ships of the line and a frigate, Rear Admiral Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca decided to burn his ships to deny them to the British. All of the vessels were successfully burned except the *San Domaso* (74 guns), which the British quickly captured. Apodaca and approximately 2,400 men made their way overland back to Puerto de España. Meanwhile, the Spanish governor, José Maria Chacon, had a garrison of only about 600 men to protect Puerto de España. While Royal Navy ships bombarded Puerto de España, the British troops landed at three different points along the shore, a little over a mile from the city.

Still awaiting the arrival of Apodaca and his men, Chacon could not oppose the landing with his small force. Only in the evening, once Apodaca had arrived, did Chacon attempt to impede the British advance. After a brief skirmish, the Spanish were forced back into the city. Even though many British troops took to plunder and got drunk, the British were able to take control of Puerto de España. Abercromby offered Chacon the possibility of capitulation. While negotiations were underway, Abercromby restored order among his troops. On the morning of 18 February, both sides agreed to a capitulation in which

the British obtained possession of the island, while the Spanish forces were to be transported back to Spain, pledging not to serve until properly exchanged. The British took the island, as well as a ship of the line, and caused the destruction of three ships of the line and a frigate for the paltry cost of seven men. Abercromby decided to retain possession of Trinidad and left a garrison of 1,000 men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Picton. This decision, in turn, delayed until April the British attack on Puerto Rico, which ultimately proved unsuccessful. Trinidad remained a British colony following the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

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*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Picton, Sir Thomas; Vienna, Congress of; West Indies, Operations in the

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### Tripolitan War (1801–1805)

No sooner had the United States achieved its independence, in 1783, than American merchant vessels lost the protection they had formerly enjoyed while sailing under the British flag. This new circumstance had particular significance in the Mediterranean, where the territories along the North African coast, known as the Barbary States, preyed upon the merchant shipping of vulnerable nations, especially those of southern Europe, confiscating vessels and enslaving their crews. The Barbary States consisted of, from west to east, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli (now Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, respectively), all but Morocco being *de jure* dependencies of the Ottoman Empire, but in reality effectively autonomous by the end of the eighteenth century.

The United States, possessing no navy to speak of until at least 1797 and thus utterly unable to defend its merchantmen in the Mediterranean, pursued the expedient—if not craven—policy long since adopted by several other minor powers: the payment of tribute to various Barbary States in exchange for immunity from seizure for its commercial vessels, as well as ransom for the release of sailors already in Barbary hands. In April 1800, however, Tripoli threatened war within six months if the United

States refused to pay it tribute on the same exorbitant terms as Algiers, to whom America had become a tributary in 1796. With the addition of several powerful frigates to its standing force, and with its young navy encouraged by its recent success against France in the undeclared Quasi-War (1798–1800), the new administration under Thomas Jefferson refused to comply with Tripoli's extortionate demands, and on 26 February 1801 the pasha opened hostilities.

Commodore Richard Dale, leading a squadron of three frigates and a schooner, was duly dispatched to the Mediterranean on 24 July with orders to blockade Tripoli. The first encounter with the enemy took place on 1 August when the 12-gun schooner *Enterprise* captured the 14-gun cruiser *Tripoli*. Yet thereafter Dale unaccountably dithered at Gibraltar and other friendly ports, and was replaced in April 1802 with Commodore Richard Morris. He, too, was eventually recalled as ineffective, to be replaced by the dynamic Commodore Edward Preble, who arrived off Tripoli in September 1803. By this time the American squadron had grown to two frigates, two brigs, and three schooners.

Although he sought to infuse a new offensive spirit into the American effort, Preble's operations got off to an inauspicious start when, on 31 October, the 36-gun frigate *Philadelphia* accidentally ran aground on rocks in the uncharted waters of Tripoli harbor while pursuing an enemy craft. With the frigate listing severely to one side, she was unable to train her guns on the enemy gunboats racing to overwhelm her, and Captain William Bainbridge was forced to surrender his ship and crew of 307 men. Preble, though furious at the loss of so important an element of his small force, remained undaunted, and though he concluded that recapturing the *Philadelphia* was impossible, nevertheless devised a strategy intended to deny her use to the enemy. In a daring raid conducted on the night of 16 February 1804, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur and 75 volunteers entered the harbor aboard the ketch *Intrepid*, overcame the Tripolitan sentries aboard the *Philadelphia*, and set the prize alight. Decatur's exploit, performed without the loss of a single man, instantly raised the prestige of the nascent U.S. Navy and heartened Preble's squadron.

Thus emboldened, Preble launched a series of seaborne attacks against Tripoli on 3, 7, and 25 August, and again on 3 September, employing the 44-gun heavy frigate *Constitution* and a host of smaller vessels. In a celebrated gunboat action on 3 August, Decatur, since promoted a captain—at twenty-five, the youngest ever in the U.S. Navy—captured two Tripolitan craft, contributing further to the hero status that he had attained earlier that year. Nevertheless, the war could not be won by boarding actions alone, and as Preble's bombardment of the harbor defenses failed to inflict significant damage, he had to de-

vised an alternative strategy. This came in the form of yet another raid, conducted by Master Commandant Richard Somers and 12 others aboard the *Intrepid*, which had been converted into an explosion vessel. On the night of 4 September 1804 she sailed into Tripoli harbor with the object of damaging the walls of the pasha's castle. In the event, the *Intrepid* exploded prematurely, her crew dying in the impressive, yet totally ineffective, inferno. With this setback and Preble's replacement by Commodore Samuel Barron, the active naval phase of the war came to an end, though the blockade of Tripoli continued.

Notwithstanding the strangulating effect that the blockade was having on Tripoli's waterborne supply of food—all the Barbary States being heavily dependent on imports of grain and other products—the four-year conflict in fact came to an end as a result of a plot to overthrow the pasha, Yusuf Karamanli. In an unprecedented diplomatic move, Jefferson agreed to support a plan, formulated by Yusuf's exiled brother, Hamet, involving American financial backing and naval support for a mercenary army to be raised by Hamet in Egypt. This force was to capture the Tripolitan port city of Derna, 500 miles to the west, before moving on to Tripoli, a further 400 miles west. Once Yusuf was overthrown, Hamet was to assume power and reestablish peace between his country and the United States. Despite initial reservations concerning the morality of backing such a scheme—which amounted to the subversion of a foreign government—the president approved it, placing in command William Eaton, a former U.S. Army officer and consul to Tunis.

Eaton, with a small party of U.S. Marines and navy midshipmen, joined forces near Alexandria with the several hundred Arab mercenaries Hamet managed to raise in Egypt. With this unlikely polyglot force, Eaton began his march on 8 March 1805, proceeding across the burning wastes of the Libyan Desert, staving off heat exhaustion, Bedouin attacks, and even a mutiny by Hamet's forces, before storming and capturing Derna on 28 April. The garrison successfully resisted Tripolitan counterattacks on 8 May and 10 June, respectively, and before Eaton's expedition could proceed further news arrived that the war had ended as a result of a treaty concluded on 4 June.

While the Tripolitan War ranks as little more than a minor episode in the larger context of early-nineteenth-century warfare, it held considerable political and military significance for the United States. Politically, the Tripolitan War set two important precedents concerning the powers of the presidency. First, Congress had from the outset of hostilities authorized Jefferson to dispatch forces abroad to fight without a formal declaration of war; and second, the president established the principle that the United States could remove a foreign government from power not

merely by military means, but through subversion—in this instance by supporting domestic opposition and dissident émigrés. Many presidents have since made use of these powers, particularly the first, such as during the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Apart from these key political features, the Tripolitan War had important implications for the infant U.S. Navy, for the conflict stimulated warship construction and provided a useful training ground for navy personnel, many of whom, with a few years' experience in Mediterranean waters, would later distinguish themselves in the War of 1812 against Britain. Finally—and perhaps most significantly—the Tripolitan War marked the first instance of the United States extending its (albeit still limited) power well beyond its shores, establishing a pattern in its foreign policy that, though not fully matured until 1917, has continued to the present day.

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*See also* United States; United States Navy; War of 1812

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### Troyes, Agreement at (22 February 1814)

An agreement reached between the Allied powers during the opening phase of the 1814 campaign in France. Following a series of victories between 10 and 14 February, Napoleon marched with his army against *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg, who, although he had superior forces, retreated to Troyes and asked Napoleon for an armistice, which the latter scornfully rejected. The

Army of Bohemia soon linked up with General Gebhard von Blücher's forces at Méry on 21 February. The following day, the Allies summoned a council of war at Troyes to discuss a new strategy against Napoleon. Tsar Alexander of Russia and King Frederick William III of Prussia wanted to engage the French army, but Schwarzenberg persuaded them to agree to a further withdrawal. Napoleon expected a major battle against the Austrians near Troyes on 23 February, but, following the Allied agreement reached at that town, the Allies deprived him of this opportunity; Schwarzenberg's army quickly retreated on Vandœuvre, while Blücher had to withdraw back to the Marne.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Frederick William III, King; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu

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### Truillas, Battle of (22 September 1793)

The Battle of Truillas marked the high-water point of the Spanish invasion of southern France in 1793. The Spanish army had been forced back from their positions around the fortified city of Perpignan, and the (French) Army of the Eastern Pyrenees hoped to drive them out of France. Instead, because of French inexperience, interference from the Committee of Public Safety's representatives, and animosity between the French commanders, the French were routed and forced to resume their positions at Perpignan.

The Spanish army under General Don Antonio Ramón Ricardos threatened to cut Perpignan completely off from reinforcements by September 1793, having established a series of fortified camps around the city. On 17 September, a column advanced from the camp at Peyrestortes and took the village of Vernet. A French counterattack from Perpignan routed the Spanish column and drove them out of Peyrestortes. Five hundred prisoners and forty-three guns were captured, and Ricardos concentrated his army on a new line centered on the town of Truillas. On the nineteenth, General Luc Siméon Dagobert arrived with reinforcements to take command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees. He was pressured by representatives of the Committee of Public Safety to make a frontal assault on the Spanish position. Dagobert would have preferred to outflank Ricardos and threaten his communications, but his position was uncertain.

The plan agreed upon called for three columns to attack in echelon. Dagobert commanded the central column,

but the left- and right-hand columns were commanded by his rivals. One he criticized for being too young and impulsive, while the other had formerly been a doctor rather than a soldier. Although the French forces totaled 16,000 men, many were poorly trained, and 3,000 were armed only with pikes. Dagobert also erred by making each column nearly equal in strength, failing to concentrate enough men to force a breakthrough.

The French attacked on 22 September. At first the turning movement on the French right went well. The Spanish were driven back, but the French then stopped to bombard a small fort. Ricardos rushed his reserves to block the French. The poorly trained French broke and fled. Meanwhile, the French left column crawled slowly toward the Spanish, held up by a thin screen of skirmishers. Dagobert, an aggressive commander, threw his forces at the Spanish center around Truillas. Ricardos rushed his reserves back to the center and managed to throw back Dagobert's assault. Dagobert then made a tactical error by marching his command to the right in another attempt to turn the Spanish left. The flanking march exposed the column's left flank to the Spanish. The crafty Ricardos swiftly launched a counterattack that routed the French and drove them from the field.

Spanish casualties totaled about 1,500 men. Dagobert, however, lost close to 6,000. He accused his two lieutenants of jeopardizing success because of their rivalry. Furious, he resigned his command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* First Coalition, War of the; Perpignan, Battle of; Public Safety, Committee of; Pyrenean Campaigns (1793–1795)

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### **Tuchkov (Tuchkov I), Nikolay Alekseyevich (1765–1812)**

Russian general and corps commander. Tuchkov was enrolled in the Engineer Corps in 1773 and began active service as a sergeant in the artillery in 1778. He transferred as a sub-lieutenant to the Cannonier Regiment in 1783 and became adjutant general to *General-Feldzeugmeister* Ivan Müller-Zakomelsky in 1785. Tuchkov was promoted to captain of the Bombardier Regiment in 1787 and partici-

pated in the Russo-Swedish War in 1788–1790. He transferred as a major to the Muromsk Infantry Regiment in 1791 and served in Poland in 1792–1794, fighting at Nesvizh, Zelva, Brest-Litovsk, and Warsaw. At Maciejowice, he commanded a battalion of the Velikolutsk Musketeer Regiment and captured the local castle and an artillery piece. He was promoted to colonel and transferred to the Belozersk Infantry Regiment on 15 October 1794.

Tuchkov became a major general and *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Sevsk Musketeer Regiment on 15 October 1797. Between 11 November 1798 and 9 April 1801, this regiment was named after its chef as Tuchkov I's Musketeer Regiment. In 1799 he served in General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov's corps and distinguished himself at the second Battle of Zürich. For his actions, he was promoted to lieutenant general on 24 September 1799 and was later appointed infantry inspector in the Lifland Inspection on 2 October 1800. Tuchkov served in the Lifland Inspection for the next four years, joining Baron Levin Bennigsen's corps during the 1805 campaign. His troops reached Silesia by December 1805, but had to return to Russia after the Battle of Austerlitz. In 1806 he was given command of the 5th Division in General Fedor Buxhöwden's corps. Tuchkov remained in reserve during the battles of Pultusk and Golymin. He took part in the council of war at Novgorod and commanded the Russian right wing during the offensive in early January 1807.

Tuchkov assumed command of Buxhöwden's corps on 26 January 1807 and covered the right flank at Eylau. In April Tuchkov was given command of General Ivan Nikolayevich Essen's corps and fought on the Narew River. After the Treaty of Tilsit, Tuchkov participated in the invasion of Finland during the Russo-Swedish War and operated in the north. He occupied Kuopio in early March and advanced to Vaasa. He was unable to halt the Swedish offensive in April 1808 and was recalled to headquarters at Åbo, where he arrived in time to command troops against the Swedish landing force. Tuchkov then led the Russian troops in the Savolax region and fought at Idensalmi in October 1808. He took a prolonged furlough because of poor health in November 1808. Tuchkov was appointed military governor of Kamenets-Podolsk on 20 January 1811 and took command of the 3rd Corps in the 1st Western Army in early 1812.

During the 1812 campaign Tuchkov took part in the actions at Ostrovno, Vitebsk, and Smolensk. He and his brother, Pavel Tuchkov III, distinguished themselves in the battle at Valutina Gora (Lubino). At Borodino, Tuchkov's corps was deployed on the extreme left flank and repulsed Prince Józef Poniatowski's attacks at Utitsa. Leading a bayonet attack of the Pavlovsk Grenadier Regiment, Tuchkov was severely wounded in the chest. He was transported to

Jaroslavl, where he died on 11 November 1812 and was buried at Tolgsk Monastery.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bennigsen, Levin August, Baron; Borodino, Battle of; Buxhöwden, Fedor Fedorovich; Eylau, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Golymin, Battle of; Maciejowice, Battle of; Ostrovno, Battle of; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Pultusk, Battle of; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Switzerland, Campaign in; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Tuchkov (Tuchkov III), Pavel Alekseyevich; Vitebsk, Battle of; Zürich, Second Battle of

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### **Tuchkov (Tuchkov II), Sergey Alekseyevich (1767–1839)**

Russian general and corps commander. Tuchkov enlisted in the 2nd Fusilier Regiment in 1773 and began active service as a sergeant in 1783, rising to sub-lieutenant in 1785. In 1788–1790, during the Russo-Swedish War, Tuchkov served in a galley fleet and participated in several naval actions. In the Battle of Rochensalmi he was wounded. In 1794 he commanded a horse artillery battalion in Poland and distinguished himself at Vilna and Praga, receiving promotion to premier major. In 1796 Tuchkov participated in the campaign against Persia, fighting at Derbent. For his services, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel on 22 December 1797 and appointed commander of the Fanagoria Grenadier Regiment on 19 July 1798.

Tuchkov was promoted to major general and appointed *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Caucasus Grenadier Regiment on 22 November 1798. He remained in the Transcaucasia for the next six years, fighting the Chechens, Circassians, Turks, and Persians. He retired on 30 November 1804 but returned to service two years later, becoming chef of the Kamchatka Musketeer Regiment on 5 September 1806. In 1808 he was sent to the (Russian) Army of Moldavia and took part in operations in the Danube valley during the war against the Turks. However, he was accused of abandoning the siege of Silistra in 1810 and was under investigation for the next four years. He served as a duty officer in the headquarters of the Army of the Danube in 1811 and commanded the 2nd Reserve Corps at Mozyr in 1812. Tuchkov took part in operations on the Berezina River in November 1812 and later served at the sieges of Modlin and Magdeburg in 1813. He be-

came the military governor of Babadag in 1826, rose to lieutenant general on 26 April 1829, and became the commandant of Ismail on 8 January 1830. He founded the small town of Tuchkov near Ismail and retired in 1836.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Germany, Campaign in; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Turkish War

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### **Tuchkov (Tuchkov III), Pavel Alekseyevich (1776–1858)**

Russian general and corps commander. Tuchkov enlisted as a sergeant in the Bombardier Regiment on 29 December 1785 and served as an adjutant to his father in 1787. He became a captain of the 2nd Bombardier Regiment on 4 August 1791. He was promoted to major in early 1797 and served in von Mertens's (later Baturin's) artillery battalion. At a military parade in 1798 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and appointed to the Life Guard Artillery Battalion. He became a colonel in 1799. Tuchkov was promoted to major general and appointed *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the 1st Artillery Regiment on 20 October 1800. Three years later he became chef of the 9th Artillery Regiment on 30 June, but retired on 18 November 1803. He returned to service on 23 March 1807 and was appointed chef of the Wilmandstrand Musketeer Regiment.

Tuchkov commanded the 1st Brigade of the 17th Division in 1807 but did not participate in operations in Poland. In 1808 he participated in the Russo-Swedish War and commanded a detachment of the 17th Division. He took part in the actions at Kuskoski, Helsingfors, Tavastheus, Sveaborg, and Gangud (Hango), and defended the coastline of southern Finland. Tuchkov defended the islands of Sando and Kimiton in the summer of 1808, commanded a corps at Uleaborg in late 1808, and participated in Prince Peter Bagration's advance across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia to the Åland Islands in March 1809. In 1810 Tuchkov commanded a brigade of the 17th Division attached to the 1st Western Army and took part in the construction of the fortress of Dünaburg. In early 1812 his brigade was attached to the 2nd Corps in the 1st Western Army.

During the Russian campaign of 1812 Tuchkov fought at Orzhishki and Koltyniani and commanded the Russian

rear guard during the retreat of the 1st Western Army to Smolensk. After the Battle of Smolensk, Tuchkov was dispatched ahead of his brother General Nikolay Tuchkov's corps to defend the road junction at Lubino (Valutina Gora). He anticipated the French troops there and resolutely defended his positions against superior French forces. In the evening, he led a counterattack with the Ekaterinoslav Grenadier Regiment, but he was captured after receiving a bayonet wound to the abdomen and several saber cuts to the head. He was well treated by Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier, who kept him at his quarters and lent him 6,000 francs. Napoleon interviewed Tuchkov on 25 August and offered to deliver a peace proposal to Tsar Alexander through Tuchkov, who however declined to accept that role to do so.

In the fall of 1812 Tuchkov was transported to Metz and remained in captivity for the next two years. He received an allowance of 2,000 francs from the French government and was transferred to Brittany in January 1814. He was released in April 1814 and, after a six-month leave, returned to the army. Tuchkov served under General Nikolay Rayevsky during the Russian advance to France in 1815 and took command of the 8th Division on 16 December 1815. He retired on 21 February 1819 after twenty-five years of distinguished service. Tuchkov was appointed to the Senate in 1828 and chaired various charitable societies. He became privy counselor in 1840 and died on 5 February 1858 in St. Petersburg.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Rayevsky, Nikolay Nikolayevich, Count; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Tuchkov (Tuchkov I), Nikolay Alekseyevich

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### **Tuchkov (Tuchkov IV), Alexander Alekseyevich (1777–1812)**

Russian general and corps commander. Tuchkov was born to a prominent Russian noble family. His ancestors had immigrated from Prussia in the thirteenth century, and Tuchkov's father, Aleksey, had served as senator and lieutenant general of engineers under Tsarina Catherine II. Tuchkov was enlisted in the Bombardier Regiment in 1788, served as a *flügel*-adjutant and adjutant general to his fa-

ther in 1789–1791, and was appointed captain of the 2nd Artillery Battalion on 8 July 1794. In 1795–1797 he served in succession in Mertens's artillery battalion, the 6th Artillery Regiment, the 12th Artillery Regiment, and the 1st Artillery Battalion (promoted to major in 1797). He became a lieutenant colonel in 1798 and a colonel on 6 May 1799, and was appointed commander of the 6th Artillery Regiment on 27 November 1800.

Tuchkov retired in 1801 and traveled throughout Europe. He returned to military service in 1804 and was appointed to the Murom Musketeer Regiment. In 1806 he transferred to the Tavrida Grenadier Regiment and fought the French at Golymin. Tuchkov became *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Revel Musketeer regiment on 15 December 1806. In early 1807 he was attached to the 6th Division in Poland but did not take part in the Battle of Eylau. In June 1807 he served in Prince Peter Bagration's advance guard at Guttstadt and distinguished himself at Deppen, Heilsberg, and Friedland. In 1808, during the Russo-Swedish War, he was attached to General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly's corps and operated in the Savolax region in north Finland, fighting at Kuopio and Idensalmi. He was promoted to major general on 24 December 1808 and commanded the advance guard of Prince Pavel Shuvalov's corps operating at Tornea in March 1809.

In May 1809 Tuchkov led a daring march across the thawing ice in the Gulf of Bothnia to capture Skelleftea. In June he became a duty general to Barclay de Tolly and remained in Finland until April 1810. During the Russian campaign of 1812 he commanded the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division of the 3rd Corps of the 1st Western Army and fought at Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Lubino. At Borodino, Tuchkov commanded a brigade in his brother General Nikolay Tuchkov's corps at Utitsa, at the southern end of the battlefield. During the fighting, he personally led the counterattack of the Revel Musketeer Regiment but was killed when several cannonballs ripped him apart. His body was never found, and his remains were presumably buried in a common grave. His wife, Margarita Tuchkov, built a church on the site of Tuchkov's death in 1820.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Borodino, Battle of; Catherine II "the Great," Tsarina; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Friedland, Battle of; Heilsberg, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Swedish War; Shuvalov, Pavel Andreyevich, Prince; Smolensk, Battle of; Tuchkov (Tuchkov I), Nikolay Alexseyevich; Vitebsk, Battle of

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## Tudela, Battle of (23 November 1808)

A major French victory, the Battle of Tudela took place during the counteroffensive that Napoleon mounted in Spain following the surrender of General Pierre Dupont at Bailén on 21 July 1808. In the wake of this event, the French forces in central Spain had fallen back behind the river Ebro. Concentrated around Vitoria and Pamplona, they were there joined by thousands of reinforcements, some of Napoleon's best marshals, and the Emperor himself. Against this array, the Spaniards had no chance. Political problems had delayed the concentration of their own armies on the Ebro, while they were in any case badly outnumbered. When Napoleon attacked at the beginning of November, the French therefore quickly broke through. With several French corps heading for Madrid, the correct move for the (Spanish) Army of the Center, which had been stationed around the city of Logroño, would have been to retire on New Castile in the hope of protecting Andalucía. Instead, however, its commander, General Francisco Castaños, allowed himself to be persuaded that he should rather help protect Zaragoza (Saragossa), and he therefore retreated no further than a position stretching between the Navarrese town of Tudela and the Sierra de Moncayo. Much too long for Castaños's forces to hold by themselves, this line could only have been held with the aid of General José Palafox's Army of Reserve (in essence, the troops raised since the uprising in Aragón, together with a mixture of levies and regulars sent up from Valencia).

For a variety of reasons, however, Palafox hated Castaños and was scheming to secure his overthrow. In consequence, there was a considerable delay before any of his troops joined the Army of the Center, and they were in fact still filing into position when the French attacked under Marshal Jean Lannes on the morning of 23 November 1808. Lannes's blow fell on the Spanish right, which rested on the river Ebro around Tudela. Caught by surprise, the three Spanish divisions in this sector fought bravely, but a large force of French cavalry penetrated an unguarded gap in their line and then fanned out so as to take them in the rear, while at the same time almost capturing Castaños, who was cut off from his men and forced to hide in an olive grove. With their left wing and center too far away to affect the course of the fighting, the result was that the Spaniards were completely beaten. Most of the Aragonese forces got back to Zaragoza, where they were besieged by the French a month later, while Castaños's own troops escaped encirclement at the hands of Marshal Michel Ney, who had been dispatched from Old Castile to take them in the rear, and got away to New Castile. But Spanish casualties had still been very heavy,

while Castaños's reputation had been dealt a blow from which it never recovered.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Bailén, Battle of and Capitulation at; Castaños, Francisco Javier de; Lannes, Jean; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Rebolledo de Palafox y Melzi, José

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## Tugendbund

This association, founded to encourage the moral regeneration of Prussia after the catastrophes of Jena and Auerstädt in October 1806, was called the Moral and Scientific Society. Better known as the Tugendbund (League of Virtue), it was founded in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in East Prussia early in 1808 and was one of a number of such groups formed at this time. Its activities included the alleviation of the suffering caused by the recent war and the French occupation, the patriotic education of youth, and the exertion of pressure on the government to continue its military reforms. Its objective was to bring about the end of the French occupation of Germany.

Among its founders were professors Wilhelm Traugott Krug, Georg Baersch, and others. Its members included pro-reform army officers, men of letters, and sons of landowners belonging to the Königsberg lodge of Freemasons. They intended to seek "the revival of morality, religion, serious taste, and public spirit." It was not a formal organization, but a loose body of men sharing these ideals. The influence of this group spread to the provinces of Silesia and Pomerania, but did not enjoy so much support in the Mark of Brandenburg and Berlin.

It attracted around 300 to 400 supporters, including senior army officers such as generals Hermann von Boyen and Karl von Grolman, but not the leading military reformers Gerhard von Scharnhorst and August von Gneisenau. Many a nervous senior public servant and army officer did not allow his subordinates to be associated with it. Although Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein was known to disapprove of this society, comparing the anti-French statements of its members to the "rage of dreaming sheep," he had frequent secret contact with people involved in such organizations.

There was considerable disquiet at the effects of the French occupation of Germany. The philosopher Johann Fichte published his *Addresses to the German Nation* at the end of 1807 and was one of a number of intellectuals expressing ideas on German nationalism.

The war between Austria and France in 1809 led to considerable unrest in Germany. After the Austrian defeat at the Battle of Wagram that July, a backlash against the supporters of this disorder was inevitable. Indeed, the Tugendbund was blamed for instigating Major Ferdinand von Schill's rebellion, in which this Prussian army officer led his squadron of cavalry across northern Germany, hoping to spark a popular uprising. Fearing the French reaction to what amounted to a secret society, and under pressure from Napoleon, Frederick William III issued a decree dissolving this group in December 1809. Nevertheless, this group of like-minded people continued to play an influential role behind the scenes, with its members joining other similar associations.

These groups included organizations such as the Deutsche Gesellschaften, or German Patriotic Societies, the Burschenschaften, or German Students Associations. The most effective of these bodies was the Turngesellschaft, or Fitness Society, founded by Friedrich Jahn in Berlin. Aimed at academic youth, this organization prepared both the body and the mind for the forthcoming war against France, and many of its members became militarily active in the campaigns in Germany (1813) and France (1814). This movement is said to have inspired the founding of Adolf Lützow's Freikorps in 1813.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Auerstädt, Battle of; Fichte, Johann Gottlieb; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Frederick William III, King; Germany, Campaign in; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Jena, Battle of; Lützow, Adolf; Prussia; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von; Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Wagram, Battle of

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## Turkey

*See* Ottoman Empire

## Turkish Navy

*See* Ottoman Navy

## Turner, Joseph Mallord William (1775–1851)

Leading English Romantic painter, forerunner of the Impressionist movement.

Joseph Turner was born on 23 April 1775 to William and Mary Turner in London, where his father was a wig-maker and barber. Turner was largely self-taught. After a successful probationary term, he enrolled as a student at the Royal Academy Schools on 11 December 1789. He studied with Thomas Malton and specialized in drawing and watercolors. He became a voracious traveler, touring to make sketches in England, Wales, and Scotland, and on the Continent, nearly every year of his life.

He exhibited *Fishermen at Sea* at the Royal Academy in 1790. He received a three-year position as copyist of drawings in 1794. Turner added oil painting as a specialty in 1796, the year his first oil painting was exhibited. His vibrant seascapes had no worthy competition. On 4 November 1799 he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy of Art based on his interpretation of Norham Castle. This learning stage, during which he copied the Old Masters in oils and watercolors, proved successful. He sold nearly all his works to numerous patrons who supported all his endeavors.

Although Turner showed little curiosity about the opposite sex, his mistress Sarah Danby had at least one child by him, and he may have had other children by other relationships. Although he never acknowledged them as his, Turner supported his children and Sarah financially, though he was not an affectionate father.

On 12 February 1802, Turner became a full member of the Academy and moved into his own home at 64 Harley Street. He added a studio in 1803 and exhibited there throughout his career, while also continuing to exhibit at the Royal Academy. His father became his business manager. Turner was appointed Professor of Perspective at the Academy in 1807 and gave his first lecture in 1811.

Turner's style changed considerably over the course of his career. From 1800 to 1820 he painted historical and mythological works with subdued coloring and a strong emphasis on contour and detail. *Calais Pier* was painted in 1803 and well received. The influence of French painter Claude Lorrain was evident in *Dido Building Carthage* and *Crossing the Brook*. He also worked on the seventy drawings of *Liber Studiorum* from 1807 to 1819. *Sun Rising through Vapor* is also representative of this period. After 1820, Turner used enhanced coloring effects and variations of light, as represented by *Bay of Baiae* and *Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus*. He drastically changed his style by constructing the object of his work with a vibrant sense of color and misty masses, as seen in *Rain, Steam and Speed*, and *The Sun of Venice Going to Sea*. This revolutionary, visionary, misty style infuriated Turner's critics. He was staunchly defended by the respected Sir Thomas Lawrence and John Ruskin, who realized that Turner had laid the groundwork for future art movements. His watercolors were universally admired and never garnered criticism.

As he aged, the wealthy Turner became increasingly reclusive. In 1856, five years after his death, his estate left for the nation almost 300 paintings and nearly 30,000 watercolors and drawings, plus his £140,000 fortune, the whole known as the Turner Bequest, now held by the Tate Britain Gallery in London. All told he had sold approximately 1,000 paintings and drawings.

Annette E. Richardson

*See also* Blake, William; Constable, John; David, Jacques-Louis; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de; Lawrence, Sir Thomas; Romanticism

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## Two Sicilies, Kingdom of the

See Naples

## Tyrol, Uprising in the (April–November 1809)

The Tyrolean uprising was a revolt of local peasants against the Bavarian government. Instigated by Austria, it kept Bavarian troops away from the Battle of Wagram and lasted from April through November 1809. The Tyroleans lost in spite of Austrian efforts, and the province remained in Bavarian hands until the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The most lasting result of the uprising was the legacy of



The revolt in the Tyrol. Encouraged by the Austrians to throw off the yoke of Napoleon's Bavarian allies, the people of this Alpine region took up arms in 1809 in a futile act of resistance. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

Andreas Hofer, whose memory served as an emblem for national independence thereafter.

The uprising had its foundations in the Treaty of Pressburg (26 December 1805), which forced Austria to cede the Tyrol to Bavaria. The new Bavarian government closed the provincial estates, instituted conscription and taxes, and closed several monasteries. Thus, when Hofer and a delegation of Tyrolese were invited to Vienna in January 1809, they readily pledged their support against the French and Bavarians.

The rebellion began in the marshes around Sterzing, where a small Bavarian force was captured on 11 April, and at Hall, where Joseph Speckbacher and his militia captured the Bavarian garrison on 12 April. These two victories allowed the Tyrolean forces to invest Innsbruck. At the same time, Archduke John was leading an Austrian army against the forces of the Kingdom of Italy, which were commanded by Napoleon's stepson, Prince Eugène de Beauharnais. Encouraged by Eugène's successes, Bavarian and French forces retook Innsbruck. They underestimated the support for Hofer's rebellion, however, and the small detachment of Bavarians, left to defend the city, was defeated at the Battle of Berg Isel on 29 May. They retreated and left Innsbruck open to Hofer's troops. Soon after, Josef von Hormayer, an Austrian administrator, took charge of the city, and Hofer returned to his home. The rebellion continued in other parts of the province, however, as Speckbacher undertook a siege from 23 June to 16 July that resulted in the capture of Castle Kufstein.

Despite these local successes, the French victory at Wagram (5–6 July) sounded the death knell for the Tyrolean insurrection. In the armistice of Znaim on 12 July, Archduke Charles agreed to evacuate the Tyrol. The Austrians withdrew, leaving the Tyrolese to their fate. Marshal

François Lefebvre, with 40,000 Franco-Bavarian troops, arrived to end the uprising. Choosing the same terrain that had brought them victory before, the local militia achieved initial success at Sterzing (6–9 August) and a second encounter at Berg Isel (13 August), forcing the invaders to withdraw. During this lull, Hofer's troops once again took Innsbruck and established him as the governor of the province from 15 August to late November. At an engagement at Lofer on 25 September, Speckbacher forced the Franco-Bavarian troops to withdraw, but suffered heavy losses himself. These losses contributed to his defeat on 16 October at Melleck, where the Tyrolese were routed. Meanwhile, the Treaty of Schönbrunn, concluded on 14 October, had confirmed Bavarian control of the Tyrol, except for the Italian-speaking southern Tyrol, which went to the Kingdom of Italy, and the eastern Tyrol, which was added to the French province of Illyria. Following the action at Melleck, Eugène offered amnesty to the rebels on 25 October. His offer was followed by a final battle at Berg Isel (1 November), which resulted in Hofer's surrender on the eighth. Hofer nevertheless called for another insurrection four days later. This action forfeited his amnesty and also branded him as a hothead. He was captured and executed at the direct order of Napoleon on 10 February 1810.

*Doug Harmon*

*See also* Bavaria; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Hofer, Andreas; John, Archduke; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Pressburg, Treaty of; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Vienna; Congress of; Wagram, Battle of; Znaim, Battle of

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# U

## Ucles, Battle of

See Peninsular War

## Ulm, Surrender at (20 October 1805)

At the Bavarian city of Ulm on the river Danube, an Austrian army, surrounded and isolated by the rapid advance of Napoleon's Grande Armée, surrendered on 20 October 1805. This French success ended the ambitious offensive strategy of the Third Coalition and opened the road for a French advance on Vienna, leading ultimately to the climatic Battle of Austerlitz in December 1805.

The nervous peace that existed in Europe in the years following the signing of the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802 broke down in May 1803 with a resumption of war between Britain and France, a conflict that widened in 1805 when Russia, Austria, and Sweden formed the Third Coalition to oppose France. As part of the grand strategy of the alliance, a joint Austro-Russian force was to attack France through Bavaria. Napoleon's army, encamped along the English Channel coast, had been training hard for an invasion of England. Now, with war renewed on the Continent, Napoleon turned his army to face this new threat.

On 25 August the first elements of the 190,000-strong French army commenced marching for the river Rhine. On the same day, a Russian army led by General Mikhail Kutuzov crossed the Russian border to begin the long march to join the Austrian army in Bavaria. This force, nominally commanded by Archduke Ferdinand d'Este, was in reality under the direction of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, who held direct authority from Emperor Francis to overrule Ferdinand. About 72,000 strong, the army left Austrian territory on 8 September, entered Bavaria, and took up a position on the river Lech, about 35 miles west of Munich, to await the Russians. Almost immediately Mack suffered a setback, when he learned that the 22,000-man Bavarian army had with-

drawn to the north, instead of joining the coalition, and was now allied with France. Even more worrying news followed, however, causing Mack to reconsider his position: French troops were already on the Rhine.

In preparation for an advance on the Danube, three formations, Marshal Jean Lannes's V Corps, the Imperial Guard, and the Cavalry Reserve converged on Strasbourg, while marshals Louis Davout (III Corps), Nicolas Soult (IV), and Michel Ney (VI) centered on Landau. Marshal Auguste de Marmont's II Corps marched for Mainz at the junction of the Rhine and Main rivers, while Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (I Corps) headed for Frankfurt am Main.

At this point Napoleon was uncertain as to the position occupied by the Austrians but anticipated intercepting them in Bavaria between the Inn and Lech rivers, for which purpose the French army was directed to points along a 30-mile stretch of the Danube between Ulm and Dillingen. On 25 September, just one month after the first orders were issued, the leading elements of the French army crossed the Rhine, completing the first stage of this extraordinary realignment from the shores of the English Channel.

Reports that the French were on the Rhine prompted Mack to advocate a rapid advance on to the line of the Iller River between Ulm and Memmingen, from where he could block any attempt by the French to debouch from the defiles of the Black Forest. Archduke Ferdinand strongly objected to this forward movement, but Mack overruled him and occupied the line of the Iller. Mack's confidence received a boost from assurances he received from Emperor Francis that the Prussian territory of Ansbach would block any French advance against his rear. But the army did not share his confidence, and dissension among senior officers caused command difficulties. However, Francis approved Mack's orders and informed Ferdinand that he was not to oppose Mack's decisions.

While senior Austrian officers bickered, Napoleon took the decision to risk the wrath of Prussia and with it



General Mack surrenders his army at Ulm, 20 October 1805. Napoleon's strategic encirclement of the Austrians, in conjunction with the Battle of Austerlitz six weeks later, sealed the fate of the Third Coalition. (Print by Bousson, Valadon, Paris, after E. Boutigny from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 2)

the danger that it would come into the coalition against him by ordering Bernadotte to march with I and II Corps through Ansbach. He felt the risk worthwhile, considering that Prussia would be slow to react and that falling on Mack's right and rear before the arrival of the Russians could be crucial to the success of the campaign. In the event, Prussia did fail to oppose the move.

To shroud his movements, Napoleon ordered Marshal Joachim Murat's Cavalry Reserve to advance through the Black Forest, forming an extended cavalry screen probing toward the Danube. The Imperial Guard and V Corps followed. Farther north the other five corps began their southeasterly march in appalling weather—rain, sleet, and even snow. It was a fraught time, with food in short supply and tensions between corps commanders high. As the columns continued their advance, Napoleon heard, on 4 October, that Mack was at Ulm, necessitating a realignment of the line of advance.

On that same day Mack recognized that the French troops issuing from the Black Forest constituted a feint and that his line on the Iller was redundant. Instead he ordered

the army to re-form along the line of the Danube from Ulm to Donauwörth. On 6 October, advanced elements of Soult's corps stormed the bridge at Donauwörth before the Austrian garrison was able to complete its destruction, and by the early hours of the following morning, Soult's men and some of Murat's cavalry were across the river. As Mack received this news, he also heard of Bernadotte's violation of Ansbach. Although now separated by this French move from *Feldmarschalleutnant* Michael Freiherr von Kienmayer's 12,000 men, who formed the extreme right of his army, Mack remained confident. He felt it important to hold his position, offering protection to Austrian possessions in the Tyrol and Vorarlberg that retreat eastward would uncover. At the same time he considered that a retreat southward through the Tyrol would expose the Russians to the full weight of the French army. Therefore Mack held his position, intending to tie down a great number of French troops, by presenting a threat to their communications, until Kutuzov's arrival.

On 8 October an outnumbered Austrian column, intercepted at Wertingen, about 10 miles south of Donau-

wörth, gave up the prisoners Napoleon needed—now he had a more accurate impression of the situation around Ulm. Meanwhile Lannes, Davout, Marmont, and Bernadotte completed their crossing of the Danube, leaving only Ney on the north bank. Delighted to find he now held a position of strength in the rear of the Austrians and with no sign of the Russians, Napoleon determined to prevent Mack from escaping, considering his most likely routes to be eastward through Augsburg or south toward the Tyrol. But Mack had no intention of retreating. Instead he determined to strike a blow at French communications and any troops on the north bank of the Danube; however, the subsequent capture of a bridge over the Danube at Günzburg by French troops under Ney on 9 October delayed the move and forced the Austrians back on Ulm.

Napoleon now occupied the major towns on the eastern and southern routes from Ulm, gradually tightening the noose around the city. However, a breakdown in communications resulted in only General Pierre-Antoine Dupont's division of Ney's corps remaining on the north bank of the Danube after Günzburg.

With his relationship with Ferdinand becoming ever more strained, Mack now planned a northeast breakout toward Bohemia. At the same time, Napoleon continued his movements to prevent a southern breakout. On 11 October some 25,000 Austrian troops emerged on the north bank of the Danube and encountered Dupont's isolated division of about 6,000 men at Haslach. The French put up an outstanding defense against the overwhelming Austrian numbers, before finally retreating under cover of darkness. Mack was unable to locate Ferdinand during the battle, and thus Austrian command and control suffered, resulting in the army retiring back to Ulm. Even so, Mack hoped to exploit this success, but senior officers vigorously objected, claiming the exhaustion of their troops, leading to further confrontations between Mack and Ferdinand. As a result the Austrian army rested on 12 October.

A new attempt the following day called for about 35,000 men, divided into two columns, to march from the city, with the rest of the army to follow later. The right column struggled slowly through ground destroyed by weather and earlier troop movements, only reaching Elchingen, about 7 miles, by the end of the day. The left column, on much better ground, covered about 20 miles. Meanwhile, the troops still at Ulm, awaiting the order to follow on, had their orders cancelled. A French agent passed information to Mack that caused him to change his plan again. The concentration of the French army to the south of the city and its westward movement puzzled him, as the city lay mainly on the north bank. The information he received told him that a British force had landed at Boulogne and a revolt broken out in France. The news was

false, but for Mack it explained the confusing French movements—they were retreating. He canceled his previous orders to follow up the breakout; now he needed as many men as possible to pursue the French. Even before fresh orders were issued from headquarters, however, the situation changed once more.

News of the action at Haslach alerted Napoleon to his weakness on the north bank, and he issued orders to support Dupont. On the morning of 14 October the Austrian column at Elchingen was attacked by Ney and fell back on Ulm. The other column, 20,000 strong under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Freiherr von Werneck, unaware of developments, pushed on alone. Tensions in Ulm between Mack and Ferdinand now reached the breaking point. It appeared that the last chance of a breakout had evaporated, and while Mack still maintained the importance of defending the city and tying down the French, Ferdinand refused to accept the possibility of his own capture. That night, with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and twelve squadrons of cavalry, he abandoned the city, hoping to locate Werneck's column.

On 15 October the French completed the encirclement and began to bombard the city. Mack received a summons to surrender but refused. He still had about 23,000 men with which to tie down the French, gaining valuable time for the arrival of the Russians. But it was not to be. The lead elements of the Russian army had only just reached the Bavarian border, 160 miles away—and it would be another two weeks before they regrouped and were ready for action. Two days later Mack received another call to surrender, and, demoralized by dissension among his officers, he agreed to do so on 25 October if there was still no sign of Russian intervention. This agreement granted limited French access to the city, quickly lowering still further the already-shattered morale of the garrison.

Mack met Napoleon on 19 October, suffering a further setback with the news of Werneck's interception and surrender two days earlier (although his cavalry did escape, eventually joining Ferdinand). With this news and a written assurance from Marshal Louis Berthier that the Russians could not arrive by the stated deadline, Mack agreed to surrender at once. The following morning, the garrison at Ulm marched into captivity. Of the 72,000 men that had advanced into Bavaria, almost 50,000 were now prisoners, taken at Ulm and in the battles around the city. Another column of 6,000 men, operating on the Iller, failed to make good their escape into the Tyrol and later swelled the catch.

For the Grande Armée it had been an extraordinary achievement. But there was no time for the army to rest on its laurels. Four days later the whole army, except for Ney's corps, prepared to march to face Kutuzov's Russians. The

campaign concluded with the decisive Battle of Austerlitz on 2 December.

Ian Castle

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Berthier, Louis-Alexandre; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dupont de l'Étang, Perre-Antoine, comte; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Ferdinand, d'Este, Archduke; Francis I, Emperor; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Uniforms

The era of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars witnessed a remarkable combination of styles and colors in the uniforms of troops represented by dozens of combatant nations. These variations and the general sartorial splendor associated with the age were not simply the product of armies seeking to attire their men as peacocks for the sake of vanity; in spite of ostentatious design and endless variation in dress, several practical considerations were at play. First and foremost, uniforms helped distinguish friend from foe; second, they provided a sense of *esprit de corps* within the unit, thus bolstering the soldiers' morale; and third, the more ornamental and imposing aspects of a uniform, such as tall headdress and epaulettes, served—or at least were intended to serve—to intimidate one's adversary, not simply to add to the pageantry of war.

The uniforms of this period have been and continue to be the objects of copious research, and no attempt will be made here to cover the minutiae associated with a study that, though peripheral to most military historians, re-

mains absolutely essential to the pursuits of wargamers and historical reenactors. The broad features, however, can be outlined.

At the start of the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802), most armies arrayed their troops in similar uniforms. The colors varied, certainly, as well as much of the ornamentation, including buttons, lace, and badges, but generally speaking, soldiers wore a close-fitting coat in the national colors—dark blue for France and Prussia, white for Austria, green for Russia, scarlet for Britain—with lapels that revealed the waistcoat from the neck to the waist, and a long tail at the back. Regimental distinctions, particularly in the infantry, came in the form of “facings”: colored collars, cuffs, and sometimes lapels, or colored trim to the coat, especially the rear of the coattail, which was often turned back at the bottom. Throughout the 1790s, infantry wore breeches (generally white or buff in summer and dark in winter) and stockings or gaiters, with trousers—both more practical and comfortable—only gradually replacing after the turn of the century. Most troops, whether infantry, cavalry, or artillery, wore a bicorne (that is, a two-cornered) hat, with the peaks worn on either side of the head (that is, transversely, as opposed to front and back, like naval officers of the period), thus replacing the tricorne (three-cornered) version so characteristic of the eighteenth-century armies of Frederick the Great and those that fought in the American Revolutionary War. On top of all this, infantry generally wore a stock around the neck, consisting of a leather or stiff fabric collar that obliged the soldier to keep his head constantly upright.

The soldier's uniform and equipment—the latter consisting of canteen, haversack, blanket, ammunition pouch, and other items—were kept firmly in place by tight-fitting leather belts and cross-straps, these last dyed in black or white. Cavalry generally wore a cocked hat and heavy riding boots. When to this apparatus and attire was added a musket and bayonet for an infantryman, or a sword and pistol for a cavalry trooper, it is clear that the fighting man constituted something of an overdressed beast of burden.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), coats grew progressively shorter in the back, and headgear evolved into many more forms, including the peaked-bell or cylindrical-shaped leather shako or helmet, usually bearing a badge or brass plate to identify the unit and chin-scales to hold the headgear in place. As before, each country sported its own variations in headdress and coat, though the lesser states allied to more powerful neighbors generally outfitted their troops in similar styles. Thus, Dutch and Italian troops, as well as most of those hailing from the German states of the Confederation of the Rhine, wore French-style dress, while during the Peninsular War the Portuguese re-

ceived their uniforms from their British allies. In contrast to the infantry, cavalry, especially hussars, tended to favor fashion over function, sometimes wearing tufts or fur on their caps that, apart from some of the light cavalry, generally appeared in a completely different form from that of the infantry. Indeed, headgear varied much more widely among the cavalry, who, according to their role on the battlefield and national preferences of dress, might wear the steel helmet common to the cuirassiers, the square-topped Polish-style “czapka” popular with many lancer units, or the tall, imposing bearskin cap often worn by elite heavy cavalry.

In all armies, especially those of Naples and Spain, officers—above all mounted senior ranks such as the French marshals and Allied corps and army commanders—favored varying degrees of ornamentation, generally gold or silver lace and plumes to their hats, not to mention medals, ribbons, and decorations emblazoned across their chests. Virtually the only exception to this rule could be found among the British officer corps, where generals serving in Iberia tended to wear more sober dress, though the scarlet coat (hence the term “Redcoat” coined by the American colonists more than a generation earlier) so characteristic of the army in general was perhaps flamboyant enough on its own. Some senior officers contented themselves with the plainest of uniforms or even actual civilian clothes, a trend begun, though by no means insisted upon, by the Duke of Wellington, who, for instance, declined to wear gloves, and fought the Waterloo campaign wearing a simple dark blue coat covered by a cloak and cape of the same color.

Uniforms were unquestionably attractive, but were not always particularly functional, and never comfortable, with often no thought in their design given to the practicalities of life on campaign, including conditions of combat or climate. Hence, it is not surprising that many soldiers adapted their uniforms to suit circumstances, their commanding officers generally accepting the necessity of, or turning a blind eye to, such improvisations. Indeed, a “full dress” or “regulation dress” uniform, which when originally issued to a soldier might conform in every respect to regulations and present an imposing spectacle on the parade ground, quickly wore out on campaign when—as was so often the case—no replacement items could be procured from a local depot or regimental headquarters back home. Indeed, a soldier might serve through an entire campaign with no new articles of clothing issued to him apart from perhaps undergarments and shoes or boots. Even footwear sometimes had to be acquired in the aftermath of battle from the dead or wounded. As men naturally cannot march far in bare feet, footwear was thus prized above all things except food. Once dilapidation of

one’s uniform set in, “campaign dress” became the norm, with soldiers resorting to whatever methods they could devise to hold their clothing together—patches, string, bandages—or seeking replacements with equivalent items through purchase or plunder. Numerous firsthand accounts relate how uniformity could be sometimes lost altogether as a result of the rigors of campaign, the most notable examples being in Russia, where during the retreat of the Grand Armée from Moscow in 1812 no two soldiers in a unit might be dressed exactly alike.

In general, the uniforms of rival armies were sufficiently distinct that, even amid the thick smoke of battle, troops were still able to distinguish their comrades from their adversaries. The distinctions of national colors disappeared entirely if a soldier wore “service dress” to protect him from the elements: a gray or brown greatcoat over himself and a waterproof covering (usually oilskin) over his shako or helmet, the latter of which hid badges and other identifying features both of unit and nationality. Where troops wore very similar uniforms, such as the French and Spanish in the Peninsular War, the Saxons and Austrians in the campaign of 1809, and the Prussians and Nassauers at Waterloo, “friendly fire” was almost inevitable. Under such conditions, particularly when visibility was poor, troops thus attired and seen from a distance or in silhouette could easily cross swords or bayonets.

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*See also* Artillery (Land); Cavalry; Confederation of the Rhine; Infantry; Musket; Peninsular War; Rifle; Standards, Flags, and Eagles; Waterloo Campaign

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## Union, Act of (1 January 1801)

The constitutional union between Great Britain and Ireland that took effect on 1 January 1801, so forming the United Kingdom. Before then, Great Britain (itself formed

by the union of England and Scotland in 1707) and Ireland had had separate parliaments, although the Irish Parliament was subordinated to the British. Uniting the two kingdoms into one was part of the prime minister, William Pitt's, plan to suppress revolutionary activity in Ireland while exploiting the kingdom's resources more efficiently to carry on the conflict with Revolutionary France. The Irish Rebellion and French invasion of 1798 had demonstrated that the Irish Anglican landowning class, the "Protestant Ascendancy," was no longer able to suppress the Catholics and Protestant Dissenters who made up the vast majority of the Irish population. It was also hoped that removing the artificial commercial barriers between the two kingdoms would contribute to economic growth.

Pitt and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Castlereagh, hoped that Irish Protestants would be reassured by the fact that, while they were in a minority in Ireland itself, as subjects of the United Kingdom they would be part of a majority. For Irish Catholics, Pitt and Castlereagh planned to follow union with emancipation, removing most of the remaining restrictions on Catholic political rights and the freedom of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution. Pitt hoped that the Catholic elite would prefer incorporation into the new United Kingdom to both continued subjection to the Protestant Ascendancy and the dangers emanating from Revolutionary and anti-clerical France. (Irish Catholic bishops supported union.)

Creation of the union required passage in both the British and the Irish parliaments. Although Pitt's government faced some resistance in the British Parliament, caused mostly by English dislike of the idea of Irish representatives in Westminster, the real challenge was in the Irish Parliament, the political expression of the Protestant Ascendancy, which was being asked to vote its own extinction. Forcing the Act of Union through Parliament required the generous distribution of bribes. Although the issue of union provoked a voluminous pamphlet debate, there was little popular political opposition, unlike a previous occasion in 1759 when a rumor that union was being considered brought angry mobs onto the streets of Dublin.

Under the new arrangement, Ireland was represented in the House of Lords (the upper house of Parliament in Westminster) by 32 peers, including 4 bishops of the Church of Ireland, and in the House of Commons by 100 Members of Parliament. The administration of Ireland, however, was virtually unchanged. Pitt's plan of combining union with Catholic emancipation proved a failure, due to the opposition of George III. The king believed that Catholic emancipation would be a violation of his coronation oath. The opposition of the king not only delayed Catholic emancipation for decades, but forced Pitt's resignation as prime minister on 3 February 1801 (Castlereagh

also resigned). In Ireland, the union without emancipation was unpopular, and resentment over it contributed to the brief rebellion of Robert Emmet in 1803.

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*See also* Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Catholic Emancipation; George III, King; Great Britain; Ireland; Irish Rebellion; Pitt, William

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## United Kingdom

*See* Great Britain

## United States

As the French Revolutionary Wars began, American sympathies were deeply divided between Britain and France. The Franco-American alliance of 1778 was still in effect in 1793, but the revolutionary change in government in France gave President George Washington the excuse he needed to declare neutrality in April. He indicated that he expected the warring parties to accord the new United States all the rights of neutral nations. Washington had asked his cabinet a series of questions, and replies from secretary of the treasury Alexander Hamilton and secretary of state Thomas Jefferson revealed that the existing Franco-American treaty raised some thorny questions, such as whether the United States was obliged to help defend French possessions in the West Indies or to deny ports and supplies to the British.

As the French Revolution turned more violent, the United States proclaimed its neutrality. The Act of 1794 forbade American citizens to enlist in foreign armies and prohibited the outfitting of foreign vessels in American ports. The act showed some of the difficulties the United States would face in containing French efforts to arm and outfit American privateers to attack British shipping and in withstanding British pressure as well. As a reaction to U.S. reluctance to support France, an undeclared war arose between France and the United States known as the Quasi-War,

fought at sea from 1798 to 1800, as U.S. Navy warships protected American shipping and seized French privateers.

Americans also harbored a number of grievances against Britain. The Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolutionary War in 1783 had granted the new United States land west of the Appalachian Mountains but obliged the new government to compensate colonists who had been loyal to the king during the Revolution and who had left America under pressure. The United States charged Britain with arming Native Americans and failing to vacate frontier forts now in U.S. territory, while Britain insisted on payment to loyalists. The result was Jay's Treaty on 19 November 1794, named for the American ambassador to Britain, John Jay. Soon thereafter, the American minister in Spain, Thomas Pinckney, negotiated Pinckney's Treaty on 27 October 1795, strengthening U.S. commercial rights to use New Orleans in Spanish Louisiana and to gain access to the Caribbean from the Mississippi River.

The long conflict in Europe provided the United States with a splendid opportunity, which it used to negotiate the Louisiana Purchase. After Napoleon Bonaparte gained power in France, Spain retroceded the vast Louisiana Territory to France in 1801. Fear of French intentions in the New World caused the new U.S. president, Thomas Jefferson, to instruct his ministers to purchase New Orleans and secure control of the Mississippi River. A slave revolt in St. Domingue and the difficulty in suppressing it may have convinced Bonaparte to set aside his dreams of empire in the Americas. Or, perhaps, Bonaparte recognized his power on the European continent could not be translated into power across the Atlantic. He surprised the American negotiators and offered to sell the entire territory, about one-third of the present continental forty-eight states, for \$15 million.

The Louisiana Purchase (3 May 1803) could not compensate for problems in international trade. The United States had a large merchant marine but a small navy, and it wanted to trade with the belligerents. With the outbreak of war between Britain and France in May 1803, however, Britain began to blockade French-controlled ports on the Continent, thereby limiting American access.

Perhaps more importantly, the Royal Navy made the United States cognizant of its weakness as a result of the practice of impressment. British naval vessels would stop American merchant ships to ensure they were not bound for blockaded ports, and they would remove sailors they claimed had deserted from the Royal Navy. The United States charged Britain with kidnapping, but British naval records claimed some 42,000 Royal Navy seamen had jumped ship.

The real issue was international respect, and President Jefferson announced the Embargo Act on 22 December

1807. It was repealed fifteen months later, for it failed miserably to pressure Britain into halting the practice of impressment by reducing trade with Britain and limiting the sale of important naval stores. More importantly, American merchantmen violated the act in order to continue to sell goods to the British. Prices were good, and violating the act was easy, as for example by simply moving goods across the poorly defended border with British-controlled Canada or falsifying cargo manifests.

The eventual result was that the United States declared war on Britain in 1812, although this new conflict had virtually no effect on the course of the fighting in Europe. After the failure of the Embargo Act, Congress had approved the Non-Intercourse Act on 1 March 1809, which lifted the embargo on American shipping, save for those vessels bound for British- or French-controlled ports. It too had little effect, as did its successor, Macon's Bill Number 2, which promised to lift the embargo against Britain or France if either stopped its search and seizure of American shipping. France, needing U.S. trade and not in a position to interdict U.S. trade with Britain, agreed, while Britain did not; this constituted the immediate cause of the War of 1812.

The American declaration of war on 18 June did not materially affect the British effort against Napoleon. There were three main phases to the War of 1812. In the first phase, the Royal Navy and the British army were mostly concentrating against Napoleon in the Iberian Peninsula, and the United States failed to press its demographic advantage against outnumbered British troops and Canadian militia in 1812 and 1813. Later, in 1813, the Royal Navy diverted increasing numbers of ships for duty in North American waters. In the third and final phase, in 1814, once Napoleon was finally defeated, Britain began transferring troops, mostly from southern France, to Canada and withstood American attacks across the Niagara frontier. The British launched an ill-fated offensive from Montreal south, and then, to compensate for the American seizure and burning of York (modern Toronto), British forces took Washington, burned the White House, unsuccessfully attacked Baltimore, and proceeded south to the Gulf Coast in an abortive effort to seize New Orleans.

Nine months after France had been defeated, Britain accepted a peace based on the status quo ante bellum (the situation as it existed before the war). Although the Treaty of Ghent was concluded on 24 December 1814, word of peace did not reach Washington until the British had already been disastrously defeated at the Battle of New Orleans, fought on 8 January 1815—two weeks after the signature of the treaty. Having won the war's last battle, Americans naturally believed they had also won the peace, though in reality the conflict with Britain ended as

a stalemate. The United States was indeed fortunate even for this result, for had the conflict in Europe terminated earlier, Britain might well have released far larger forces for service in North America, enabling it to occupy, rather than merely raid, U.S. territory and so shifting the balance of power at the negotiating table.

*Charles M. Dobbs*

*See also* Continental System; Fontainebleau, Treaty of; France; Great Britain; Louisiana Purchase; New Orleans, Battle of; Peninsular War; United States Army; United States Navy; War of 1812

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## United States Army

Before the outbreak of hostilities with the British in 1812, the role of the U.S. Army had been one of providing security for the borders of the new republic, mainly against Native American forces. After 1812 the army expanded quickly, and after a number of reverses developed into an efficient force capable of contributing effectively, in con-

junction with militia forces, in winning the Battle of New Orleans (8 January 1815) against veteran British troops.

The army was virtually disbanded after independence in 1783, its role limited to duties along the frontier. However, when tension rose with France as a result of the seizure of neutral shipping, Congress authorized a force in 1799 amounting to 30,000 men and given the title of the Eventual Army. By 1801, however, the likelihood of war with France had faded, and President Thomas Jefferson reduced the army to almost skeletal strength. By 1808, with increased resentment against the British and a threat from Native American forces being organized by Chief Tecumseh, leader of the Shawnee, the strength of the army was increased. For the next three years, the army was deployed to defend the frontiers of the young nation, and it was thus spread very thinly in a large number of garrisons.

Although the army was generally successful in containing the attacks of the confederation of tribes organized by Tecumseh, it was ill-prepared to meet its next challenge in the War of 1812. It was rare for all elements of a regiment to be stationed together, and senior officers did not have the opportunity to drill large formations. Many of these officers were still tied to military doctrine dating from the period of the Revolutionary War and had not assimilated the advances that had been made in Europe. The army also lacked a staff corps and had no organized quartermaster or ordnance departments.

Despite the fact that in January 1812 Congress increased the size of the army once more, on the outbreak of war with Britain six months later, the nation had to rely on volunteers and militia to bring the field forces up to an effective strength. The early part of the war witnessed a series of defeats for the U.S. Army, when it failed in its planned invasion of Canada. This failure was mainly due to the inexperience of officers in commanding substantial forces, which led to a lack of coordination on the battlefield and a lack of aggressiveness, which meant that the initiative often passed to smaller British forces. Nevertheless, the success of officers like General Winfield Scott proved that if U.S. troops were well led, they were a match for British regulars. By 1814 the regular army had established the support services that it required and was able to fight the British to a standstill at Lundy's Lane (25 July 1814). The army nevertheless still maintained its strong tradition of relying on volunteer forces, who performed poorly in the defense of Washington in August 1814, yet were to prove their worth in the victory at New Orleans, where General Andrew Jackson commanded a mixed force of regular troops and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana militia.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Bladensburg, Battle of; British Army; Chippewa, Battle of; Lundy's Lane, Battle of; New Orleans, Battle of; United States; War of 1812

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## United States Navy

While the United States Navy did not take part in hostilities in European waters during this period, it played an important role in the Anglo-American War of 1812, which broke out as a result of the maritime policies adopted by both Britain and France with respect to neutral trade. When the administration of President George Washington assumed office under the new Constitution in 1789, it was faced almost immediately with the need to create a navy, initially to protect its commerce, but later increasingly to implement foreign policy with the backing of a competent naval force. A series of conflicts—the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800), the Tripolitan War (1801–1805), and the War of 1812 with Britain—posed a variety of challenges to the new navy. They also, however, provided valuable experience in suppressing piracy, patrol and blockade, the convoying of merchantmen, shore bombardment, support of land operations, single-ship engagements, and even actions involving whole squadrons (these last on the Great Lakes).

From its birth on 27 March 1794, the navy was under the control of the War Department, but it was later established as a separate department on 30 April 1798. The first secretary of the navy was Benjamin Stoddert. The customs, traditions, and basic policies of the navy were born and shaped during this era.

The Quasi-War with France began in 1798 after French seizures of a large number of American ships. In response, the Naval Act (May 1797) allowed the president to construct and employ three new frigates, which had been

projected earlier. These were duly launched as the *United States*, *Constellation*, and *Constitution*. They were of a new design and heavier than their counterparts in other navies, but fast enough to outrun the more formidable ships of the line of foreign powers. They were to patrol the long Atlantic coastline and deal with French privateers and naval vessels. Hostilities came to a focus in the Caribbean, where the French waged war on both British and American commerce. By early 1799 the navy had grown to twenty-two ships, nineteen of which were deployed in West Indian waters. With the appointment of Bonaparte as First Consul in November 1799, French efforts to conciliate the United States, in order to isolate Britain, began, and hostilities between the two countries ended on 30 September 1800 by the Treaty of Mortefontaine. In the same year Congress approved retaining a navy of thirteen frigates, with six on active duty at any one time.

The next adversaries against which the United States Navy was opposed were the Barbary States (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli) which occupied the western Mediterranean coast of North Africa. A large part of their economies was based on raiding the commerce of the weaker European nations—that is, those without powerful navies—enslaving the captives taken, and extorting both tribute and ransom. These largely helpless states found it expedient to pay off the Barbary powers rather than chastise them by military action, a practice that had persisted for centuries. America's considerable commerce with the Mediterranean region had, until independence, flown the British flag, and thus enjoyed the protection of the Royal Navy. After 1783, of course, that had changed, and Algiers seized American ships beginning in 1785, demanding tribute in exchange for protection from future attacks and ransom for the release of their prisoners. A treaty was eventually concluded with Algiers that obliged the United States to pay tribute in the form of naval stores, among other goods, and even to supply a small frigate and several other vessels.

Further difficulties with the Barbary States continued with subsequent administrations, including that of Thomas Jefferson, who came to office in February 1801. The new president chafed at the idea of tribute and instituted a policy of resistance to Barbary demands. No sooner was he installed in office than Tripoli declared war on the United States, which responded by dispatching a succession of squadrons to the Mediterranean to blockade the port of Tripoli. The frigate *Philadelphia* grounded in Tripoli harbor and was captured, but in a daring raid led by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, the vessel was burned. American ships bombarded Tripoli in August and September 1804, but with little success, and the war did not come to an end until a American-backed overland expedition

captured the port of Derna with a mixed American and Arab force. Participation by the U.S. Marines in this campaign explains the line “to the shores of Tripoli” in their hymn. Troubles with the Barbary States were not finally resolved until 1815, when Decatur visited various ports, negotiating treaties backed with the threat of naval bombardment.

Continual friction with Britain over interference with American shipping and, especially, Britain’s impressment of American seamen into the Royal Navy intensified matters to the point that war was declared on 18 June 1812. The naval part of the war included frigate duels, squadron actions on the Great Lakes, naval support of operations on land, and the repulse of British incursions onto United States territory.

The frigate duels, in which the Americans often prevailed, were epitomized by Captain Isaac Hull’s victory over the British ship *Guerrière* (19 August 1812), which added luster to the record of the *Constitution*, also known as “Old Ironsides.”

Two battles involving fleets built and employed exclusively on inland waters played important roles in the success of land operations. On 10 September 1813 Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry engaged a British squadron on Lake Erie and defeated and captured the entire British force. His victory assured the water-borne supply route to General William Harrison’s army and contributed to its success. Later, on 11 September 1814, Lieutenant Thomas McDonough defeated the British on Lake Champlain as they attempted to attack the American position at Plattsburg.

At various times during the war, the British put landing forces ashore at a number of points on the long American coastline. The largest of these operations took place in Chesapeake Bay in August 1814, when the British defeated the Americans at Bladensburg (24 August) and burned the new government buildings in Washington. Later, an attack on Baltimore’s Fort McHenry between 12 and 14 September was repulsed, inspiring the poem by Francis Scott Key that became the words of the U.S. national anthem. American gunboats also contested British landings made during the attempt to seize New Orleans, which failed as a result of General Andrew Jackson’s notable victory on 8 January 1815.

The naval aspects of the War of 1812 received serious scholarly attention at the turn of twentieth century. Theodore Roosevelt produced a lengthy history of the war, and the prophet of sea power, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, extended his analysis of its influence on war and national policy.

The long peace in Europe following the general settlement of 1815 allowed for the strengthening of the United States Navy, which in time evolved into one of the world’s

best and most experienced. The experience of the Civil War (1861–1865) brought the United States Navy into the modern age.

*Kenneth Vosburgh*

*See also* Bladensburg, Battle of; French Navy; New Orleans, Battle of; Royal Navy; Tripolitan War; United States; War of 1812

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### Uvarov, Fedor Petrovich, Count (1773–1824)

Prominent Russian cavalry commander. Uvarov was born on 23 April 1773 to a petty noble family in Khruslavka in the Tula *gubernia* (province). He was enlisted as a sergeant in the artillery in 1776 at the age of three, transferred to the Life Guard Preobrazhensk Regiment in 1780, and rose to

*vakhmistr* (noncommissioned officer) in the Life Guard Horse Regiment in late 1786. His active service began as a captain of the Sofia Infantry Regiment on 12 January 1788, and he served in the Olonetsk Horse *Jäger* Squadron from 1789 to 1790. He became a second major in the Smolensk Dragoon Regiment in September 1790. Uvarov served in Poland in 1792–1794, fighting at Stolbtsy, Mir, Natsybov, Warsaw (promoted to premier major), Sali, and Vilna, becoming a lieutenant colonel in May 1795. During the reign of Tsar Paul I, he rapidly achieved promotions: He transferred to His Majesty's Life Guard Cuirassier Regiment in March 1797, became colonel in April 1798, briefly served in Zorn's Cuirassier Regiment, transferred to the Life Guard Horse Regiment on 14 September 1798, and was promoted to major general and appointed adjutant general, concurrently, on 30 September 1798.

Uvarov transferred to the Chevalier Guard Corps in January 1799 and, after the reorganization of the corps, became *chef* (colonel-proprietor) of the Chevalier Guard Regiment in August 1799. He was promoted to lieutenant general on 17 November 1800. He took part in the conspiracy against Paul but did not play an active role in his assassination. He distinguished himself commanding the Russian cavalry at Austerlitz in December 1805. In 1807 he fought at Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and Friedland. After Tilsit, he commanded the Chevalier Guard Regiment in St. Petersburg and was given command of the advance guard of the (Russian) Army of Moldavia in April 1810, during the war against the Turks. Uvarov took part in the actions at Silistra, Shumla, Ruse, and Batin.

In late 1811 Uvarov was recalled to St. Petersburg and appointed commander of the 1st Reserve Cavalry Corps of the 1st Western Army in April 1812. He participated in the retreat to Smolensk and fought at Kolotsk Monastery. During the Battle of Borodino, he and Cossack commander Ataman Matvei Platov led a famous failed cavalry attack on the French left flank, referred to variously as Uvarov's Diversion or Platov's Raid. Technically, both Uvarov and Platov failed to accomplish the assigned mission at Borodino and thus received no awards after the battle. Ironically, however, the attack had a dramatic effect on Napoleon, causing him to worry about his flank enough to hold back his Imperial Guard. After the battle, Uvarov and his command covered the retreat to Moscow and, at the council of war at Fili, he urged that the army fight another battle in defense of the city. In October Uvarov's corps remained in reserve and did not fight at Maloyaroslavets and the first action at Krasnyi, but it was involved in the battle at Vyazma and the second action at Krasnyi.

In 1813–1814 Uvarov attended Tsar Alexander I at Lützen, Bautzen, Dresden, Kulm, Leipzig, Brienne, Arcis-sur-Aube, La-Fère-Champenoise, and Montmartre. He was

promoted to general of cavalry on 20 October 1813 for his services at Leipzig. Returning to Russia, Uvarov was involved with the committee that assisted invalid Russian soldiers of the Napoleonic Wars and accompanied Alexander to the congresses in Vienna (1815), Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), and Laibach (1821). He became commander of the Guard Corps in November 1821 and a member of the State Council in September 1823. Uvarov became seriously ill in the summer of 1824 and died on 2 December of that year in St. Petersburg.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Borodino, Battle of; Brienne, Battle of; Cossacks; Dresden, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Germany, Campaign in; Heilsberg, Battle of; Imperial Guard (French); Krasnyi, Second Battle of; Kulm, Battle of; La-Fère-Champenoise, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Maloyaroslavets, Battle of; Montmartre, Action at; Paul I, Tsar; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Turkish War; Smolensk, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Vienna, Congress of

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### Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of (1768–1854)

A lifelong military leader, with a distinguished political career, Uxbridge was considered by most to be Britain's best cavalry commander and served as the Duke of Wellington's second in command at Waterloo, leading the decisive charge that smashed Napoleon's first major attack of the battle.

Lord Henry Paget began his career in the infantry, raising a regiment and receiving the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel in 1793, and participating in the Flanders campaign the following year. During the expedition, Paget had his first experience with the cavalry, with which he was thereafter associated. In a very short time he was in command of the 7th Light Dragoons (later known as the 7th Hussars), which was considered one of the best cavalry regiments in the army.

In 1808 the now lieutenant general led the British cavalry in the Peninsular War at the actions at Sahagún de Campos and Benavente during the Corunna campaign. At Sahagún, Paget's daring surprise attack resulted in his dragoons defeating a numerically superior French cavalry force—inflicting more than 150 casualties to less than 20 for the British. Paget's tactical skills were demonstrated

eight days later at Benavente, where he maneuvered the cavalry of the French Imperial Guard into a trap leading to the capture of its commanding officer, General Charles, comte Lefebvre-Desnouëttes. Again the French cavalry suffered, this time more than 130 casualties to less than 50 in Paget's force. Unfortunately, his Peninsular service was ended as a result of his scandalous liaison with, and later marriage to, Henry Wellesley's wife (Lady Charlotte Wellesley, Wellington's sister-in-law), which made it impossible for him to serve under Wellington. Paget's absence was to prove a major disadvantage to the British army during the remainder of the Peninsular War.

From 1809 to 1815 Paget's only military service was in the disastrous Walcheren expedition (1809), in which he commanded a division. His duties as a Member of Parliament occupied him during most of this time period. In 1812 his father's death required that Paget take the family seat in the House of Lords, as the second Earl of Uxbridge.

In 1815, with Napoleon's escape from Elba and the subsequent Waterloo campaign, Uxbridge was recalled to duty by Wellington. Initially placed in command of British cavalry, he was later put in charge of all the Anglo-Allied cavalry and horse artillery. On 17 June, when the French under Marshal Michel Ney pushed into Quatre Bras, Uxbridge covered the Anglo-Dutch strategic withdrawal in a fashion consistent with his performances of 1808–1809. The following day, Uxbridge gained the

crowning distinction of his military career in leading the great cavalry charge that checked, and in part routed, the massive infantry attack of General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon. During the charge, Uxbridge repeatedly exposed his own life without injury, but at the end of the day he was severely wounded by one of the last cannon shots fired, which prompted a notable exchange of British understatement: "By God! I've lost my leg!" exclaimed Uxbridge, to which Wellington, atop his own horse beside him, retorted, "Have you, by God?" (Longford 1973, 480). The severe wound to Uxbridge's right knee necessitated the amputation of his leg.

He finished his military and political career with the rank of field marshal in 1846.

*Craig T. Cobane*

*See also* Benavente, Action at; Corunna, Retreat to; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Flanders, Campaigns in; Imperial Guard (French); Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Charles, comte; Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Sahagún de Campos, Action at; Walcheren, Expedition to; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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# V

## **Valencia, Siege of (25 December 1811–8 January 1812)**

One of the greatest Spanish disasters in the Peninsular War, the fall of Valencia marked the high tide of French conquest in the conflict. Having received orders from Napoleon in autumn 1811 to occupy the Levant, the commander of the French forces in Aragón and Catalonia, Marshal Louis-Gabriel Suchet, opened operations against Valencia by advancing to Murviedro. Here he was held up for some time by a Spanish force entrenched in the ruins of the Roman town of Saguntum, which occupied a bluff high above the town, but on 25 October an attempt to relieve the defenders was destroyed in sight of the walls, whereupon they surrendered in despair. Suchet, however, had been much impressed by their resistance, and therefore elected not to resume his march on Valencia until he had called up reinforcements from Aragón.

Not until late December, then, did the French appear before the city. At first sight they appeared to be confronted by a difficult target. Commanded by General Joaquín Blake, the Spaniards were entrenched in a series of defensive positions that stretched along the south bank of the river Turia all the way from the sea to the mountains that fringed the coastal plain. Yet Suchet was undaunted. Blake's forces were, as he was well aware, distinctly variable in terms of their quality, whilst he quickly spotted that the western section of their line was comparatively weak. At the same time, meanwhile, the close nature of the terrain—a mass of orange groves—made it almost impossible for the defenders to observe his movements.

The way forward, then, was obvious. Massing his troops on the western edge of the coastal plain, on the morning of 25 December Suchet launched a surprise attack on Blake's left flank. Taken entirely by surprise, the defenders were overwhelmed, and within a few hours the bulk of Blake's forces were shut up inside Valencia, the victorious French troops having quickly cut the road to the

south and reached the sea. Valencia, however, was in no position to withstand a formal siege. Food supplies were limited; the city's defenses consisted only of earthworks; and both army and population were thoroughly demoralized, as, indeed, was Blake. An attempt at a mass break-out on 29 December was foiled by bungling and irresolution, while on 5 January 1812 Suchet commenced a general bombardment of the city. Three days later, it was all over: With the populace on the verge of revolt, Blake capitulated. At 20,000 men and more than 500 guns, Spanish losses were immense, but the French victory was at best Pyrrhic.

Thanks to the impending invasion of Russia, Napoleon had ceased to send fresh troops to the Peninsula, and the result was that the offensive against Valencia pulled large numbers of men away from central and western Spain and in the process enabled the Earl of (later the Duke of) Wellington to take the offensive on the Portuguese frontier. Victory in Valencia, in short, cost Napoleon the war.

*Charles J. Esdaile*

*See also* Blake, Joaquín; Peninsular War; Siege Warfare; Suchet, Louis-Gabriel; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## **Valenciennes Offensive**

*See* Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Flanders, Campaigns in

## **Valjouan, Action at**

*See* France, Campaign in

### Valmaseda, Action at (5 November 1808)

This minor engagement was fought during the Peninsular War between Spanish forces under General Joaquín Blake and French troops under General Eugène Casimir Vilatte that formed part of Marshal Claude Victor's corps. Following his defeat near the Portuguese-Spanish border in late October 1808, Blake was in the course of retreating when he turned to regroup his forces at Valmaseda and inflicted a reverse on a pursuing French division. Only competent leadership and discipline saved the French from serious loss.

Just prior to the full-scale invasion of Spain by Napoleon's army in 1808, Spanish forces under Blake had been attacked by Marshal François Lefebvre on 31 October. Although Blake was defeated, Napoleon was angry at this somewhat premature attack, as he had hoped to destroy the Spanish force rather than simply oblige it to retreat to the west. Nevertheless, Bilbao was captured, and Napoleon therefore ordered that the defeated Spanish be pursued by marshals Lefebvre and Victor. The Spanish forces soon became strung out along their line of retreat, and Victor pursued them vigorously over difficult terrain. On 4 November Napoleon himself crossed into Spain with his main army. Blake decided to counterattack at this point. He knew that he was about to be reinforced by the troops of the Marqués de la Romana. The total Spanish force now amounted to approximately 24,000 men, with about thirty guns.

Blake decided to halt his retreat near Valmaseda; when his rear guard came under pressure from the French while crossing a narrow valley, he launched an attack early on the morning of 5 November. The French force that bore the brunt of this attack was a division under the command of Vilatte, detached from Victor's corps. Vilatte had twelve battalions of infantry amounting to just over 10,000 men, but he had little in the way of cavalry or artillery. During the initial attack, Vilatte was quickly expelled from the village of Valmaseda, and his force thrown into confusion. Though able to rally his troops, Vilatte was aware that he was heavily outnumbered and ordered a withdrawal. The French formed a large divisional square to protect themselves during their retreat and fell back eastward. With the discipline of his troops sufficient to prevent the Spanish from closing with them, Vilatte was able to withdraw, with only around 300 casualties and leaving one gun in Spanish hands. Blake attempted to follow up his victory, but was prevented from doing so by Napoleon's approach. Thus, once again, Blake was forced to retreat. As a consequence of his conduct prior to and during the action at Valmaseda, Victor was reprimanded by the Emperor. Nonetheless, Victor was to defeat Blake at the Battle of Espinosa de los Monteros a few days later.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Blake, Joaquín; Caro y Sureda, Pedro, Marqués de la Romana; Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Peninsular War; Victor, Claude Perrin

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### Valmy, Battle of (20 September 1792)

Important battle of the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797), usually identified as one of the decisive battles in world history. In July 1792 an Allied Austrian and Prussian force assembled at Coblenz in the Rhineland with the aim of marching on Paris, rescuing King Louis XVI, and crushing the French Revolution. Charles William (Karl Wilhelm), Duke of Brunswick, had command. Although accounts vary, the invasion force probably numbered about 84,000 men: 42,000 Prussians, 29,000 Austrians, 5,000 Hessians, and 8,000 French émigrés. The invaders planned a movement in which the main force under Brunswick, accompanied by Prussian King Frederick William II, would be protected on its flanks by two Austrian corps, one each to the north and south. The attackers planned to move west between the two principal French defending armies: the Armée du Nord under General Charles François Dumouriez (from 16 August) and the Armée du Centre under General François Etienne Christophe Kellermann (after 27 August). Once the invaders had taken the poorly provisioned French border fortresses, they could move to Châlons, and from there they would have fertile and open territory to Paris.

The Allied invasion of France began in late July and moved at a leisurely pace. On 19 August the Allies crossed the French frontier. Longwy fell on 23 August and Verdun on 2 September. With the fall of the two fortresses, the way to Paris seemed open. Brunswick's forces then moved into the thick woods, narrow defiles, and marshy lowlands of the Argonne, terrain that favored the defender. Torrential rains aided the French, playing havoc with Brunswick's lines of communication, and dysentery felled many men.

The government in Paris ordered Dumouriez, who believed the best way to thwart the invasion would be to invade the Austrian Netherlands, to move south and block Brunswick. On 1 September, along with the bulk of his army, he moved from Sedan and took up position in the passes of the Argonne. Although Dumouriez's men fought well and bought valuable time, Brunswick's troops took a lightly defended pass at Croix-aux-Bois, turning the



The Battle of Valmy. While constituting little more than a cannonade, the event is widely regarded as one of history's most decisive engagements, for its outcome saved Paris and, by definition, the Revolution. (The Art Archive/Musée du Château de Versailles/Dagli Orti)

French. Dumouriez then withdrew to Sainte-Maneould and Valmy, where he could threaten Brunswick's flank. Kellermann joined him at Valmy south of the river Bionne on 19 September. The village of Valmy lay between hills to its north, west, and south.

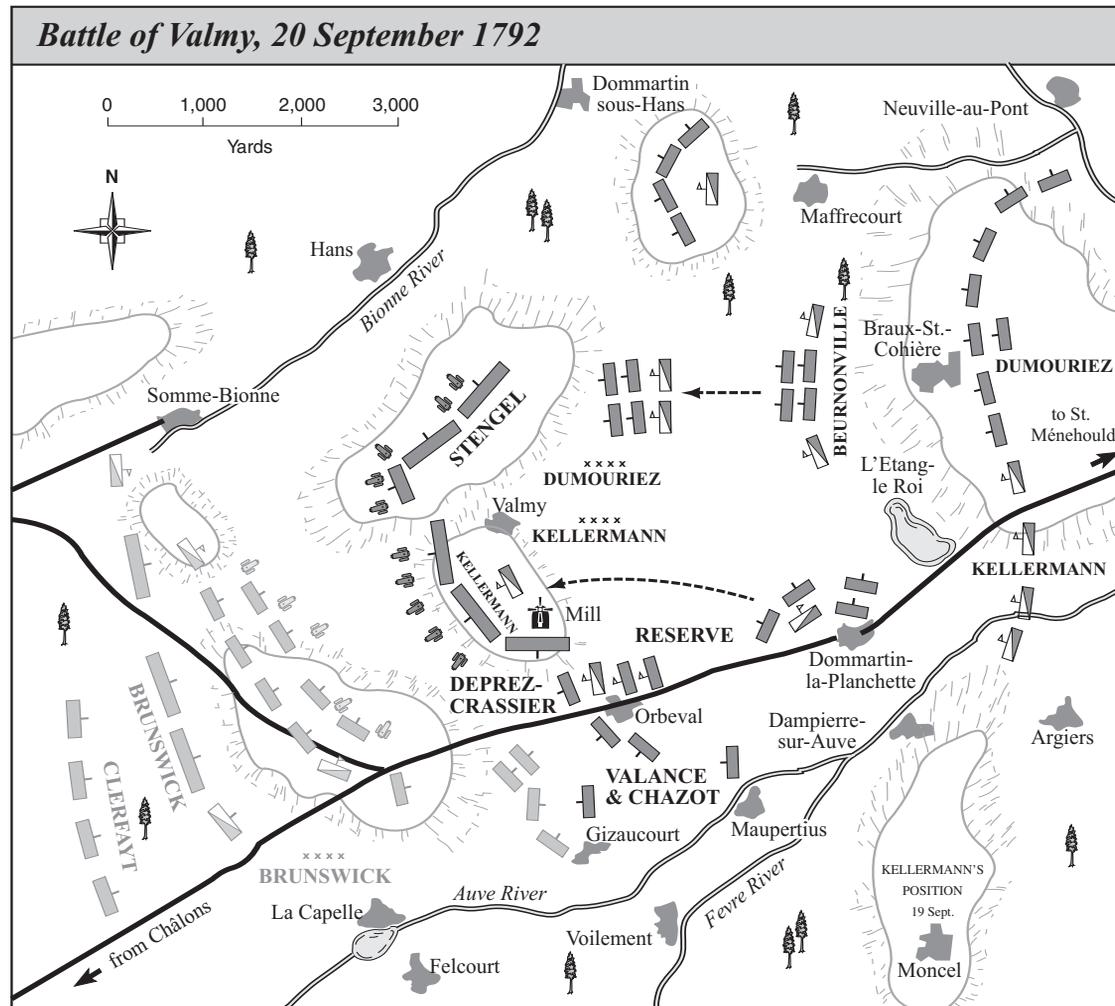
The French generals had planned to withdraw farther west, but the appearance of Brunswick's army early on the tenth from the north had cut off that route. Brunswick was now closer to Paris than were Dumouriez and Kellermann, but he needed to remove the French threat to his supply lines, and he had only about 30,000–34,000 men to accomplish this. Dumouriez's exhausted force of 18,000 men formed a second line east of Valmy. Kellermann commanded the first French line of some 36,000 men, drawn up along a ridge topped by a windmill just west of Valmy. Kellermann's force consisted of an equal mix of trained prewar soldiers and untrained but enthusiastic volunteers. Among French officers on the field that day was young Louis-Philippe, later king of the French.

Early morning fog on 20 September soon dissipated, and once he had identified the French positions, Brunswick positioned his own men on high ground some 2,500

yards to the west and prepared to attack. Brunswick had fifty-four guns; Kellermann only thirty-six. Brunswick was confident of victory, for his troops were far better trained.

The "Battle" of Valmy of 20 September was more a cannonade than anything else. It opened that morning when King Frederick William ordered the Prussian guns to bombard the French positions prior to an infantry assault. The French artillery, well handled by men of the pre-Revolutionary army, replied. A distance of some 2,500 yards between the two sides and soft ground from recent heavy rains meant that the exchange of fire inflicted little damage on either side. Nonetheless, the Prussians had expected the green French troops to break and run at the first volley and were amazed when they stood their ground.

The Prussian infantry then began an advance as if on parade across the soggy ground. Perhaps Brunswick hoped the French would bolt, but when they failed to do so, he halted his troops after about 200 yards. One French battalion after another took up the cry of "Vive la nation!" About 2:00 P.M. a lucky hit from a Prussian shell exploded an ammunition wagon near the windmill, and the French guns



Adapted from Chandler 1987, 188.

momentarily fell silent; then the battle resumed. Brunswick ordered a second advance, but his men got no farther than about 650 yards from the French. Brunswick then ordered a halt, followed by a retirement. At 4:00 P.M. he summoned a council of war and announced, "We do not fight here."

Losses on both sides were slight: The Prussians lost 164 men, the French about 300. Brunswick had not been enthusiastic about the offensive that culminated at Valmy. He had wanted only to secure positions east of the Argonne in preparation for a major campaign the following spring. The movement farther west had been at the insistence of the king, and Brunswick now used the rebuff as an excuse to halt the offensive. The dispirited Prussian forces lingered in the area for ten days, but on the night of 30 September–1 October they broke camp and withdrew, re-crossing the French border on 23 October.

Although, even had he won at Valmy, Brunswick would probably not have immediately moved against Paris,

the battle ended any Allied hopes of crushing the French Revolution in 1792. The government in Paris then authorized Dumouriez to carry out his plan to conquer the Austrian Netherlands, and on 6 November forces under his command defeated the Austrians at Jemappes.

The Battle of Valmy marked the recovery of the French Army from its disastrous state early in the Revolution. It was important not only as a military and political event but also as marking the end of the age of dynastic armies with no stake in, nor understanding of the political purpose of, wars being fought, and the arrival of the new age of patriotic "national" armies. The poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was present that day, understood this. When some Prussian officers asked him what he thought of the battle, he reportedly replied, "From this place, and from this day forth, commences a new era in the world's history; and you can all say that you were present at its birth" (Creasy 1987, 179).

Spencer C. Tucker

See also Belgium, Campaign in (1792); Brunswick Manifesto; Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Dumouriez, Charles François Dupérier; Emigrés; First Coalition, War of the; Frederick William II, King; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Jemappes, Battle of; Kellermann, François Etienne Christophe “the Elder”; Louis XVI, King

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## Valutino, Battle of

See Russian Campaign

## Vandamme, Dominique-Joseph-René (1770–1830)

Dominique-Joseph-René Vandamme, comte de Unsebourg, *général de division*, was born on 5 November 1770, at Cassel, in the *Nord département*. He enlisted in the army in 1788 and rose to the rank of *général de brigade* in 1793. Vandamme served with the Army of the North and on the Rhine during the French Revolutionary Wars. Named *général de division* in 1799, he fought at the battles of Austerlitz and Eggmühl in 1805 and 1809, respectively. In 1813 his I Corps was surrounded and destroyed at Kulm, and he was made a prisoner of war. In 1815 he commanded a corps at the Battle of Ligny. Exiled after the decisive defeat at Waterloo, Vandamme lived two years in the United States before returning to France, where he died at Cassel on 15 July 1830.

Vandamme’s father, Maurice Joseph van Damme, was a licensed surgeon from the Flemish town of Poperinghe, in present-day Belgium. He married Barbara Françoise Baert of Ghent. After their marriage they moved to Cassel,

where their three children were born: Dominique, Louis François, and Valentine Barbara. Dominique, whose first language was Flemish, received a basic education at the Collège de Récollets in Cassel and then spent two years at the military school of Marshal de Biron. He quit school in June 1788 and on 27 July enlisted in the army. Vandamme served fourteen months on the island of Martinique before deserting and returning to France. In 1791 he again enlisted in the army and, because of his previous military training, he was promoted to captain.

When war with Austria and Prussia began in the spring of 1792, Vandamme distinguished himself while serving with the Army of the North. The Revolution, which had begun three years before, moved into its republican phase in September 1792. Vandamme enthusiastically supported the cause, and as a dedicated republican he rose rapidly in rank. Promoted to lieutenant colonel on 5 September 1793, he was named *général de brigade* on the twenty-seventh of the same month. For the next four years he served with various armies on the northern front and on the Rhine.

Vandamme fought at the Battle of Hondschoote, 7–8 September 1793, and commanded a brigade during the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) that followed. In the fall of 1795, he was transferred to the Army of the Rhine and Moselle and took part in the campaigns in Germany in 1796–1797. When General Napoleon Bonaparte’s victories in Italy broke up the First Coalition with the Treaty of Campo Formio, concluded in October 1797, Vandamme was assigned to the (French) Army of England established on the Channel coast to prepare for a possible invasion of Britain. The formation of the Second Coalition, however, brought a renewal of hostilities on the Rhine; and in September 1798, Vandamme joined the Army of Mayence (Mainz). Promoted to *général de division* on 5 February 1799, he led the left wing of the Army of the Danube in the unsuccessful spring invasion of southern Germany. Accused of the misappropriation of funds in Germany and Alsace, Vandamme was relieved of his command. Exonerated, he was returned to the army in September to command a division of the Army of Batavia (Holland) under General Guillaume-Marie-Anne Brune. An expeditionary force of British and Russian troops had landed late in the summer of 1799 in the Batavian Republic, and Vandamme played an active role in Brune’s army as it forced the enemy to withdraw from the Continent. Back with the Army of the Rhine in January 1800, he commanded a division under General Jean Moreau in the last phase of the War of the Second Coalition.

The Treaty of Lunéville, signed in February 1801, brought peace with Austria, and the Treaty of Amiens, concluded in March 1802, ended the war with Britain.

Vandamme was given command of the 16th Military Division at Lille. In May 1803, however, war between France and Britain was renewed, and Vandamme was given command of a division in the corps of General Nicolas Soult at Boulogne. On 18 May 1804 Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and the next day, Soult, along with seventeen other generals of division, was raised to the dignity of Marshal of the Empire.

The formation of the Third Coalition in the summer of 1805 brought Russia and Austria into the war with Britain against France. To meet the advancing Austrian army in southern Germany, Napoleon ordered his Grande Armée, which was quartered along the English Channel preparing to invade Britain, to march across the Rhine into southern Germany. Vandamme, commanding the 2nd Division of Soult's IV Corps, crossed the Danube at Neuburg. An Austrian army, commanded by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich, was surrounded at Ulm and forced to surrender. Vandamme's division had captured the towns east and south of Ulm and sealed off the city to the south. Following Mack's capitulation, the French army marched down the Danube to Vienna.

The Russian army advancing from the east arrived in central Europe too late to save the Austrians at Ulm. Therefore, General Mikhail Kutuzov, who commanded the tsar's army, withdrew into Moravia, where he received reinforcements. With the advantage of numerical superiority, an Austro-Russian army decided to give battle at Austerlitz. On 2 December the two armies met in one of the most decisive battles of the Napoleonic Wars. Soult's IV Corps held the center of the French position with the divisions of generals Vandamme and Louis-Vincent St. Hilaire. Marshal Louis Davout held the French right wing and Marshal Jean Lannes the left. When Kutuzov weakened his center to attack the French right, Napoleon ordered Soult's division up the slopes of the Heights of Pratzen. Vandamme and St. Hilaire broke the Russian center and wheeled right to take the Russian corps on their flank that were attacking Davout. The Russian center and left wing were crushed and suffered heavy casualties as they were driven from the field of battle. Only the enemy's right wing retreated in good order. It was Napoleon's greatest triumph on the battlefield. Vandamme and his division distinguished themselves on that occasion, and in appreciation the Emperor gave the general a pension of 20,000 francs.

In the campaign against Prussia in 1806–1807, Napoleon at Jena and Davout at Auerstädt (14 October) decisively defeated the Prussian army. Following the battle, Vandamme forced the city of Magdeburg to surrender and then served as part of IX Corps under Napoleon's youngest brother, King Jérôme of Westphalia. He besieged and captured the principal fortified cities of Silesia: Glogau, Bres-

lau, Schweidnitz, Glatz, and Neiss. The Treaty of Tilsit ended the fighting in July 1807. Once again Napoleon showed his appreciation for Vandamme's services by naming him comte de Unsebourg on 19 March 1808. Then in the spring of 1809, Vandamme was, for the first time, given command of VIII Corps (Württemberg troops) of the Grande Armée when Austria again chose war with France. He fought at the Battle of Eggmühl (22 April), but he was protecting the army's rear and flanks during the Battle of Aspern-Essling (21–22 May) and Wagram (5–6 July). The Treaty of Pressburg brought an end to the war, and Vandamme was given leave to return to his family at Cassel.

He commanded the camp at Boulogne in 1810–1811. In the spring of 1812 he was given command of VIII Corps of the Grande Armée and was again placed under King Jérôme, whose three army corps formed the right wing of the army that was preparing to invade Russia. Vandamme and Jérôme, who had not worked well together in Silesia, again clashed. Within weeks of the march into Russia, Jérôme relieved the general of his command; Napoleon ordered him back to France, where he spent the months of the disastrous campaign in Russia.

Napoleon was not pleased with Vandamme's insubordination: He had a history of conflict with Soult and Jérôme, under both of whom he had served. However, in 1813 the Emperor was in need of good field commanders, and Vandamme had an excellent record. Napoleon therefore gave him two divisions and placed him under Davout's orders. Davout's reputation as a stern taskmaster was well known to Vandamme, and the general took, and carried out, orders without his usual insolence and insubordination. In the late spring of 1813, Davout assigned him the task of capturing the city of Hamburg, which had rebelled against its French occupiers. With the successful completion of that task, Vandamme was given command of I Corps of the newly organized army in eastern Germany.

Napoleon had won battles at Lützen on 2 May and Bautzen on 13 May while Vandamme besieged Hamburg. A truce followed in the summer months. When the fighting resumed in mid-August, Austria joined Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Britain to form the Sixth Coalition against France. On 26–27 August Napoleon defeated an Allied army at Dresden. Vandamme was ordered to move onto the enemy's line of retreat. At the Battle of Kulm, his single corps faced a superior force of Austrians, Prussians, and Russians. When he was forced to retreat, General Friedrich Heinrich von Kleist's Prussian corps, retreating from Dresden, stumbled on to Vandamme's rear, surrounding I Corps. Half of Vandamme's command was killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. The rest scattered and found their way back to the main army. Vandamme remained

with his troops and was captured by the Russians. He was first taken to Moscow, where he spent several months, and then was sent east to Vyatka, where he lived until the war ended with the abdication of Napoleon in April 1814. Vandamme arrived back in France two months later.

Exiled to the island of Elba, Napoleon returned to France in March 1815. Once again the nations of Europe formed a coalition (the seventh), and on 15 June Napoleon marched north into Belgium to meet the Anglo-Allied and Prussian armies. On the sixteenth the Emperor attacked and defeated the Prussians at Ligny led by Field Marshal Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt. Vandamme commanded the left wing at Ligny, and led the vanguard of Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy's force that pursued the Prussians to the north. At Wavre, two days later, Vandamme caught up and engaged the Prussian rear guard, while at the same time Napoleon was fighting the Duke of Wellington and Blücher at Waterloo. When, on the nineteenth, Grouchy learned of the defeat at Waterloo, he led his two corps south to Paris. Following Napoleon's second abdication and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, Vandamme was exiled. He took refuge in Philadelphia from 1816 to 1819, at which time he was allowed to return to France. Vandamme lived quietly at Cassel until his death on 15 July 1830.

*John Gallaher*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Brune, Guillaume-Marie-Anne; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Dresden, Battle of; Eggmühl, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fifth Coalition, War of the; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Hamburg, Defense of; Hondschoote, Battle of; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Kulm, Battle of; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Lannes, Jean; Ligny, Battle of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Lützen, Battle of; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Magdeburg, Siege of; Marshalate; Moreau, Jean Victor; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Pressburg, Treaty of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Russian Campaign; Second Coalition, War of the; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Hilaire, Louis Vincent Joseph le Blond; Third Coalition, War of the; Tilsit, Treaties of; Ulm, Surrender at; Wagram, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Vauchamps, Battle of (14 February 1814)

Napoleon's victory in the Battle of Vauchamps marked the end of the Six Days campaign in February 1814 and very nearly led to a rout of the Allied forces under Field Marshal Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher, commander of the Army of Silesia (Russians and Prussians). Following this battle, the Allied leadership reconsidered their previous offers of peace to France, and renewed their intention to fight all the way to Paris in order to defeat Napoleon definitively.

Following his victory at Château-Thierry on 12 February, Napoleon received word that the Army of Bohemia (mostly Austrians) under the command of *Feldmarschall* Karl Philipp Fürst zu Schwarzenberg was gaining ground against the French forces under the command of Marshal Claude Victor along the Seine. He immediately made plans to send his troops south, but was thwarted by the approach of Blücher from the east, who was attempting to prevent Napoleon's movement. Blücher's forces pushed back Marshal Auguste de Marmont's troops, who had been placed in Blücher's path after the Battle of Champaubert on 10 February. Marmont delayed the Prussian advance, and Napoleon was able to put together an attack. Splitting his forces, he sent Marshal Jacques Macdonald and General François Kellermann to help Victor near

Montereau, and took himself and the cavalry under General Emmanuel Grouchy to the east to support Marmont.

Blücher's early success against Marmont's troops was not long lasting: on the morning of the fourteenth, Grouchy's cavalry arrived on the field and successfully broke up the Allied right flank, obliging Blücher to retreat further east. Blücher managed to escape the full brunt of Grouchy's first attack, but as he retreated, Grouchy discovered him again, largely because he had taken a parallel road and had passed Blücher in order to attack from the east. Grouchy was able to cut off Blücher's retreat, but the Allied forces managed to fight their way through the French cavalry, whose artillery was still caught in the muddy roads. Blücher continued his retreat to Châlons, with Marmont in pursuit, while Napoleon and Grouchy proceeded south to meet up with the French troops on the Seine. By the end of the day, Allied losses were severe: Blücher had lost 7,000 men, several guns, and a significant amount of his transport. The French had lost around 600 men.

Napoleon's turn to the south gave Blücher the breathing room he needed to reconstitute his forces; he was also finally in contact with the Army of the North (Russians, Prussians, and Swedes), under the command of General Ferdinand Winzgorode, and the combined might of these armies proved ready to take up the offensive against Napoleon once again.

*Korcaighe P. Hale*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Champaubert, Battle of; Château-Thierry, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Kellermann, François Etienne "the Younger," comte; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Montereau, Battle of; Schwarzenberg, Karl Philipp Fürst zu; Six Days Campaign; Victor, Claude Perrin; Winzgorode, Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron

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## Vendée, Revolts in the (1793–1800)

On 24 February 1793 the National Convention ordered a levy of 300,000 men in response to the mounting pressures of war, intensifying as the anti-French coalition expanded to include the maritime powers of Britain, Holland, and Spain. A week later, in the country town of Cholet, hun-

dreds of young men assaulted recruiting officers sent to enlist them. Thus began a bitter and long-running insurrection that became known as the war of the Vendée, or simply La Vendée. The label is somewhat misleading, because the Vendée was just one of the western departments involved. Another three were profoundly affected, with substantial segments of the Maine-et-Loire (where Cholet is actually located), Deux-Sèvres, and Loire-Inférieure also embroiled. There were, in fact, a series of civil wars, the first and greatest of which, the so-called *grande guerre* (Big War) in 1793, mobilized much of the rural population in these four departments, in an area south of the river Loire. Conflict flared up again from 1794 until Bonaparte's pacification in 1800 (the *petite guerre*, Little War), while there were uprisings during the Hundred Days in 1815 and, finally, surrounding the duchesse de Berry's conspiracy in 1832. This major and enduring hostility to the Republic became notorious, not only for the severity of the uprising, unparalleled elsewhere, but also for the brutality with which it was conducted and repressed; over a third of the official victims of the Terror were executed here, not to mention thousands more who died in the fighting or as a consequence of atrocities committed by both sides.

In the spring of 1793, the rebels, or *Vendéens*, achieved significant success. Organized in bands, with leaders drawn from the nobility or middle classes who possessed some military expertise, this essentially peasant army numbered some 30,000. Poorly equipped, with little training or heavy weaponry, they compensated for material weakness with bravery and an intimate knowledge of the local terrain, taking control of the wooded, hilly countryside (the *bocage*) and also some smaller towns, such as Cholet or La Roche-sur-Yon. By summer the revolt had spread to larger towns on the periphery of the area, such as Thouars or Fontenay-le-Comte. Having established a sort of central command for their Catholic and Royal Army, which began issuing its own decrees, the "whites" (from the color of their flags) ventured further afield, storming Saumur and Angers in June, and laying siege to Nantes, albeit unsuccessfully, losing one of their "generals," Jacques Cathelineau, in the process.

The Vendéens returned to their homes, partly demoralized, partly to harvest their crops. They were forced into battle afresh by the arrival of republican troops ("blues," from the hue of their uniforms), detached from the eastern frontier of France, whom they defeated at Torfou in September. A more solid Armée de l'Ouest was now created by the government in Paris, which was finally persuaded of the magnitude of the problem, and the rebels were crushed at Cholet in a murderous encounter between 15 and 17 October. The vanquished Vendéens, their women, children, and priests in train, set out for the coast of Nor-

mandy where they hoped to obtain British assistance, but having arrived at Granville in mid-November, they were disappointed to find no ships awaiting them. Turning back in disorderly fashion toward their native terrain, they were repulsed at both Angers and Le Mans early the next month. The shattered remnants of the Royal and Catholic Army then straggled westward along the Loire, and, on 23 December, they were massacred in the marshlands at Savenay, on the Loire estuary.

This was the end of the *grande guerre*, and repression quickly followed with the infamous drowning of captured rebels by Jean-Baptiste Carrier at Nantes, when hundreds of prisoners were loaded on to barges and sunk in the freezing waters of the Loire. Meanwhile, General Louis-Marie Turreau's "infernal columns" began sweeping the Vendée in the early months of 1794, laying waste to the land as they went. It is difficult to estimate the numbers who were killed on both sides: There were at least 150,000, perhaps 200,000 victims. Some localities lost almost half of their population, though it is unwise to put too much faith in figures, given the unreliability or destruction of documentation. It is not, in any case, simply a matter of quantity; rather it is the extreme brutality with which both sides inflicted reprisals that appalls: the republicans exacted terrible revenge, but the Vendéens slaughtered republicans at Machecoul, for example. One historian has written of a "Franco-French genocide" (Secher 2003). Although this terminology has been contested, the Vendée bore all the hallmarks of a vicious civil war, which included women and children among its victims.

The question that has generated particular historical debate, as opposed to ongoing recrimination between the adversaries, is why this particular area of France should produce such potent and stubborn resistance to the Republic. The participants issued conflicting interpretations, which cannot be taken at face value. The Vendéens presented their rebellion as an uprising that united peasants, priests, and nobles against the godless Republic and aimed to restore the old rustic order. For the government in Paris, by contrast, simple country folk were led astray by counterrevolutionary priests and nobles, who exploited peasant gullibility to pursue their own agenda against the Revolution. Research over the past half-century suggests that the reality was far more complex and that it is impossible to reduce the conflict to a single cause. Many of the issues that affected the Vendée, such as resistance to the military draft, were evident elsewhere, yet nowhere was the outcome so serious. There was nothing inevitable about this dreadful civil war, which was turned into a far more deadly conflict by the insensitive manner in which it was handled and perceived.

Local inhabitants were by no means content with the *ancien régime*, as demands for reform in their *cahier de doléances* (list of grievances; these were drawn up throughout France in 1789) clearly show. They welcomed the Revolution and were expecting a good deal from it. It was their increasing disappointment with what emerged that explains their willingness to rebel, not some desire to return to an earlier golden age. Some historians have coined the phrase *resistance to the Revolution* to replace the term *counterrevolution*, in order to demonstrate that if peasants turned to nobles as leaders, it was only after the rebellion had started and the latter were persuaded to assume command. There is a general consensus that the Vendée was a spontaneous popular uprising against what had come to be regarded as an oppressive Revolution.

Material grievances have been accorded an important place in explaining the Vendéens' deep-seated discontent. They profited relatively little from the changes made after 1789. Many were lease-holders, not owner-occupiers, and the abolition of the tithe and seigneurial dues was of scant advantage to them. Moreover, an area that had been lightly taxed before 1789 now began to bear a heavier fiscal burden, especially after the outbreak of war. Nor was the sale of national lands, former property of the Church, of great benefit. These opportunities, like administrative posts in the new system of local government, were grasped by wealthy elements from the towns, which rural dwellers judged unsympathetic to their interests. The long-standing tension between town and country was reinforced in the area around Cholet, where entrepreneurs put out textile manufacturing into the surrounding countryside; animosity was only exacerbated by the economic depression that accompanied the Revolution. A substantial contingent of weavers, and other artisans, thus fought alongside peasants in the rebel army.

This is not to deny the importance of the religious dimension to the uprising, though it should be viewed in a cultural as well as a purely confessional sense. Reform of the Church, summed up in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and adopted by the National Assembly in 1790, caused unrest elsewhere, but it produced significant disaffection in the west of France. The amalgamation of parishes into larger units hit hard in areas of dispersed habitation, where the church was a social, not simply a religious institution, and gave identity to the different communities. The overwhelming majority of parish priests refused to swear an oath of allegiance to this new order, and later in 1791, they began to be removed from their livings. Their replacements were outsiders, strangers to the language and customs of the area, bitterly resisted as intruders, often with violence, in widespread riots involving women. Matters were made worse when these constitutional clergy were imposed by

alien urban administrators, backed up by militia (the National Guard). The injection of a faith element into the conflict, symbolized by the Sacred Heart emblazoned on the Vendéens' banners, deepened divisions, encouraged martyrdom, and rendered compromise all the more difficult.

The Vendée was a tinderbox, set aflame by the efforts of recruiting officers who arrived in the spring of 1793. The inhabitants were in no mood to sacrifice still more for a regime that had short-changed them and decided to die fighting the Revolution at home, rather than on a distant frontier. The local authorities were hopelessly unprepared for the concerted insurrection that confronted them (it was a different story in the equally unsettled areas north of the Loire, where discontent was confined to the sporadic unrest known as *chouannerie*), and their National Guard units were quickly overwhelmed. It took too long for the government in Paris to respond effectively to the uprising in the Vendée, and this tardiness constitutes a key factor in explaining why rebellion became so deep-rooted. When troops were finally diverted from the foreign front, they were hampered by the nature of the terrain—literally bogged down. The Royal and Catholic Army was beaten in set-piece battles, but fighting on their home turf, in a *bocage* environment ideally suited to guerrilla warfare, the peasant irregulars proved much more difficult to defeat. The resultant frustration contributed significantly to the brutality of the repression, which in turn only stiffened the resistance of the so-called fanatics the republican army confronted.

After suffering major defeats in December 1793, the Vendéens waged a protracted guerrilla war, or *petite guerre*, which lasted for the next year or so, until a less beleaguered post-Thermidorian government felt able to offer an amnesty and brokered truces with the main leaders in 1795. The following year, however, when a sizable band of émigrés, with British backing, contrived a landing at Quiberon Bay in Brittany, the guerrilla campaign in the Vendée reignited. Though the attempted invasion was a fiasco, the Vendéens sustained further resistance until General Jean-Nicolas Stofflet was killed and his colleague François Athanase de la Contrie Charette was executed. It was once again a deteriorating military situation for the Republic, and renewed requisitions, which provoked further insurrection in the Vendée in 1799. It ended after Bonaparte came to power as First Consul and brought effective security measures into force. The truce signed in 1800 proved more lasting, sealed by the Concordat of 1801 with the Church, and a more sensitive attitude toward the official burdens placed on this battered area.

The end of the Empire and the Hundred Days, when the British brought fresh arms for the peasants, saw a recrudescence of unrest, and the Vendée was a natural target

for those seeking to undermine the July Monarchy in 1832. The Vendéens themselves have preserved a vivid memory of these horrendous events, and the area still supports a pronounced conservative political tradition. It has also acquired a strong sense of regional identity, precisely as a result of the shared suffering that the Revolution inflicted.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Chouans; Concordat; Conscriptio (French); Convention, The; Emigrés; Guerrilla Warfare; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Jacobins; Kléber, Jean-Baptiste; Levée en Masse; National Guard (French); Public Safety, Committee of; Quiberon, Expedition to; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of

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## Vendémiaire Coup (5 October 1795)

In October 1795 the French Republic was confronted by a fresh uprising in Paris; Napoleon Bonaparte's role in its repression served as another stepping-stone on his road to power. There had been frequent insurrections in the capital since 1789, but that of 13 Vendémiaire Year IV (to employ the Republican calendar then in force) was unusual, for it involved members of the middle classes, from well-

heeled western sections of the capital, rather than sans-culottes. Though it would be a mistake to label the revolt royalist, as opponents did, its conservatism was a reflection of the reaction that developed after the ending of the Terror. The rebels were not seeking to overthrow the Republic but instead to oust the National Convention, the parliament that had been sitting for the past three years. In fact, the Convention was about to make way for a new regime, enshrined in the Constitution of 1795, endorsed by means of a plebiscite in which over a million Frenchmen had voted. However, members of the Convention, the so-called *conventionnels*, were concerned that forthcoming elections would return a majority of deputies of a more reactionary hue. In order to prevent this outcome they passed the decree of “two-thirds,” which prescribed that two-thirds of deputies to the new Legislative Councils must come from the old Convention.

This proposition had been put when the constitution was voted, but most people had ignored it, unlike the politically aware citizens of the capital and adjacent areas. Determined opposition was galvanized at electoral assemblies in Paris, which declared themselves in a state of insurrection and refused to accept the perpetuation of the *conventionnels*, whose period of office conjured up such bad memories. As in the past, this defense of popular sovereignty was supported by members of the Parisian National Guard, far more numerous than regular troops. The Convention appointed Paul Barras to organize resistance, and he turned to Bonaparte, whom he had met at the siege of Toulon, but whose career had been languishing since Thermidor on account of his association with the Jacobins.

Bonaparte acted in a characteristically vigorous fashion. When the rebels attacked the Tuileries (where the Convention met), he turned his cannons against them; though his famous “whiff of grapeshot,” which saved the day for the *conventionnels*, was actually a hard-fought affair. The *journées* (days) of Vendémiaire relaunched his military career: he was “re-habilitated” and returned to active service, soon to be given command of the (French) Army of Italy. The political situation after Vendémiaire also had a significant bearing on Bonaparte’s future, for the insurrection and its suppression marked a difficult birth for the new regime, the Directory. This was the first, but not the last time that moderate republicans were obliged to turn to the army for support when faced with a hostile verdict at the polls.

*Malcolm Crook*

*See also* Barras, Paul Jean François Nicolas, vicomte de; Constitutions (French); Consulate, The; Convention, The; Directory, The; France; French Revolution; Jacobins; National Guard (French); Republican Calendar; Terror, The; Thermidor Coup; Toulon, Siege of

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## Venetian Republic

Following the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Venetian Republic, which was ruled by an oligarchy of patricians, welcomed French émigrés, including Louis XVI’s brother, the comte de Provence (Louis XVIII). Venice lacked military force and, like Genoa, remained neutral during the War of the First Coalition. During his Italian campaigns of 1796–1797, Bonaparte occupied parts of the Veneto (the territory that the city of Venice ruled beyond the city itself). He resented Venetian neutrality and was aware that the Venetian patricians opposed and were afraid of Revolutionary France. Shortly after the truce of Leoben, he decided to eliminate the Venetian oligarchy. At the same time he feared that an attack on Venice would entangle him in a prolonged siege of the city, thereby encouraging other Italians to resist the French.

The Venetian government gave Bonaparte the excuse he needed to attack Venice when it supported the fierce anti-French insurrection in the city of Verona, the so-called Veronese Passover (*Le Pasque veronesi*). During 17–23 April 1797 the Veronese population attacked the French garrison in the city and killed several hundred soldiers. The revolt was harshly suppressed. An attack on a French ship that entered the port of Venice only increased Bonaparte’s determination to punish Venice. Efforts by the Venetian government to appease the French commander and to convince the Directory to order him to leave Venice alone failed. In early May, Bonaparte demanded that the Venetian government dissolve itself and ordered his troops to attack the city. On 12 May a demoralized Great Council, including the last Doge, Ludovico Manin, resigned, thereby ending centuries-old aristocratic rule in Venice. Power was handed over to a pro-French provisional municipality composed of democrats. Thousands of French troops entered the city and plundered it. Among the treasures they sent to Paris were the four bronze horses of St. Mark’s. The Venetian fleet was sent to Toulon. The French soon occupied the Ionian islands of Cefalonia, Corfu, and Zante, which had belonged to Venice.

Representatives from Venice and other cities in the Veneto asked Bonaparte to annex the region to the Cisalpine Republic, but to no avail. The French general was determined to use Venice as a bargaining card in his negotiations with the Austrians. In the Treaty of Campo Formio

(17 October 1797), Bonaparte delivered Venice and the Veneto east of the river Adige to the Austrians, in return for the latter's recognition of French supremacy over northern Italy and the Cisalpine Republic. This act, which officially ended the existence of Venice as an independent state, provoked enormous indignation among Italian nationalists, who condemned it vociferously.

Eight years after transferring Venice to Austria, Napoleon took it back. In the Treaty of Schönbrunn (December 1805), the Austrians ceded Venice and the Veneto to the Kingdom of Italy. The Continental System (the French-imposed embargo on trade with Britain) drastically limited maritime activity in the Venetian port, causing economic hardship. Venice remained part of the Kingdom of Italy until 1814, when the Austrians regained control of it, a reality ratified by the Congress of Vienna the following year.

*Alexander Grab*

*See also* Art Treasures (Plundered by the French); Campo Formio, Treaty of; Cisalpine Republic; Continental System; Directory, The; Emigrés; Ionian Islands; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italy, Kingdom of; Leoben, Preliminaries of; Ligurian Republic; Louis XVI, King; Louis XVIII, King; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Vienna, Congress of

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## Venice

*See* Venetian Republic

## Vera, Battles of (1 September and 7 October 1813)

The battles for the bridge at Vera over the Bidassoa River were fought on two separate occasions and are sometimes referred to as the Battles of the Bidassoa. Vera is located in the extreme northwest of Spain, close to the Bay of Biscay and the French border.

The initial engagement was the result of General Bertrand, baron Clausel's attempt, while pursued by Allied forces, to rejoin the main French forces under Marshal Nicolas Soult on the northern side of the Bidassoa River after the abortive second counteroffensive against the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington's forces at San Sebastian. While Major General John Byne Skerrett's brigade of

the Light Division was located a short distance away, a company-sized detachment of the 95th Rifles guarded the bridge under the command of Captain Daniel Cadoux. General Lubin Martin Vandermaesen's French force consisted of approximately 10,000 troops, but rains and a swollen river, which prevented him bypassing the bridge through fords, hampered him. Cadoux's riflemen, sheltered in buildings on the northern side of the river, were able to keep up an accurate and constant fire that defeated repeated attempts to storm the bridge. Some accounts state that Cadoux was ordered to withdraw; however, knowing that Clausel's force had no other way to reach the northern side of the river, he refused to withdraw and held the bridge throughout the night of 1 September, withdrawing only when his unit had expended its ammunition.

Vandermaesen, the senior French officer present, was killed attempting to lead an assault on the bridge. While Cadoux's company had only lost two men in the initial French rush of the bridge, they were nearly wiped out as they withdrew under heavy pressure, with Cadoux himself among the dead. Nevertheless, they had delayed Clausel's retreat, nearly causing his surrender to the superior Allied forces closing in. In the end, however, he crossed the river, leaving behind numerous casualties as well as his artillery and baggage.

The second and much larger action at Vera on the banks of the Bidassoa was fought about a month later on 7 October, as an action covering Wellington's crossing of the Bidassoa on fords closer to the sea. Major General Charles, Baron von Alten's Light Division, reinforced by Spanish units, was assigned the task of clearing the heights above the river and the town of Vera, thus distracting the French forces under Soult from the main attacks being launched farther north. Soult had determined that Wellington would attack farther east—inland along the line of the Bidassoa. Accordingly, Wellington was totally successful in his deception. While the main crossings in the estuary of the river were swiftly made—resulting in the turning of the Bidassoa position and allowing Wellington to advance into France—the covering attacks around Vera were costlier, due in large measure to the nature of the rough hilly terrain.

The Light Division attacked with one brigade under Lieutenant Colonel John Colborne, advancing on the left along a spur known as the Bayonette, and another brigade, under Major General James Kempt, attacking on the right along the main northern road, the Puerto De Vera. While in the main attack Wellington's forces had approximately a 2.5 to 1 advantage; Alten's force numbered 6,500 against the defending French forces of Clausel, which numbered approximately 4,000 and held a very strong prepared position. The French forces were, however, unwilling or unable

to provide sustained or effective resistance to the advancing British and Portuguese light troops and retreated off the heights in disorder.

While not the main attack of the day, the offensive at Vera both achieved its tactical objective of preventing French reinforcement at the main crossings, and also facilitated Wellington's further advance by breaking the strongest portion of Soult's line of defense along the Bidassoa.

*John T. Broom*

*See also* Bidassoa, Crossing of the; Peninsular War; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Verling, James Roch (1787–1858)

Verling was a military doctor, most noted for his service on St. Helena while Napoleon was in exile on that island. Verling was born in Queenstown, Ireland, on 27 February 1787. By age twenty-three he had graduated as a Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh University and henceforth went into military service. He served in the Peninsular War, where he earned the high rank of assistant surgeon. Verling was unusual for military medical men at that time, in that he actually held a degree in medicine.

On 9 August 1815 Napoleon and his entourage sailed into exile aboard the HMS *Northumberland*, with their destination the remote island of St. Helena. On board the ship was a company of the Royal Artillery, with Verling as its medical officer. Verling met Napoleon and his fellow exiles.

Little is known of Verling's service on the island until 25 July 1818, when the governor of the island, Sir Hudson Lowe, ordered him to go to Napoleon's residence, Longwood, to offer his medical assistance to Napoleon and all who were with him. This selection was popular with Napoleon's entourage, who recognized that Verling was the most qualified medical man on the island and encouraged Napoleon to accept Verling as his doctor. It was also wise in terms of the politics of the island, as it was critical that the British not be seen as withholding any proper medical care from their "guest," the term used by the British to describe their famous prisoner.

Napoleon, however, was willing to accept Verling as his doctor only if Verling preserved some medical confidentiality and did not report everything to Lowe. Lowe and

Napoleon had become embroiled in a feud, based largely on Lowe's unwillingness to treat Napoleon as the former emperor he was, and Lowe had responded by wanting full and complete control over and information on everything concerning Napoleon. As a result, Napoleon was unwilling to accept any doctor appointed by Lowe on Lowe's terms. Instead, he wanted a doctor who would serve as his own man, with only the minimum required ties to the British military. The kind of arrangement Napoleon wanted ended by destroying the careers of two doctors, Barry O'Meara and John Stokoe. When members of Napoleon's staff suggested a similar arrangement to Verling, he declined and reported the request to Lowe.

Verling did serve as doctor to Napoleon's entourage, a situation that eventually led to tension between him and Lowe. When Dr. Francesco Antommarchi arrived in September of 1819, Verling was pleased to get out of what had become a messy situation for all concerned. Verling left the island on 25 April 1820. He continued to pursue a fine military career, becoming full surgeon in 1827, senior surgeon in 1843, and deputy and full inspector general of the ordnance medical department. He died in 1858 at the age of seventy-one.

One of Verling's most important contributions was the daily journal that he kept during the time he was directly involved with Napoleon. This journal offers exceptional insight into the politics of St. Helena, and it has recently been published for the first time.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Antommarchi, Francesco; Lowe, Sir Hudson; Medical Services; O'Meara, Barry Edward; Peninsular War; St. Helena; Stokoe, John

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### Verona, Battle of (26 March 1799)

Opening, indecisive engagement of the War of the Second Coalition in northeast Italy. The Austrian army of 59,000 troops in Venetia under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova faced a French army under General Barthélemy Schérer comprising six divisions totaling 58,000, including 10,000 allied troops. While Kray was awaiting the arrival of 25,000 reinforcements and the first Russian contingent under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov, Schérer was ordered by the Directory to seize Verona and drive the Austrians from Venetia to support General André Masséna in Switzerland. Both army commanders

decided to launch their attacks on the same day—26 March. With their forces massed on their respective left wings, each side was victorious where it had superior numbers, but the result was indecisive. They were to fight again at Magnano on 5 April.

Until he was reinforced, Kray was to stay in position and then march on the vital fortress of Mantua, but he opted for an early attack to unsettle his French opponents on 26 March, the same day Schérer planned to cross the Adige. The Austrian right (northern) flank with 8,000 troops was protected by eighteen redoubts in the Adige–Lake Garda gap around Pastrengo. Two pontoon bridges were thrown over the Adige. Two divisions were in the vicinity of Verona with 20,000 troops and another two divisions (also 20,000 strong) stood to the south around Bevilacqua. Kray's headquarters were on his right wing, and he planned to halt any French advance on Verona in the flank. The French had massed 23,000 men in three divisions on their left, where Schérer had his headquarters. He planned to attack Pastrengo, cross the Adige, and march on Verona. Two divisions with 15,000 men faced Verona, and one division of 9,000 troops covered the right flank.

The French attack in the north began at 3:00 A.M. on 26 March, quickly driving the Austrians over the Adige, but sustaining heavy losses. As they retreated, the Austrians had broken only one bridge, so Schérer's men could cross the river in force. However, when the second bridge was smashed by a riverboat, necessitating five hours' repair work, Schérer halted his right wing, as he believed he could not take Verona without those troops still on the west bank.

It was only at 6:00 P.M. that he ordered his center under General Jean Moreau forward toward Verona. In fierce fighting with *Feldmarschalleutnant* Konrad Freiherr von Kaim's Austrians, which lasted three hours, positions were won and lost, without any clear outcome. In the south, General Joseph Perruquet de Montrichard with his one French division was ordered to watch the Adige, but decided to launch the first attack. Kray soon counterattacked in overwhelming numbers. Crossing the Adige, three Austrian columns drove the French back on St. Pietro and by nightfall had put them to flight. After losing 4,500 men, Schérer withdrew across the Adige on the following day, while Kray, who had sustained 6,500 losses, concentrated his army in Verona.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Magnano, Battle of; Masséna, André; Moreau, Jean Victor; Schérer, Barthélemy Louis Joseph; Second Coalition, War of the; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in

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## Victor, Claude Perrin (1764–1841)

Claude-Victor Perrin, later known as Claude Perrin Victor, duc de Bellune, Marshal of the Empire, and Peer of France, was born on 7 December 1764 in La Marche, Lorraine, and died in Paris on 1 March 1841. Although one of the most active and distinguished French generals of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Victor appears to have had an unsteady relationship with Napoleon, who never admitted him into his inner circle. Although vilified after the wars for his persecution of former comrades, his performances at Marengo, Friedland, and the crossing of the Berezina in 1812 were equal to any of those of Napoleon's subordinates.

Born the son of a court usher, Victor joined the 4th Artillery Regiment (16 October 1781) initially as a clarinetist. After ten years' service, he obtained his discharge (1 March 1791), settling in Valence. Working as a grocer, he married Jeanne-Marie-Josephine Muguët (16 May 1791), with whom he had four children over the next decade. Victor joined the National Guard as a grenadier (12 October 1791), and volunteered to defend the frontier, becoming adjutant in the 3rd battalion of Drôme Volunteers (21 February 1792). When Victor transferred to the 5th Bouches-du-Rhône battalion (4 August 1792), he was promoted to the post of adjutant major, with the rank of captain, swiftly becoming a lieutenant colonel on 15 September.

Through the course of 1792–1793 he served with the (French) Army of Italy, before taking part in the siege of Toulon (August–December 1793). Twice promoted for bravery by the political commissars Antonio Salicetti and Thomas Gasparin, Victor was appointed *adjutant général* with the rank of *chef de brigade* (the republican equivalent of colonel) on 1 December 1793 and, after receiving a wound while seizing the "little Gibraltar" fortress from the British (17 December), was promoted to *général de brigade* (20 December). In this last attack, Victor encountered Napoleon Bonaparte, who was also wounded and promoted equally with Victor. After recovering from his wounds, Victor served with the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, receiving confirmation of his grade on 13 June 1795. Victor returned to the Army of Italy and fought at Loano (22–25 November 1795). General Barthélemy Schérer gave him an ad-

vance guard command before the arrival of Bonaparte in the spring of 1796.

Taking part in Bonaparte's first Italian campaign (1796–1797), Victor was particularly distinguished at the action of Saint-Georges (15 February 1797), where he led a ferocious attack at the head of the 57th Line. After this action Bonaparte dubbed the 57th “The Terrible,” giving Victor a field promotion to *général de division*, which was confirmed on 10 March. After the Treaty of Campo Formio he returned to France and was assigned to the proposed Army of England (12 January 1798). He was made commander of the 12th Military Division (Nantes) on 18 March before being recalled to the Army of Italy (3 May). Victor therefore missed out on the expedition to Egypt, which left him outside the tight nucleus of generals Bonaparte trusted most.

In Italy, Victor fought against the Austro-Russian forces in 1799 and was wounded at the Battle of the Trebbia (18–19 June). In January 1800 General André Masséna intrigued against Victor, telling Bonaparte that Victor openly opposed the Brumaire coup and was encouraging his troops to desert. On 3 February Masséna successfully recommended that Victor be replaced. However, Victor met the First Consul in March, seemingly without any hostility, and was rewarded with the post of *général de division* in the Army of the Reserve (1 April).

On 9 June 1800 Victor came to the assistance of General Jean Lannes and won the Battle of Montebello. Arguably, Victor's best performance came at Marengo (14 June), where he skillfully resisted the first shock of the Austrian army. Ordering General Gaspard Amédée Gardanne's division to make a fighting withdrawal, Victor lured the Austrians into a killing ground around the Fontanone Brook. After two hours, Lannes came up to support his right, and it was only after 2:00 P.M. that Victor's troops began to fall back, delaying the Austrian outbreak long enough to give time for reserves under General Louis Desaix to arrive.

After Marengo, Victor was made lieutenant to the commander in chief of the Army of Batavia (the forces of a French satellite republic, formerly Holland) on 25 July 1801, before being appointed on 9 August 1802 as commander of a military expedition to Louisiana that never sailed. Instead, after having divorced his first wife in 1801, he married Julie Vosch van Avesaat, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a Dutch rear admiral, in June 1803. On 14 June 1804 he was made a Grand-Officer of the Legion of Honor and made president of the Maine-et-Loire Electoral College. He was not included in the first promotions to Marshal of the Empire, but was sent as plenipotentiary to the court of Denmark on 19 February 1805.

After missing the campaign of 1805, Victor was recalled to the Grande Armée in 1806, serving as chief of

staff to Marshal Lannes. He saw action at Saalfeld (10 October) and Jena (14 October), where he was wounded. He signed the capitulation of Spandau (25 October), and was again in action at Pultusk (26 December). Victor was given command of X Corps in Poland (5 January 1807) but was captured and made a prisoner of war on 20 January while en route to take up his post. Exchanged on 8 March, he was sent to besiege Graudetz. Victor then took command of I Corps in Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte's absence and arrived in time to support Marshal Michel Ney's faltering corps at Friedland (14 June), driving into the Russians and securing the French victory. After Friedland, Victor at last entered the ranks of the Imperial Marshalate (13 July).

After the Peace of Tilsit, Victor was appointed governor of Berlin. He was made a duke in September 1808, receiving the obscure title of duc de Bellune. Legend has it that his ducal title was the result of a pun by the Emperor's sister, Pauline. In his early career, Victor had served under the nom de guerre “Beau Soleil” (beautiful sun). When spoken, the title Bellune sounded like the French words for “beautiful moon.” After fifteen months in the Prussian capital, he received orders to proceed to Spain.

Commanding I Corps, Victor won at Espinosa de los Monteros (10–11 November 1808) and Somosierra (30 November). After Madrid was captured (2 December), Victor went on to fight at the battles of Ucles (13 January 1809) and Medellín (28 March). He was ordered to support Marshal Nicolas Soult against Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley's British troops in Portugal, but was forced onto the retreat. As the British pursued Soult into Spain, Victor joined with King Joseph Bonaparte and General Horace Sébastiani, meeting the British at Talavera (27–28 July). Seizing the initiative, Victor ordered a bold night attack that only narrowly failed. The following day the French were beaten and forced to retreat. However, Wellesley also retreated, and so Victor was able to retrace his steps and belatedly take Talavera. Here Victor demonstrated a generous side to his character, ensuring that captured British wounded were cared for with the same attention as his own soldiers. In October 1809 Victor began operations in the Sierra Morena, advancing into Andalusia and entering Seville on 1 February. He then pushed on to Cádiz (5 November) and began what proved to be a costly, fruitless thirty-month siege.

Victor was recalled to the Grande Armée (3 April 1812) and given command of IX Corps. Occupying the land between the Elbe and Oder rivers until August, Victor moved eastward to support the advance into Russia. When the army retreated from Moscow, Victor moved up in support, most notably at Studienka (27–28 November). While the shattered remains of the army crossed the frozen Berezina River, Victor's troops acted as a rear guard, launching counter-

attacks to keep the Russians away from the packed bridges. Crossing the Niemen with the wreck of the army, Victor took command of II Corps in Germany, fighting at the battles of Lützen (2 May 1813), Dresden (26–27 August), Wachau (16 October), and Leipzig (16–19 October).

As the fighting entered France, Victor fought at Brienne (29 January 1814), La Rothière (1 February), and Valjouan (17 February). En route to Montereau, Victor saw his son-in-law mortally wounded. Already pushed to the limit, Victor allowed his troops to rest at Salins, enabling the Allied troops he was pursuing to escape. Napoleon was furious and dismissed Victor from his command. Disgraced, Victor refused to quit the army and declared he would take up a musket and serve as a grenadier. This display of dedication melted Napoleon's wrath. Having already given Victor's corps to General Maurice, comte Gérard, the Emperor instead offered Victor two brigades of the Imperial Guard. As a proof of his courage, Victor was wounded at Craonne (7 March), struck in the thigh by a round shot (cannonball).

During the First Restoration, Victor was made a Chevalier de Saint-Louis (2 June 1814) and given command of the 2nd Military Division (6 December). Victor dedicated himself to supporting the Bourbons and was unwilling to support Napoleon on his unexpected return to France (1 March 1815). Leaving Paris on 19 March, Victor proceeded to Châlons, where he hoped to employ his troops to block Bonaparte's advance on the capital. However, Victor found their sympathies had turned against the king in favor of their former Emperor. Fearing reprisal, Victor decided to flee from France, following Louis XVIII to Ghent, where he remained in dedicated service until after Waterloo, fought on 18 June. This fidelity to the monarch was rewarded on their return to France in July. On 17 August Victor was called to the Chamber of Peers and made major general of the Royal Guard (6 September). On 12 October he was made president of the notorious commission charged with investigating officers' conduct during the "usurpation" of the Hundred Days. In this role, Victor forever tarnished his reputation among former comrades, in particular for having voted for the death penalty for Marshal Ney.

On 10 January 1816 Victor was made governor of the 16th Military Division. On 14 December 1821 he was appointed minister of war, making an unsuccessful attempt to gain a command in the (French) Army of Spain in 1823. In 1824 he turned down the role of ambassador to Austria (30 November) and retired to his estates. During the coronation of Charles X, Victor was made a member of the Superior War Council. During the July Revolution of 1830, he swore an oath to the new government but distanced himself from public affairs. He died in Paris and was buried at Père-Lachaise cemetery.

*Terry Crowley*

*See also* Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bonaparte, Joseph; Bonaparte, Pauline; Brienne, Treaty of; Brumaire, Coup of; Cádiz, Siege of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Craonne, Battle of; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Dresden, Battle of; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Espinosa de los Monteros, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Friedland, Battle of; Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Germany, Campaign in; Imperial Guard (French); Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jena, Battle of; Jena-Auerstädt Campaign; La Rothière, Battle of; Lannes, Jean; Leipzig, Battle of; Loano, Battle of; Louis XVIII, King; Lützen, Battle of; Madrid, Action at; Marengo, Battle of; Marshalate; Masséna, André; Medellín, Battle of; Montebello, Battle of; National Guard (French); Ney, Michel; Peninsular War; Pultusk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Saalfeld, Action at; Somosierra, Action at; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Talavera, Battle of; Tilsit, Treaties of; Toulon, Siege of; Trebbia, Battle of the; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Vienna

Capital city of the Habsburg Empire (from 1804, the Austrian Empire) and until 1806, the seat of the Holy Roman

Emperor, Vienna was the largest city in central Europe with a population of over 200,000. On the south bank of the Danube, the old city was confined within the city walls, with suburbs sprawling in all directions, and beyond, new industrial areas. It was occupied twice by the French, in 1805 and 1809, but became the base of the postwar settlement in its famous Congress.

Largely rebuilt in Rococo style after the Turkish siege of 1683, Vienna was the political and cultural center of Mitteleuropa (central Europe), among the last Alpine foothills before the Hungarian plain. Its wealth was based on its position as the capital of the Habsburg Empire and Lower Austria. The walls of the city were destroyed by Napoleon in late 1809, and at its heart was the great Stephansdom (St. Stephen's Cathedral), which looked out over more than fifty churches, the Hofburg Palace, and the many palaces of wealthy magnates. Around the Hofburg were the government offices, including the Foreign Ministry on the Ballhausplatz and the Albertina Palace with its famous art collection. Home of the composers Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, Vienna enjoyed a rich cultural heritage, which included the State Opera House (built in 1776) and the Theater an der Wien musical theatre, as well as many museums and art galleries. In the north lay the Prater, a large green space open to the public. The wider streets and squares were adorned with fountains and statues, although the Kärtnerstrasse was a notorious bottleneck. The shops displayed the wide variety of fine goods imported into the city.

The road north to Bohemia crossed the Danube via the Tabor bridges, while the road south ran down the Wiednerstrasse and out through the Kärtnerstor (Carinthian Gate). Beyond the bastioned walls lay the 600-meter-wide glacis, an open area bounded on the east by the noxious river Wien, but now increasingly surrounded by a mix of palaces (including Prince Eugene's Belvedere) and affluent suburbs, which were increasingly served by regular public carriage services. Outside their outer limits, guarded by the defensive works of the Linie (now the Gürtel), lay the unregulated industrial areas and the local villages. Three miles to the south of the city was the new imperial summer palace at Schönbrunn with its famous gardens.

Vienna comprised 6,159 houses in 1790, rising to 7,540 in 1820, following an 1802 commission that relaxed the building rules. Population movements caused fluctuations in the area's population, which by 1790 stood at 215,000 rising to 240,000 by 1805, before falling to 225,000 in 1809 and then rising again steadily.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Austria; Beethoven, Ludwig van; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Francis I, Emperor; Haydn, Joseph; Holy Roman Empire; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna, Congress of

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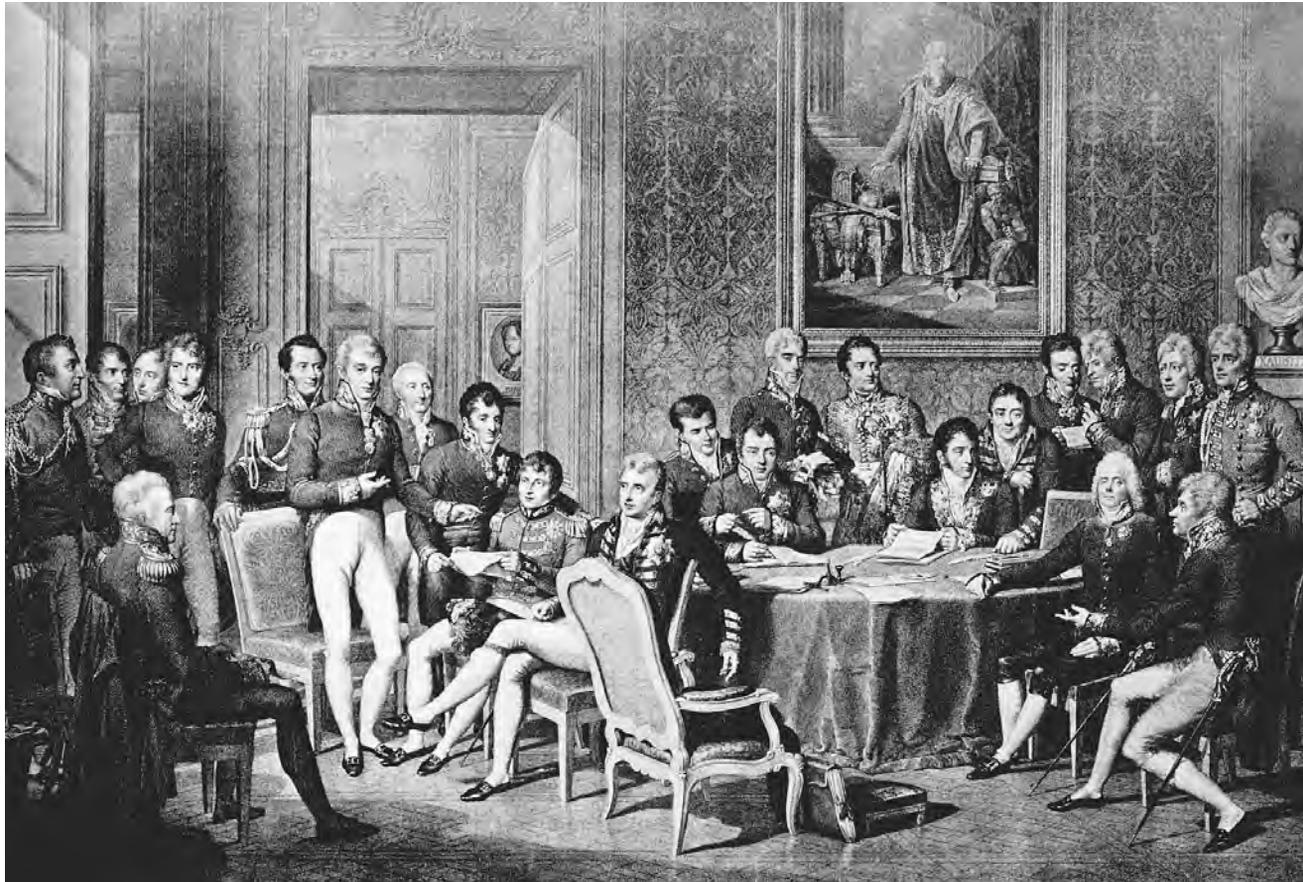
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### **Vienna, Congress of (15 September 1814–9 June 1815)**

A conference of representatives of European states at Vienna to redraw the Continent's political map following the defeat of Napoleonic France.

While fighting Napoleon in 1814, Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia concluded a special alliance with the Treaty of Chaumont (1 March 1814), which clarified Allied war aims and made provision for a future European settlement. The later Treaty of Paris (30 May 1814) provided for the convening of a conference at Vienna to create a new political order in Europe based on the principles of legitimacy (generally on a hereditary basis) and the balance of power. Invitations to the Congress were extended to "All the Powers engaged on either side in the present War." However, Article I of the secret agreement between Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia stated that these states would reserve the de facto decision-making process to themselves and decide "a system of real and permanent balance of power in Europe." Minor powers were unaware of this arrangement and remained under the impression that they would be given a chance to contribute to the new European order.

Delegates from European states began to arrive in Vienna toward the end of September 1814. Austria was represented by Klemens Fürst Metternich, the foreign minister, and his deputy, Johann Philipp Freiherr von Wessenberg. Friedrich von Gentz was Metternich's personal secretary, Freiherr von Binder advised him on Italian issues, state councillor Hudelist served on the statistical committee, and Johann Graf Radetzky von Radetz on military matters. The British foreign secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, took part in negotiations in 1814, but Britain was later represented by the Duke of Wellington and Richard Le Poer Trench, second Earl of Clancarty. The Prussian delegation was led by Karl Fürst von Hardenberg, the chancellor, representing King Frederick William III, who was also present in Vienna. Other principal Prussian delegates were Wilhelm von Humboldt, General Karl Friedrich von dem Knesebeck, Johann Gottfried Hoffman, and Heinrich Freiherr vom und zum Stein. French foreign minister Prince Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand was sent on behalf of the French monarchy, while the Russian delegation included Tsar Alexander I and his advisers, including Karl Nessel-



The Congress of Vienna. Delegations, including many led by prominent heads of state, assemble in the Austrian capital to reshape the European political landscape and establish a system for future security and cooperation. (Library of Congress)

rode, Count Giovanni Antonio Capo d'Istria, and Charles André (Carlo Andrea) Pozzo di Borgo.

In addition, representatives from Spain, the Papal States, Portugal, Sweden, Hanover, Bavaria, Württemberg, and some thirty-two minor states attended the conference. Two delegations represented Naples, one of them charged with the interests of King Joachim Murat, the former French marshal, the other acting on behalf of the Bourbon dynasty. Initial meetings of the representatives of the major powers—Metternich, Castlereagh, Hardenberg, and Nesselrode—began on 15 September 1814 and led to the adoption of procedural rules for the Congress, which officially opened on 1 October 1814.

The Congress faced daunting problems from the very beginning. The Great Powers failed to realize in advance how much minor powers would resent their exclusion from the initial meetings. Secret articles of the Treaty of Paris were not communicated to the minor powers, depriving the Great Powers of the legal and moral basis for their claims. France, which was also excluded from discussions, took advantage of this circumstance to claim leadership of the minor powers and drive a wedge among the

Great Powers. Furthermore, the Great Powers were mistrustful of each other's designs and intentions, and Talleyrand brilliantly exploited their differences. On 30 September he and the Spanish representative Don Pedro de Labrador received an invitation to a preliminary meeting of the plenipotentiaries. At this meeting, the proposals made by the four Great Powers were presented, and Talleyrand challenged them at once. He questioned his solitary representation of the French delegation and was told that only the head of each cabinet had been invited. Talleyrand retorted that Humboldt, who had accompanied Hardenberg, headed no cabinet; when informed that Humboldt was present because of Hardenberg's deafness, the lame Talleyrand said, "We all have our infirmities and can exploit them when necessary" (quoted in Nicolson 1973, 141).

Talleyrand thus made the Great Powers agree that each country could be represented by two delegates at the meetings. He then attacked the reference to "Allies" in the protocol. When he was told that the term was used for the sake of brevity, he famously responded, "Brevity should not be purchased at the price of accuracy" (quoted in Cooper

2001, 250). He argued that the Quadruple Alliance was obsolete after the signing of the Treaty of Paris; that all powers that had taken part in the Napoleonic Wars had the right to participate in Congress proceedings; and that the Great Powers had no legal or moral justification for their actions. He refused to recognize their authority to discuss issues without the Congress as a whole.

Talleyrand's challenges were supported by minor powers, forcing the Great Powers to withdraw their proposals. Talleyrand then contended that a directing body of eight powers signatory to the Treaty of Paris had to be established and that the whole Congress must confirm its authority in a plenary session. He thus succeeded in reducing the control that Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain had arrogated to themselves and ensured the inclusion of France, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal in the Committee of Eight. Furthermore, Talleyrand demanded that all discussions and procedures of the Congress be based upon the principle of legitimacy and public law. In his characteristic wily fashion, Talleyrand, having succeeded in including France in the Big Eight (9 January 1815), abandoned the minor powers and concentrated on his next objectives.

Two separate bodies directed the Congress. The Council of Ministers of eight powers (France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Russia) organized ten separate committees to deal with specific issues. The committees varied in their composition and status: the German Committee, the Slave Trade Committee (also known as Conference), the Swiss Committee, the Committee on International Rivers, the Committee on Diplomatic Precedence, the Statistical Committee, the Drafting Committee, and three Committees on Tuscany, Sardinia and Genoa, and the Duchy of Bouillon. At the same time, the Allied sovereigns held their daily meetings, in which they often discussed and agreed on issues in ways contrary to instructions given to their negotiators. These inconsistencies often complicated the talks and led to unexpected difficulties.

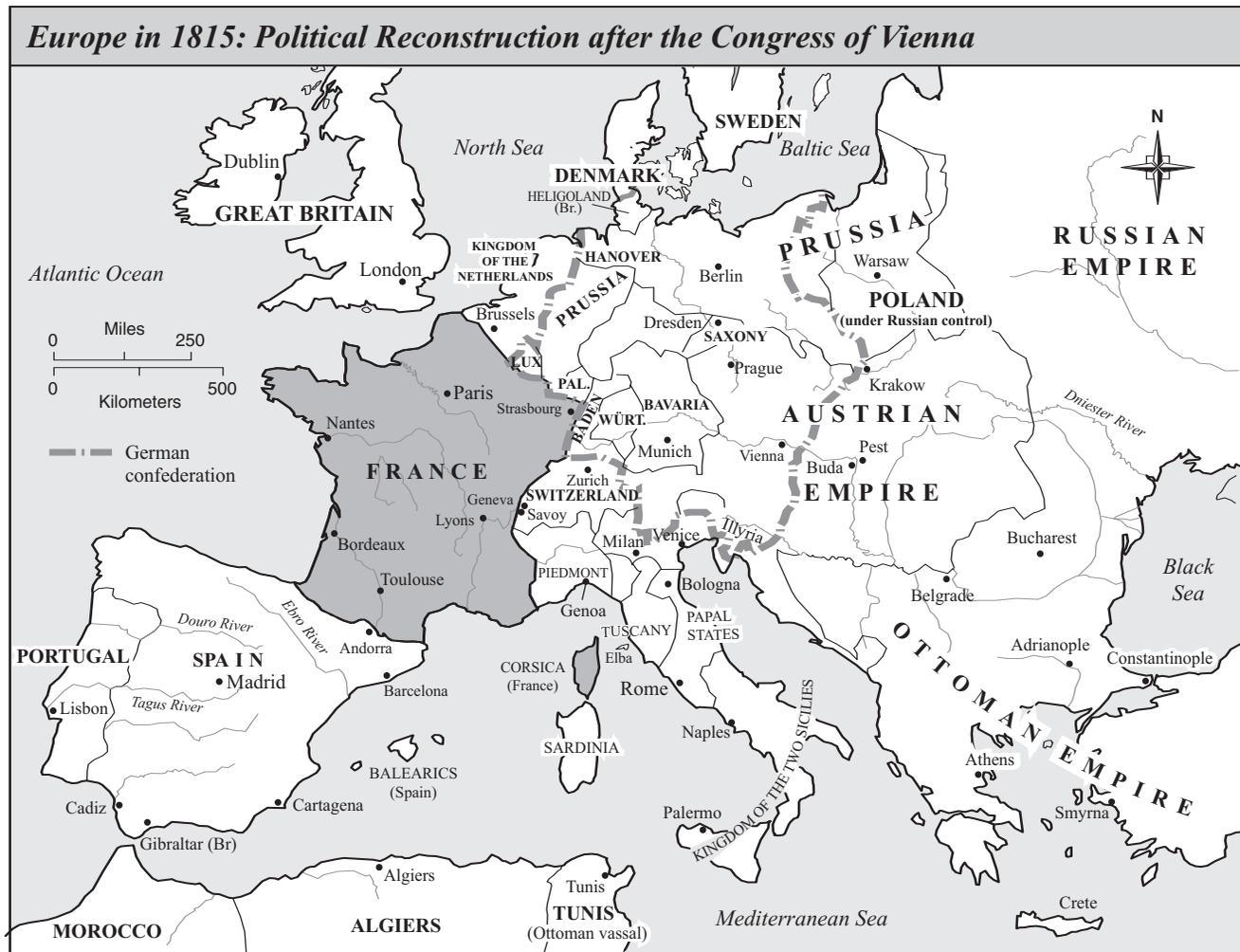
The first major crisis threatening the unity of the Congress was over the Polish-Saxon issue. Back in 1808, Napoleon had established the Duchy of Warsaw and promised eventual independence to the Poles. Now, Tsar Alexander of Russia wanted to create a larger Kingdom of Poland that would include the Polish territory then in Prussian possession and place it under Russian sovereignty. Prussia agreed to surrender territory if compensated with territory from Saxony, whose king had supported Napoleon and therefore had to be penalized. Austria and Britain immediately objected to these designs as threatening their interests. Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, tried to settle this complex matter by assuring Alexander that Austria would support

his Polish claim if he would prevent Prussia from expanding into Saxony; he then approached the Prussian representative, Hardenberg, promising to support the Prussian claim in Saxony if Prussia opposed Russian designs in Poland. However, Saxony was then under Russian occupation, inducing Prussia to heed Alexander's offer. Metternich's intrigue was eventually exposed, and Alexander was so enraged by it that he challenged the Austrian chancellor to a duel and refused to speak with him for three months.

As tensions between the four Great Powers increased, Talleyrand skillfully played them off against one another. Citing the principle of legitimacy, he argued that Russia and Prussia had no authority to deprive the lawful king of Saxony of his territory and throne. On 3 January 1815, he negotiated a secret military alliance with Britain and Austria against Russia and Prussia. Article I of this secret treaty pledged the mutual support of the signatory parties in the event of any one of them becoming involved in a war. In Article II, France and Austria promised to deploy 150,000 men, while Britain would supply them with subsidies. Article III stated that Britain would consider any attack on Hanover or the Low Countries as a *casus belli*. Article IV considered inviting minor powers (Hanover, Sardinia, Bavaria, and Hesse Darmstadt) to join the alliance. Thus, less than a year after being defeated, France assumed a major role at the Congress, divided the Great Powers, and created a new axis of political alliances.

The diplomatic struggle in Vienna was briefly interrupted by Napoleon's departure from Elba in March 1815. Returning to Paris, Napoleon found a copy of the secret alliance of 3 January 1815 in King Louis XVIII's study and had it delivered to Alexander, hoping this would break up the anti-French coalition. Despite his frustration, the Russian sovereign supported the Seventh Coalition and ordered his forces to France.

On 9 June 1815, nine days before the Battle of Waterloo, the representatives of Austria, Britain, Prussia, France, Russia, and Sweden signed the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna; eventually thirty-three other states acceded to it, excluding only the Ottoman Empire and the Papal States of the original thirty-five minor states. The treaty contained 121 articles and 17 annexes, which together outlined significant changes to the political map of Europe. Facing a new balance of power in Europe, both Prussia and Russia had to make concessions. Alexander agreed to a smaller Polish state (127,000 square kilometers with a population of some 3,200,000 people), with Prussia surrendering Warsaw but retaining Posen and Thorn; Austria kept the province of Galicia, but Kraków was declared a free city. Prussia received two-fifths of Saxony with a population of some 900,000 people, but the rest of Saxony was left under its legitimate ruler.



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 87.

Britain succeeded in securing its maritime rights and received the former Dutch colonies of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Guyana (or Guiana, now Surinam), and Cape Colony (on the southern coast of Africa), agreeing to pay half of Holland's debt to Russia and provide substantial subsidies to the Dutch; all other Dutch colonies in the East Indies were restored to the Netherlands. British also kept Malta and Heligoland and obtained a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. The main British goal of creating an independent state in the Low Countries, closely allied to Britain, was achieved when Belgium (the former Austrian Netherlands) was united with the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the House of Orange.

The Congress also confirmed the Russian conquest of Finland as well as the transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden. Western Pomerania was given to Prussia, which compensated Denmark with the Duchy of Lauenbourg. The restoration of Louis XVIII in France and of Ferdinand VII in Spain was confirmed.

Italy was dealt with as a geographic rather than a political entity, and its hopes for unity, revived under Napoleon, were dashed. The Papal States were restored to the pope and the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were awarded to Napoleon's wife, Empress Marie Louise, for her lifetime. Naples and Sicily were reunited under Bourbon rule, while the House of Habsburg-Lorraine returned to Tuscany and Modena. Austria received Lombardy, Venice, and Dalmatia to compensate for its loss of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). The Kingdom of Sardinia was restored and given Savoy, Nice, Piedmont, and Liguria, with Genoa. Switzerland was represented by separate delegations from its nineteen cantons, and the Swiss Committee spent much time discussing their future. It was agreed that an enlarged Switzerland of twenty-one cantons would be established under the rotating leadership of Zürich, Lucerne, and Berne. On 20 November 1815 the five Great Powers recognized the permanent neutrality of Switzerland.

One of the most important changes concerned the Germanic states. Initially, the German Committee consisted of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hanover, but was later enlarged to include Saxony, Hesse-Darmstadt, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Metternich had great success in seeing to the creation of the Austrian-dominated German Confederation of thirty-eight states and four free cities, which replaced the Confederation of the Rhine. A federal Diet, under the presidency of Austria, was established at Frankfurt to draft the laws and regulations of the Confederation.

Besides territorial divisions, the Final Act of the Congress addressed other important issues. Britain, for instance, sought the total abolition of the slave trade. In early February 1815, the Slave Trade Committee adopted a declaration unanimously condemning the slave trade. Although it was later included in the Final Act, the declaration had no binding provisions for signatory powers and did not prescribe when or how the slave trade should be abolished. Therefore, Britain eventually concluded separate agreements with states engaged in the slave trade. The Jewish community in Germany succeeded in lobbying the Prussian delegation to place the issue of Jewish rights on the agenda of the German Committee, which formally confirmed them in some German states and made a recommendation to extend them to others.

The Committee on International Rivers, established on 14 December 1814, discussed the question of navigation on the major rivers of Europe. It was agreed that navigation on key waterways, including the Rhine, Moselle, Neckar, and Meuse, would be free. The Rhine Commission was established to eliminate trade barriers and standardize navigational regulations, police ordinances, and emergency procedures on rivers. One of the lasting achievements of the Congress of Vienna was agreement on diplomatic precedence and rank. It was agreed that the precedence of diplomatic representatives in a given country would be determined by the date of the official notification of their arrival to their mission. Diplomatic officials were organized into four classes: ambassadors and papal legates, ministers plenipotentiary, resident ministers, and *chargés d'affaires*. French was selected as the language of international diplomacy, confirming a state of affairs that had existed since the reign of Louis XIV.

An interesting aspect of the Congress of Vienna was the social life surrounding the conference. European emperors, kings, and princes were accompanied by numerous courtiers and pleasure seekers, and the Austrian court did its best to cater to their wishes. Many crucial decisions regarding the future of Europe were achieved at such balls and dinners. Women, the most famous of whom were the Duchess Wilhelmine Biron of Sagan and Princess Cather-

ine Bagration, played an important role in the work of the Congress, where the leaders of European nations competed for their attention. The Parisian court painter Jean-Baptiste Isabey established a thriving practice painting portraits of the Congress participants. The Austrian court used an intricate system of espionage that employed housemaids, porters, coachmen, and servants to procure bits of information.

Not a part of the Congress, but directly stemming from it, the Holy Alliance was suggested by Tsar Alexander as a means to maintain the conservative order and to encourage monarchs to rule according to Christian principles. Some Congress participants downplayed its relevance, with Castlereagh describing it as “a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense” (quoted in Yonge 1868, 2:229) and Metternich calling it a “loud-sounding nothing” (Metternich 1970, 1:165). Nevertheless, the Holy Alliance was supported by many European sovereigns and eventually became associated with the forces of reaction in Europe, and particularly with the policies of Metternich.

The Congress of Vienna had a significant impact on European history. It established a new political system, also known as the Concert of Europe, which maintained the balance of power on the Continent for the next thirty-three years. The Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance continued to uphold the decisions of the Congress, settled disputes and problems by means of conferences, and maintained conservative order in Europe. The system proved its effectiveness and resilience when it successfully suppressed liberal revolutions throughout Europe in the 1820s and 1830s.

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*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Austria; Bavaria; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Chaumont, Conference and Treaty of; Confederation of the Rhine; Denmark; Elba; Ferdinand VII, King; Finland; France; Francis I, Emperor; Frederick William III, King; Gentz, Friedrich von; Great Britain; Hanover; Hardenberg, Karl August Fürst von; Holy Alliance; Humboldt, Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand Freiherr von; Ionian Islands; Louis XVIII, King; Marie Louise, Empress; Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von; Murat, Joachim; Naples; Netherlands, The; Norway; Ottoman Empire; Papal States; Paris, First Treaty of; Poland; Portugal; Pozzo di Borgo, Charles André; Prussia; Quadruple Alliance; Radetzky von Radetz, Johann Joseph Wenzel Graf; Russia; Sardinia; Saxony; Sicily; Slave Trade; Spain; Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom und zum; Sweden; Switzerland; Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, Prince; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Württemberg

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### Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas (1747–1812)

Born on 29 May 1747 in Auch, France, Villaret-Joyeuse (often shortened to Villaret) initially joined the *gendarmes du Roi*, but reportedly left after killing an adversary in a duel. He joined the navy in 1765 as a *volontaire* (midshipman). During his early naval career, Villaret made numerous voyages to both the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. During the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), Villaret served aboard the fleet under the command of the famous admiral, Pierre André de Suffren. Villaret participated in most of the battles fought in the Indian Ocean in 1782–1783. Suffren recognized young Villaret's talent and promoted him to *lieutenant de vaisseau* in 1784 for his service. After the war, Villaret went on to serve a number of years on shore in the port of Lorient.

Villaret returned to active naval command in 1791, when he was ordered to transport troops to St. Domingue

aboard his frigate *La Prudente*. Arriving in early August, he was present in St. Domingue when a massive slave revolt broke out, at which time the local governor used Villaret to transport local forces around the colony. In 1792 he was promoted to *capitaine de vaisseau* and given the command of a ship of the line, *Le Trajan*. In 1793 he commanded a small squadron to patrol the coast of the Vendée. When the rest of the Brest squadron sailed down, a mutiny broke out. Villaret was one of the few officers who maintained order aboard his ship.

Due to his record of discipline, Villaret was made commander in chief of the Brest fleet, the most important naval force of the French Navy, and promoted to *contre-amiral* (rear admiral). He held this important position for nearly three years during the tumultuous Revolutionary Wars. In the summer of 1794 Villaret sailed with twenty-five ships of the line to protect a grain shipment arriving from the United States. In order to protect this shipment, he was forced to engage a British fleet in the Battles of Prairial (so-called by the French, in deference to the Republican calendar), the main engagement of which is known to the British as the "Glorious First of June" or simply "First of June." Although defeated, he bravely rallied his remaining ships and rescued vessels that had surrendered. In September 1794 he was promoted to *vice-amiral* (vice admiral). In December 1794 he was ordered to sail out to attack British commerce in what is known as the *Coisière du Grande Hiver* (literally, Cruise of the Great Winter). Battered by storms, several of his ships were sunk, and all suffered damage.

In June 1795 Villaret was ordered to sail with nine ships to relieve a small squadron held up near Belle Isle. During the Battle of Belle Isle on 17 June, he chased away a small British squadron. Unable to bring them to battle, he tried to return to Brest, but contrary winds forced him to sail toward Lorient. Close to Lorient, Villaret was discovered by a British squadron under Sir Alexander Hood, Lord Bridport, which was guarding the royalist expedition to Quiberon. During the Battle of Ile de Groix on 23 June, several of Villaret's ships disobeyed his orders and sailed away under full sail, abandoning three slower ships to the British.

In 1796 Villaret was finally removed from command, not due to his defeats, however, but rather to his opposition to the Directory's plan for an invasion of Ireland, as he had instead advocated a campaign in the Indian Ocean. In 1796 he was elected to the Council of Five Hundred as a representative of Morbihan. As a member of the Clichy Club, he made several speeches about the colonies, speaking out against the emancipation of slaves. Exiled to Ile d'Oléron after the coup of 18 Fructidor in September 1797, Villaret was eventually reinstated by Bonaparte in 1801, who had taken power as First Consul in a coup staged two years before.

In December of that year, Villaret commanded the Brest fleet that carried the major portion of General Charles-Victor Leclerc's expedition to St. Domingue. Conflicts over command led to Villaret returning to France with the bulk of the fleet. In April 1802, Bonaparte named him *capitaine-général* of Martinique. Taking control of Martinique in September, he governed the island under extremely trying circumstances, facing various threats including slave uprisings, yellow fever, and British invasion.

Villaret cooperated with the fleets of admirals Edouard Jacques Burgues de Missiessy and Pierre de Villeneuve, who sailed into the Caribbean in 1805 as the preliminary stage of Bonaparte's plan—aborted in the summer—to invade England. In January 1809 a large British expedition invaded Martinique and laid siege to the fortress at Fort-de-France. The month-long siege ended on 24 February, once the British were able to bring in heavy artillery. Upon his return to France, Napoleon had Villaret court-martialed for surrendering the island. Initially found guilty, Villaret pleaded his case and eventually received a pardon from the Emperor. As Napoleon prepared for the invasion of Russia, he named Villaret governor of Venice in April 1811, where he was occupied with maritime affairs. Villaret retained this position until 24 July 1812, when he died of dropsy (edema).

Kenneth Johnson

*See also* Belle Isle, Battle of; Council of Five Hundred; Directory, The; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Glorious First of June, Battle of the; Haiti; Hood, Alexander, First Viscount Bridport; Ile de Groix, Action off; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Martinique; Quiberon, Expedition to; Republican Calendar; Slave Trade; Slavery; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de (1763–1806)

A courageous and competent naval commander, Villeneuve proved unable to influence Napoleon to introduce

more sensible naval policies. At Trafalgar, he conducted a futile battle, well aware that Nelson would win.

Villeneuve was born on 31 December 1763 at Valensole (Basses Alpes). Of a noble family, he joined the Guard Marines in 1778 during the American Revolutionary War and fought the British until 1783. In February 1778 he went aboard the frigate *Flore*, attached to Admiral Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Estaing's squadron, and left for American waters in March 1778. Villeneuve then joined the frigate *Montréal* (32 guns), which was captured by the *Bourgogne* (74) on 4 May 1779. After his return to Brest in December of that year, he shipped out as an ensign aboard the *Marseillais* (74) as part of Admiral François Joseph, comte de Grasse's squadron.

The *Marseillais* won fame at the Chesapeake on 5 September 1781 and later in the naval actions against Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood off St. Kitts on 25 January 1782, as well as at Les Saintes on 12 April. The *Marseillais* returned to France while escorting a large convoy and was laid up at Brest on 5 September 1782. Villeneuve then shipped out on the *Destin* (74), which joined the French naval force assembling off Cádiz in December 1782, as part of an invasion force intended to attack Jamaica. The invasion did not take place, and the *Destin* was laid up in March 1783. Villeneuve then joined the corvette *La Blonde*. He was made lieutenant in May 1786, served on the frigate *Alceste* in 1787–1788 and then on the corvette *Badine* in 1792. Despite the upheaval caused by the Revolution within the officer corps, Villeneuve refused to emigrate and remained in the navy.

In 1793 Villeneuve was promoted to captain, the same year he lost his status as a member of the nobility. He rejoined the navy in 1795 and became deputy chief of staff at Toulon, the principal French port on the Mediterranean. His competence and the experience he had gained in the American Revolutionary War earned him rapid promotion. He became a rear admiral in 1796 at the age of thirty-three and was assigned the task of taking a force of five ships from Toulon to Brest. At the time of the expedition to Egypt in 1798, Villeneuve, aboard the *Bucentaure* (80), commanded the rear guard of Admiral François, comte de Brueys's fleet. He participated in the capture of Malta en route and then in the landing of Bonaparte's army in Egypt. He was not able to assist Brueys at the Battle of the Nile but managed to get back to Malta and join Rear Admiral Denis Decrès, Napoleon's future minister of the navy.

In September 1800 Villeneuve became a prisoner of war at Malta with the fall of that island to the British. After being freed, he received command of a naval force out of the Italian port of Taranto (April 1801). After the Peace of Amiens in 1802, Villeneuve was put in charge of a force in the Antilles, and subsequently of the squadron based at Rochefort. On 30 May 1804 he was promoted to

vice admiral, the same day as Decrès and Honoré Ganteaume. He was the youngest officer to hold that rank.

When Admiral Louis-René de Latouche-Tréville, who had defeated Horatio, Viscount Nelson at Boulogne, died at Toulon, Villeneuve succeeded to command of the Mediterranean fleet. Its mission was to lure Nelson's fleet to the Antilles, in the West Indies, and then to return to European waters to free up the Brest squadron in order eventually to allow the army to cross the Channel and land in England. Villeneuve left Toulon on 17 January 1805, aboard the *Bucentaure*, in the company of eleven ships of the line (four of 80 guns, seven of 74), seven frigates, and 6,400 troops, but a storm and the ships' poor condition forced him to return to port on the twenty-first. He asked Decrès to replace him, but the latter refused. With the Spanish fleet able to cooperate with Villeneuve, Napoleon ordered Villeneuve to rejoin Admiral Missiessy in Martinique and then to return to the English Channel. Villeneuve left Toulon on 30 March. On 14 April he was at Cádiz, where he joined the Spanish commander, Admiral Don Federico Gravina (with six ships of the line of 64 to 80 guns each, and one frigate). A month later, Villeneuve reached Martinique, but Missiessy had already left, and Ganteaume was still blockaded in Brest.

On 9 June, assuming that Ganteaume would not be able to emerge from Brest, and after learning of the arrival of Nelson's and Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's squadrons in the West Indies, Villeneuve decided not to attack Barbados and left to return to Europe. He gained a slight advantage against Vice Admiral Sir Robert Calder's squadron off Cape Finisterre on 22 July, and reached Vigo on 28 July, where he left three damaged vessels and 1,200 sick men. On 1 August, he was off Ferrol, then made for Corunna on the northwest coast of Spain, where on 11 August he joined 5 French ships commanded by Admiral Adrien-Louis Gourdon and eleven ships commanded by Admiral Domingo Grandallana. Due to the serious state of damage of his ships, he took refuge in Cádiz on 20 August. By early August, and probably well before that, Napoleon had abandoned his plan for the invasion of England.

While Villeneuve fought the diseases that raged aboard his vessels, Napoleon, on 19 August, left the camp at Boulogne with the Grande Armée for his campaign against the Austrians and Russians, who were to be decisively defeated at Austerlitz on 2 December. Napoleon, who knew little of naval strategy, cared little for the fortunes of Villeneuve's fleet, and decided to replace him. By the time his successor reached Cádiz, however, Villeneuve had already fought Nelson at Trafalgar on 21 October, losing eighteen out of thirty-three ships of the line either captured or destroyed.

Villeneuve was taken prisoner and brought to Britain, where he was allowed to attend Nelson's funeral and was

later released. He returned to Paris, where he was imprisoned, and died on 22 April 1806 in mysterious circumstances—his body discovered with six deep knife wounds through and around his heart. A supposed suicide note, addressed to his wife, was found beside the body. The police undertook no investigation into an almost-certain case of homicide, possibly committed on minister of police Joseph Fouché's orders.

*Patrick Villiers*

*See also* Amiens, Treaty of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Brueys d'Aigalliers, François Paul; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante; French Navy; Ganteaume, Honoré Joseph Antoine, comte de; Malta, Operations on; Martinique; Middle East Campaign; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; Nile, Battle of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Trafalgar, Battle of

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## Vilna, Battle of (9–10 December 1812)

A series of military operations around Vilna (present-day Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania) during the French invasion of Russia in the 1812 campaign.

In June, with the Grande Armée at the start of operations, Napoleon hoped to take advantage of his numerical superiority to destroy the 1st Western Army around Vilna, then surround the 2nd Western Army and force Tsar Alexander to sue for peace. The Grande Armée crossed the Niemen River on 23–25 June and advanced through Kovno toward Vilna. On 25 June, General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly ordered his 1st Western Army to retreat along predetermined routes and concentrated his forces around Vilna two days later. Napoleon, meanwhile, gathered some 180,000 men (I and III Corps, I and II Reserve Cavalry Corps, and the Imperial Guard) and planned to attack the Russian army at Vilna. Early on the morning of 28 June, however, Barclay de Tolly withdrew his army toward Sventsyani, and Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry occupied Vilna later that day.

Napoleon established large supply depots, the army treasury, and hospitals at Vilna under the command of General Antoine Henri Jomini. In November, following the

French army's retreat from Moscow, French authorities began the evacuation of the city. Following the fighting on the Berezina, the survivors straggled into Vilna on 8 December, where they initially found enormous supplies of food and ammunition. In the ensuing chaos, however, supply stores were ravaged and many stragglers trampled to death. The following day, Russian troops under Colonel Alexander Seslavin engaged the French rear guard under Marshal Michel Ney and briefly seized one of the suburbs of Vilna. Murat, who was instructed by Napoleon to rest troops in the city, became concerned about the proximity of Russian forces and ordered the evacuation of Vilna on the night of 9 December, abandoning thousands of wounded in the hospitals.

On 10 December a detachment led by General Vasily Orlov-Denisov, supported by Ataman Matvei Platov's Cossacks, attacked the French rear guard near Vilna, capturing some 2,000 men and forcing the French to withdraw to the Ponarskaya hill, about 4 miles west of Vilna. Ney deployed his troops (some 4,000 men) at the bottom of the hill, and after a brief combat with Cossacks, he withdrew toward Kovno. At the same time, detachments under generals Paul Golenischev-Kutuzov, Yefim Chaplits, and Mikhail Borozdin attacked Vilna from different directions and seized the town. The precise number of casualties is difficult to verify. The Russians captured all the remaining supply depots and over 14,000 men, including 7 generals, 242 staff officers, and more than 5,000 sick. Many of these soldiers died of malnutrition, disease, and exposure to the elements. Early in 2002, municipal workers uncovered a mass grave of Napoleonic soldiers in Vilnius. Further archaeological excavations revealed several thousand contorted skeletons, who were later given a proper burial.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Cossacks; Imperial Guard (French); Jomini, Antoine Henri, Baron; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Platov, Matvei Ivanovich, Count and Ataman; Russian Campaign

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## Vimeiro, Battle of (21 August 1808)

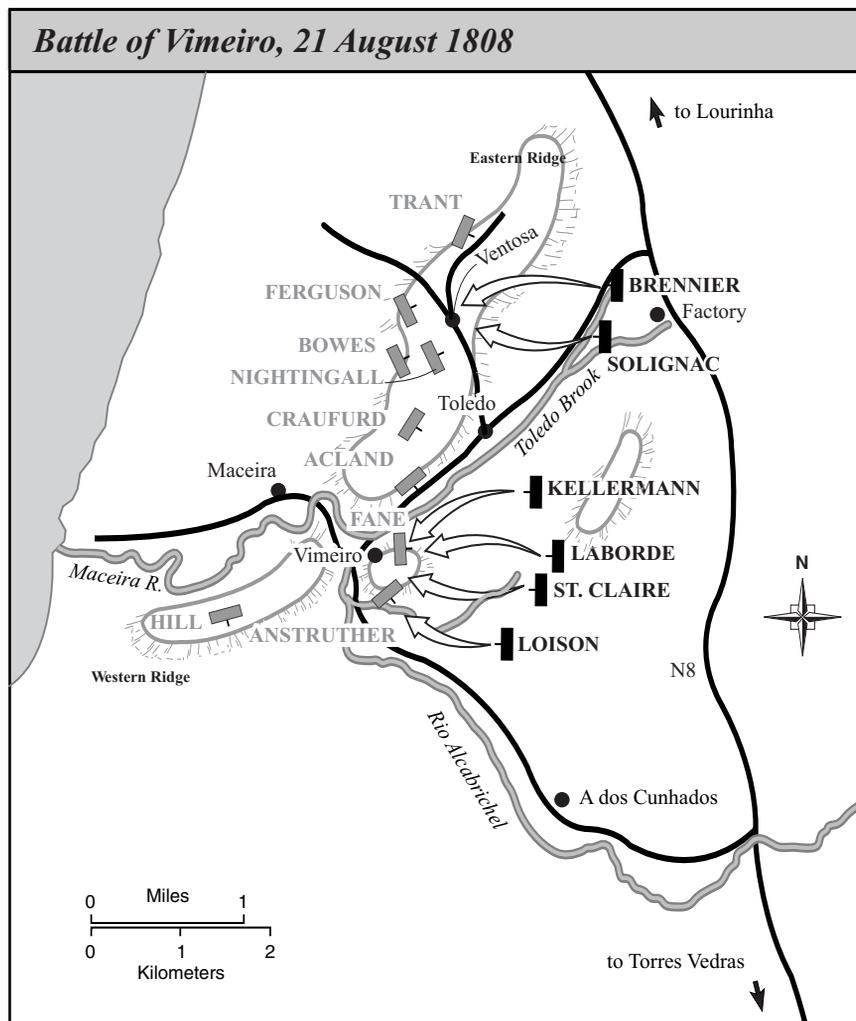
Fought a short distance from Lisbon, Vimeiro was the first major battle of the Peninsular War. Four days after the ac-

tion at Roliça, General Jean Andoche Junot, with 13,000 men and twenty-four guns, marched north from Lisbon to attack the British at Vimeiro, a few miles south of Roliça. Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington) had been reinforced by a further 4,000 men, belonging to the brigades of Brigadier General Robert Anstruther and Brigadier General Wroth Palmer Acland, who had come ashore at the mouth of the Maceira River, about 15 miles south of Roliça. These troops, which brought the number of men under Wellesley's command to 17,000, were welcome reinforcements. Not so welcome, however, was the fifty-three-year-old Lieutenant General Sir Harry Burrard, who had arrived off the mouth of the Maceira on 20 August.

Burrard had arrived in Portugal to assume command of the army, although this came as no great surprise to the thirty-nine-year-old Wellesley, who had been forewarned of his coming by Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state for war. It was entirely a political move, a fact from which Wellesley could take little comfort. Furthermore, two more British officers, Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple and Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, both of whom were senior to him, were also on their way to Portugal. Nevertheless, Wellesley joined Burrard aboard his ship; having been apprised of the situation, Burrard decided that it would be unwise to take any further offensive action before the arrival of Moore's reinforcements, which were known to be due shortly. Having been informed of this, Wellesley returned to his troops, determined to do his best as long as he remained in command, while Burrard remained on his ship for the night.

When Wellesley retired for the evening, he did so having placed six of his infantry brigades with eight guns on the western ridge lying on the south of and running parallel to the Maceira River, while a single battalion was placed on the eastern ridge as guard. The river itself flowed south through a defile between the two ridges and continued on to the rear of the village of Vimeiro, which itself was situated on a flat-topped, round hill. Here, Wellesley had placed his other two infantry brigades as well as six guns. The village was separated from the two ridges not only by the Maceira but also by a tributary that flowed along the southern foot of the eastern ridge.

The hush of night had hardly descended upon the British camp when reports came in that the French were advancing in force from the south. In fact, the French under Junot numbered around 13,000 men (the 1st Division under General Henri François Delaborde, and the 2nd Division under General Louis Henri Loison), 4,000 fewer than Wellesley but with five more guns. Long before dawn showed itself on the morning of 21 August, Wellesley was up on the western ridge, peering through his telescope, but



Adapted from Paget 1997, 66.

as yet no French troops were to be seen, leaving the British troops to while away the early morning cooking their breakfasts. At about nine o'clock, however, clouds of rising dust were spotted away to the east, and soon the glint of bayonets, shako plates, and other accoutrements could be seen as they sparkled in the shimmering sunlight.

From the direction of Junot's approach, it was obvious that Wellesley's left flank was being threatened, which prompted a hasty redeployment of his forces, mainly involving the transfer of three of his brigades from the western ridge to the eastern ridge, leaving Major General Rowland Hill's brigade and two guns alone on the western ridge. Wellesley himself also moved to the eastern ridge, from where he controlled the battle.

The village of Vimeiro itself was held by the brigades of Brigadier General Henry Fane and Brigadier General Robert Anstruther, and it was against this position that the main French thrust appeared to be heading. The British troops here consisted of four companies of the second bat-

talion of the 95th Rifles (2/95th) and the fifth battalion of the 60th Rifles (5/60th), all deployed in a heavy skirmishing line in front of Vimeiro Hill, while on the crest itself were the musket-armed 1/50th (50th Foot), the 2/97th, and the 2/52nd. Behind them, on the reverse slope of the hill, were the 2/9th and the 2/43rd, both in support. These troops were themselves supported by twelve guns. Heading toward these 900 British infantrymen were some 2,400 French troops under General Jean Guillaume Thomières, who were formed into two columns supported by cavalry and artillery and screened by a cloud of skirmishers. The ensuing clash between the two sides marked a significant point in the Napoleonic Wars and set the pattern for a whole series of actions fought in the Peninsula between the British and French armies.

As the French columns advanced against the British infantry on Vimeiro Hill, they did so in the traditional, and up until this point the all too successful, style that had swept Napoleon's armies to victory after victory. Cavalry

cantered along on the flanks, field artillery bounded along over the broken ground, while in front of the columns hundreds of light infantrymen engaged the British skirmish line as a prelude to the assault on the main British line. The formula had been tried and tested, and it had proved successful. And yet here, on the slopes of the hill in front of Vimeiro, Wellesley's skirmishers turned the tables, for so effective was his light infantry screen that the men of the 5/60th and the 95th were only forced back following the intervention of the main French columns. The columns themselves were suffering at the hands of the British artillery, which dealt out death in a new form, shrapnel, which swept the French troops with dozens of musket balls from exploding cases. But it was the clash between the British line and the French column that was to become the standard form of combat and perhaps the most enduring image of the war in the Peninsula.

At Vimeiro, this scenario was premiered with devastating results. The French columns, 30 ranks deep by 40 wide, advanced noisily and confidently against the 900 British troops, formed in a silent, two-deep line. As the French approached to within 100 yards, the British troops, in this case the 1/50th, leveled their muskets and delivered a crashing volley into the tightly packed ranks of Frenchmen. As the column came on, so the effects of each of the succeeding volleys, fired at fifteen-second intervals, increased. The French ranks thinned at each discharge while they themselves were able to bring only 200 of their own muskets—those in front and on the flanks—to bear on the British. It was a rather simple mathematical equation that the French commanders were never quite to comprehend during the war, and when they did try to deploy their men into line, the effects of concentrated British musketry made it almost impossible. Thomières did his best to get his men into line, but it was hopeless. The columns melted away to the rear with Fane's riflemen close on their heels.

To the south of this first column, Thomières's second column was making progress toward the British line. This column, also some 1,200-strong, suffered less from artillery fire, owing to the nature of the terrain over which it passed, but when it neared the British line it began to suffer the same fate as the column on its right. Anstruther's brigade duly dealt the decisive blows, the precise, controlled volleys of the 2/97th rolling from one end of its line to the other, ripping great gaps in the French column, and when the 2/52nd and 2/9th closed in on each side of them, the French resolve disappeared, and once again Fane's riflemen enjoyed a brief chase after them before being called back. In their panic, the French abandoned all seven of the guns they had brought forward with them, the horses and gunners falling victims earlier to the accurate fire of the Baker rifles.

With the initial French attacks having been repulsed, Burrard picked his moment to appear on the battlefield. There appeared little danger to the British at this time, however, and Burrard allowed Wellesley to finish the battle himself.

No sooner had Burrard satisfied himself as to the progress of the fighting than the French committed two more columns to the attack. Once again the village of Vimeiro was the focus of the assault, carried out by two columns, each of two battalions of grenadiers. The British line steadied itself once more and braced itself for yet another onslaught. Lieutenant Colonel William Robe's gunners worked furiously at their guns as they poured shot and shell into the leading French column. Enemy artillery attempted to reply, but their fire was ineffective, and there was a real danger of firing into their own men who were skirmishing with Fane's riflemen. In spite of the fire being directed into the column, it pushed on, moving across the ground lying between the routes of the last two French attacks. Gradually, the enveloping fire from 2,000 British muskets of the 2/9th, the 1/50th, and the 2/97th brought the column shuddering to a halt, and as Wellesley's men advanced down the hill, the French column finally gave way and scattered, abandoning four guns that had been brought forward with it.

While this last attack had been in progress, the second column of grenadiers had managed to move round the left flank of the 1/50th and soon had a clear run into the village of Vimeiro itself. The French incurred heavy losses as they swept into the village through a hail of lead and cannon shot. Here, in the narrow, jumbled maze of houses—a sort of prelude to the fighting at Fuentes de Oñoro in 1811—the French came face to face with the 2/43rd, which Anstruther had thrown forward. The ensuing fighting was chaotic and confused, and bayonets were bent and bloodied. The British troops, in spite of their inferior numbers, managed to thrust the French from the village, and the British line was restored.

Wellesley had just 240 British cavalry available to him, all from the 20th Light Dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Charles Taylor, but with all of the French attacks until now having been repulsed, he chose the moment to launch them in a counterattack. Taylor's men, having dispersed a French infantry square, quickly became intoxicated with their success and rode on at speed, outdistancing their own supporting guns and doing little damage to the French. Almost half the light dragoons were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner—including Taylor himself, who was mortally wounded—when they collided with fresh, and more numerous, French cavalry. The charge was just the first in a series of misadventures of the British cavalry in the Peninsula, punctuated by rare but notable triumphs.

On the eastern ridge above Ventosa, which lay at the eastern end of the ridge, the French were again attacking in strength with 3,000 infantry under General Jean-Baptiste Solignac, who was supported by a small number of cavalry and three guns, and a further 3,200 infantry, supported by dragoons, under General Antoine François Brennier. The first of these two forces advanced on Ventosa itself, while the second force passed to the north with the intention of attacking the ridge from the northeast.

The results of both of these attacks were predictably similar to the earlier French attacks elsewhere on the battlefield, as both Solignac and Brennier advanced in column against their British adversaries, who waited for them in line. The first force, consisting of three columns, struck that part of the line held by Major General Ronald Craufurd Ferguson's brigade. The French were met by a devastating series of volleys, fired by platoons, which blasted away the heads of the columns and prevented Solignac, desperately trying to deploy his own men into line, from making any progress at all. After a few minutes the French were in full retreat, once more abandoning their guns.

No sooner had Solignac's attack come to grief than Brennier's columns fell upon the rear and flank of three of Ferguson's battalions, the 1/71st, 1/82nd, and 1/29th. By the time the first two of these battalions adjusted their positions to meet them, Brennier's men closed on them, and in a confused fight, both the 71st and 82nd were pushed back, the French retaking the guns that had been abandoned by Solignac. However, the 1/29th had sufficient time to alter its position and was soon setting about the right flank of the attacking French columns, which were forced to halt in the face of the 29th's musketry. Ferguson's other two battalions re-formed, and together the three British units forced Brennier's men back. The French appeared to have little stomach for the fight and were soon fleeing in a disorderly fashion, leaving behind them their commander, Brennier, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The three guns retaken briefly by the French were once again in Wellesley's hands, along with a further three guns that had accompanied Brennier.

It was barely noon, and every single French infantry battalion present at Vimeiro had been thrown into the attack, only to be seen off by the devastating effects of British musketry. Of the British troops, 720 had been either killed or wounded, whereas the French had suffered three times that number of casualties, including 450 killed. Now was the time to advance and pursue the defeated French, who had been all but routed that morning. The road to Lisbon now lay open, a fact that should have spelled the end for Junot and his army, but Burrard decided that any further action was unnecessary, and the opportunity went begging, despite the impassioned pleas of a very frustrated and

angry Wellesley. Junot's force, therefore, was allowed to retreat to Lisbon without any hindrance.

Burrard himself did not enjoy the position of commander in chief for long, for the very next day an even older general, Sir Hew Dalrymple, superseded him. Dalrymple also decided that any further action was unnecessary, and together the two elderly generals, devoid of any real military experience and totally failing to grasp the advantageous military situation facing them, agreed to the notorious Convention of Cintra, whereby it was agreed that Junot and his army, along with their arms and accumulated plunder, would be given free passage back to France unmolested. Following this, Burrard, Dalrymple, and Wellesley were recalled to Britain to explain before a Court of Enquiry how they had allowed the French army to escape. Wellesley himself had not even been privy to the treaty but signed it nevertheless, when ordered to do so by Dalrymple.

With all three men having returned home, command of the 30,000 British troops in Portugal devolved upon the 47-year-old Moore, who was about to lead the army through one of the most tragic episodes in the Peninsular War, an episode that was ultimately to cost him his life—the retreat to Corunna.

*Ian Fletcher*

*See also* Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Cintra, Convention of; Corunna, Retreat to; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; Hill, Sir Rowland; Junot, Jean Andoche; Moore, Sir John; Peninsular War; Roliça, Battle of; Shrapnel; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Vinkovo, Battle of (18 October 1812)

An engagement between Napoleon's cavalry screen outside Moscow, led by Marshal Joachim Murat, and Russian

forces under Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, which caused Napoleon to finalize his decision to leave Moscow. It is known in the Russian historiography as the Battle of Tarutino.

When Napoleon took Moscow, he left several major formations outside the city to provide a defensive screen. Among these formations was Murat's cavalry, which, along with Prince Józef Poniatowski's V Corps, was stationed south of Moscow, near the towns of Vinkovo and Voronovo. Troops of these formations had a most unusual situation. On the one hand, their living conditions were extraordinarily poor. They were 50 miles from Moscow and therefore unable to go into the city for needed supplies and food. They had very little in the way of permanent shelter, with their campsites completely exposed to the bitter Russian wind.

On the other hand, the French and Russian troops were posted quite close to each other. Both sides were convinced that peace would soon be declared, and some even thought that the two armies would march together to India to drive the British out of that key economic center. As a result, security was lax, and the two sides would often spend their days fraternizing and even cooperating in the quest for food. Even Murat, who was also the King of Naples and Napoleon's brother-in-law, would parade before the Cossacks, who, out of great respect, would decline to attempt to kill him.

Kutuzov might have been content to continue this way indefinitely, but he was under great pressure from Tsar Alexander to attack the French.

General Horace Sébastiani, commander of the French II Cavalry Corps, received the brunt of the action. General Vasili Denisov's cavalry swept into Sébastiani's camp on the French right flank while most of the French were still asleep. The cavalry was completely surprised and routed, with many killed or captured. The Russians had gained a tremendous advantage, but rather than pursue the fleeing French, the Cossacks instead began to loot the camp.

Russian general Karl Fedorovich Baggovut attacked Murat's left flank and center. Murat was surrounded and in danger of being completely overrun or even captured. But the Russians did not press their advantage, and the French soon rallied. Poniatowski held his position and soon the French were pushing back. Russian resistance collapsed, needed reinforcements failed to materialize, and the French seized the opportunity to turn a likely defeat into a significant victory.

On the Russian side, recriminations soon followed, and the quarreling between the generals intensified. While Kutuzov claimed a great victory, he was only fooling himself. Russian losses were estimated at over 1,000, including Baggovut, with French losses a quarter of that total.

The battle was technically a Russian victory, but the loss of a Russian general was not insubstantial, and the action was all Napoleon needed to cause him to finalize his plans to leave Moscow. It was now clear that, niceties aside, there would be no peace. Some units departed that very night, and the main body of the French army left the next day.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Cossacks; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenischev-, Prince; Moscow, Occupation of; Murat, Joachim; Poniatowski, Józef Anton, Prince; Russian Campaign

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### Vitebsk, Battle of (28 July 1812)

A minor battle in Russia between Napoleon's forces and the rear guard of General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly's army. Napoleon's primary goal in the campaign of 1812 was to force a major battle between his Grande Armée and either of the two Russian armies of the west, commanded by generals Barclay de Tolly and Prince Peter Bagration, respectively. He had reason to believe that he had trapped Barclay's army at Vilna, but delays in his attack allowed the Russians to retreat in good order. Napoleon waited eighteen days before moving forward.

After some misdirected activity, Napoleon discovered that Barclay de Tolly was in Vitebsk with the 1st Army of the West (or 1st Western Army). Napoleon had successfully kept his army between the two Russian counterparts and it therefore seemed that he was in a position to swing his forces to Vitebsk and crush Barclay before Bagration could arrive in support.

Napoleon's desire to deal a devastating blow to the Russians led him to delay his attack by one day in order to bring up reinforcements. As was the case with previous and future delays in this campaign, that decision proved disastrous. Barclay had expected to confront the French, but this decision was based on his belief that Bagration would arrive in time to support him by attacking Napoleon's rear. Marshal Louis Davout had blocked this move, however, and when Barclay realized that, he decided to withdraw. He moved in the direction of Smolensk, where he hoped to join forces with Bagration's army.

After minor skirmishes, Napoleon entered Vitebsk on 28 July, only to discover that the Russians were already gone. His delay had cost him a major opportunity to achieve his goals. Even though he now controlled significant territory and had inflicted not insignificant casualties

on the Russian armies, he had done nothing to force Tsar Alexander to sue for peace.

There was now a good argument for calling a halt to the operations. The French army was exhausted from the long march in extremely hot weather. The summer heat was having a devastating effect on the Grande Armée, with many of its troops ill. The weather had also been especially hard on the horses, and a disturbingly large number of them had been lost.

Napoleon's staff argued the point as best they could. Pierre Bruno, Count Daru tried to convince Napoleon to consolidate his victory, summon reinforcements, and bring the campaign to a halt. If Alexander refused to agree to peace terms, a refreshed and reinforced army could always take up the campaign in the spring. Meanwhile, Poland could be organized: the country put on a war footing, the government and military organized to operate in closer support of the Grande Armée, and Napoleon's support there solidified. In the end, however, Napoleon became convinced that he needed either to withdraw altogether or press the campaign forward. Withdrawal was considered but ultimately ruled out, so on 13 August he left Vitebsk along the road to Smolensk.

*J. David Markham*

*See also* Alexander I, Tsar; Bagration, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Ostrovno, Battle of; Poland; Russian Campaign; Smolensk, Battle of

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## Vitoria, Battle of (21 June 1813)

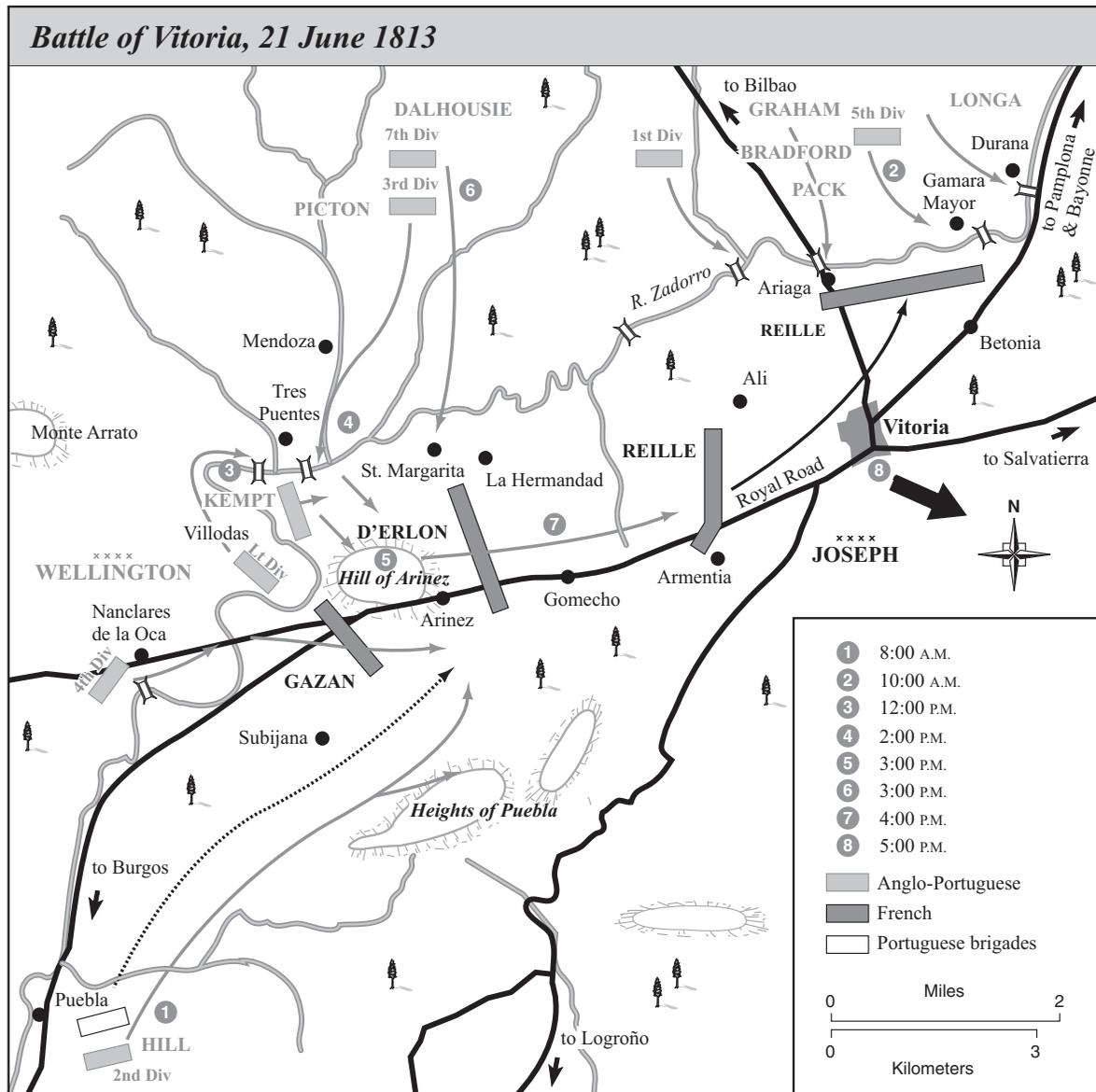
The year of 1812 had positively glowed with success for the Anglo-Portuguese forces in the Iberian Peninsula, but it ended inauspiciously, with the failure to take the castle of Burgos, besieged by the Marquis of (later the Duke of) Wellington in September and October. The Allied siege operations provided one of the more unhappy sides to Wellington's campaign in the Peninsula, but at least the army was successful on three occasions (at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca), albeit after some tremendous bludgeoning, which cost the lives of thousands of British soldiers. At Burgos, however, the operation was flawed from the start, and a combination of bad weather, inadequate siege train, and plain mismanagement caused a despondent Wellington to abandon the dreary place on 19 October.

The outcome of the whole sad episode was a retreat that, to those who survived it, bore too many shades of the retreat to Corunna almost four years earlier. Once again the discipline of the army broke down, drunkenness was rife, and hundreds of Wellington's men were left floundering in the mud to die or be taken prisoner by the French. It was little consolation to Wellington that while his army limped back to Portugal, Napoleon too was about to see his own army disintegrate in the Russian snows. The retreat to Portugal finally ended in late November when the Allied army concentrated on the border, close to Ciudad Rodrigo. The year had thus ended in bitter disappointment for Wellington, but nothing could alter the fact that taken as a whole 1812 had seen the army achieve some of its greatest successes, and once it had recovered it was to embark on the road to even greater success.

During the winter of 1812–1813, Wellington contemplated his strategy for the forthcoming campaign. His army received reinforcements, which brought it up to a strength of around 80,000 men, of whom 52,000 were British. The French believed that any Allied thrust would have to be made through central Spain, an assumption Wellington fostered by sending Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, with 30,000 men and six brigades of cavalry, in the direction of Salamanca. Wellington, in fact, accompanied Hill as far as Salamanca to help deceive the French further. The main Allied advance, however, was to be made to the north, by the left wing of the army, some 66,000-strong, under Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham, who would cross the river Douro and march through northern Portugal and the Trás-os-Montes before swinging down behind the French defensive lines. The advance would be aimed at Burgos before moving on to the Pyrenees and finally into southern France. If all went well, Wellington would be able to shift his supply bases from Lisbon to the northern coast of Spain and in so doing, avoid overextending his lines of communication.

The advance began on 22 May 1813. Wellington left Hill's force on the twenty-eighth and joined Graham the following day. By 3 June his entire force, numbering around 80,000 men, was on the northern side of the river Douro, much to the surprise of the French, who began to hurry north to meet them. Such was the speed of Wellington's advance that the French were forced to abandon Burgos, this time without any resistance, and the place was blown up by the departing garrison on the thirteenth. Wellington passed the town and on the nineteenth was just a short distance to the east of Vitoria, which lay astride the great road to France.

The battlefield of Vitoria lay along the floor of the valley of the river Zadorra, some 6 miles wide and 10 miles in



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002A, 66.

length. The eastern end of this valley was open and led to Vitoria itself, while the other three sides of the valley consisted of mountains, although those to the west were heights rather than mountains. The Zadorra itself wound its way from the southwest corner of the valley to the north, where it ran along the foot of the mountains overlooking the northern side of the valley. The river was impassable to artillery but was crossed by four bridges to the west of the valley and four more to the north.

Wellington devised an elaborate plan of attack that involved dividing his army into four columns. On the right, Hill, with 20,000 men consisting of the 2nd Division and Major General Pablo Morillo's Spaniards, was to gain the heights of Puebla on the south of the valley and force the

Puebla pass. The two center columns were both under Wellington's personal command. The right center column consisted of the Light and 4th Divisions, together with four brigades of cavalry, who were to advance through the village of Nanclares. The left center column consisted of the 3rd and 7th Divisions, which were to advance through the valley of the Bayas at the northwest corner of the battlefield and attack the northern flank and rear of the French position. The fourth column, under Graham, consisted of the 1st and 5th Divisions, General Francisco Longa's Spaniards, and two Portuguese brigades. Graham was to march around the mountains to the north and by entering the valley at its northeastern corner, was to sever the main road to Bayonne.

King Joseph Bonaparte's French army numbered 66,000 men with 138 guns, but although another French force under General Bertrand, baron Clausel was hurrying up from Pamplona, it did not arrive in time, and Joseph had to fight the battle with about 14,000 fewer men than Wellington.

On the morning of 21 June Wellington peered through his telescope and saw Joseph, Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, and General Honoré Théophile, comte Gazan and their staffs gathered together on top of the hill of Arinez, a round eminence that dominated the center of the French line. It was a moist, misty morning, and through the drizzle he saw, away to his right, Hill's troops as they made their way through the Heights of Puebla. It was here that the battle opened at about 8:30 A.M., when Hill's troops drove the French from their positions and took the heights.

Two hours later, away to the northeast, the crisp crackle of musketry signaled Graham's emergence from the mountains, as his men swept down over the road to Bayonne, thus cutting off the main French escape route. Thereafter, Graham's troops probed warily westward and met with stiff resistance, particularly at the village of Gamara Mayor. Moreover, Wellington's instructions bade him proceed with caution, orders that Graham obeyed faithfully. Although his column engaged the French in several hours of bloody fighting on the north bank of the Zadorra, it was not until the collapse of the French army late in the day that he unleashed the full power of his force upon the French.

There was little fighting on the west of the battlefield until about noon, when, acting upon information from a Spanish peasant, Wellington ordered Major General James Kempt's brigade of the Light Division to take the undefended bridge over the Zadorra at Tres Puentes. This was duly accomplished and brought Kempt to a position just below the hill of Arinez, and while the rest of the Light Division crossed the bridge of Villodas, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton's "Fighting" 3rd Division stormed across the bridge of Mendoza on their right. Picton was faced by two French divisions supported by artillery, but these guns were taken in flank by Kempt's riflemen and were forced to retire having fired just a few salvos. Picton's men rushed on, and, supported by the Light Division and by Cole's 4th Division, which had also crossed at Villodas, the 3rd Division rolled over the French troops on this flank like a juggernaut. A brigade of the 7th Division (Lieutenant General George Ramsay, ninth Earl of Dalhousie) joined them in their attack, and together they drove the French from the hill of Arinez. Soon afterward, what was once Joseph's vantage point was being used by Wellington to direct the battle.

It was just after 3:00 P.M., and the 3rd, 7th, and Light Divisions were fighting hard to force the French from the

village of Margarita. This small village marked the right flank of the first French line, and after heavy fighting the defenders were thrust from it in the face of overwhelming pressure from Picton's division. To the south of the hill of Arinez, Gazan's divisions were still holding firm and, supported by French artillery, were more than holding their own against Lieutenant General Sir Lowry Cole's 4th Division. With Margarita gone, however, the right flank of the French was left unprotected.

It was a critical time for Joseph's army. On its right, Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon's division was being steadily pushed back by Picton, Dalhousie, and Kempt, whose divisions seemed irresistible. Away to his left, Joseph saw Hill's corps streaming from the heights of Puebla, while behind him Graham's corps barred the road home. Only Gazan's divisions held firm, but when Cole's 4th Division struck at about 5:00 P.M., the backbone of the French army snapped. Wellington thrust the 4th Division into the gap between d'Erlon and Gazan, as a sort of wedge, and as the British troops on the French right began to push d'Erlon back, Gazan suddenly realized he was in danger of being cut off. At this point Joseph finally realized that he was left with little choice but to give the order for a general retreat.

The resulting disintegration of the French army was as sudden as it was spectacular. The collapse was astonishing, as every man, from Joseph downward, looked to his own safety. All arms and ammunition, equipment, and packs were thrown away by the French in an effort to hasten their flight. It was a case of every man for himself. Only General Honoré, comte Reille's corps, which had been engaged with Graham's forces, managed to maintain some sort of order, but even Reille's men could not avoid being swept along with the tide of fugitives streaming back toward Vitoria. With the collapse of all resistance, Graham swept down upon what units remained in front of him, though there was little more to be done but round up prisoners, who were taken in their hundreds. The French abandoned the whole of their baggage train, as well as 415 caissons, 151 of their 153 guns, and 100 wagons. Two thousand prisoners were taken.

More incredible, however, was the fantastic amount of treasure abandoned by Joseph as he fled. The accumulated plunder he had acquired in Spain was abandoned to the eager clutches of the Allied soldiers, who could not believe what they found. Never before nor since in the history of warfare has such an immense amount of booty been captured by an opposing force. Ironically, this treasure probably saved what was left of Joseph's army, for while Wellington's men stopped to fill their pockets with gold, silver, jewels, and valuable coins, the French were making good their escape toward Pamplona. Such was Wellington's disgust at the behavior of his men afterward that he was prompted to write

to the Earl Bathurst, the secretary of state for war and the colonies. It was the letter in which he used the famous expression “scum of the earth” to describe his men.

The Allies suffered 5,100 casualties during the battle, while the French losses were put at around 8,000. The destruction of Joseph’s army is hardly reflected in this figure, however, and the repercussions of the defeat were far reaching. News of Wellington’s victory galvanized the Allies in northern Europe—still smarting after defeats at Lützen and Bautzen—into renewed action and even helped induce Austria to enter the war on the side of the Allies. In Britain, meanwhile, there were wild celebrations the length of the country, while Wellington himself was created field marshal. In Spain, Napoleon’s grip on the country was severely loosened, and there was now little but a few French-held fortresses between Wellington’s triumphant army and France.

Ian Fletcher

*See also* Badajoz, Third Siege of; Bautzen, Battle of; Bonaparte, Joseph; Burgos, Siege of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Corunna, Retreat to; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d’Erlon; Graham, Sir Thomas; Hill, Sir Rowland; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Lützen, Battle of; Peninsular War; Picton, Sir Thomas; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; Salamanca, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Vosges, Battle of the (13 July 1794)

The Battle of the Vosges was actually a series of battles that opened the summer and autumn campaign on the Rhine

in 1794. The actions forced the Prussian and Austrian armies back to the Rhine and helped convince the Prussian government to make peace with Revolutionary France by the Treaty of Basle.

During the winter of 1793–1794, the French were able to increase the size of the Army of the Rhine, thanks to the mobilization of the nation’s manpower under the war minister Lazare Carnot. Many of the troops were untrained, and weapons were in short supply. In February 1794, General Claude Ignace François Michaud assumed command of the Army of the Rhine. Michaud was a solid, if not spectacular, soldier. He received additional reinforcements to boost his army to a paper strength of over 115,000 men. Michaud’s key subordinates were General Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr, commanding the left, or northern, flank, and General Louis Desaix, commanding the right, or southern, flank. His opponents were a mixture of Prussian, Austrian, and Saxon troops, with only limited cooperation existing between the different nationalities. The Allies totaled about 70,000 men.

Preliminary skirmishing during the spring showed the outnumbered Prussians and Austrians to be skillful and aggressive. To prevent them from sending reinforcements north to Flanders and the more critical parts of the front, St. Cyr and Desaix convinced Michaud to launch an offensive all along his front. At a conference on 17 June, Desaix persuaded Michaud to make the greater effort on the right. On 2 July the offensive began. At first Desaix made good progress. He reached the Rhine and tried to drive up the left bank, to turn the Allied positions. A counterattack by Prussian cavalry under General Gebhard von Blücher defeated the French cavalry, stopped Desaix’s advance cold, and forced Desaix to retreat to his original positions. French losses totaled 1,000.

Under orders from the central government in Paris, another offensive was organized, and opened on 13 July. St. Cyr attacked the anchor of the Allied right at Kaiserslautern, attracting Allied reserves. The main effort was in the center, where General Alexandre Camille Taponier’s corps drove the Prussians back. Fighting in the mountainous ravines and ridges prevented the disciplined Prussians from using their advantages of tighter formations and steadier fire against the French, who, moreover, made use of the individual initiative of their light infantry and their ability to swarm around the Prussian formations. The Prussians under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Friedrich Prinz zu Hohenlohe-Kirchberg (generally referred to as Hohenlohe) abandoned Tripstadt and retreated out of the mountains to the Rhine, the Austrians having failed to give any support to Hohenlohe during the battle. Desaix’s role was limited to a diversionary bombardment of the Allied left.

The day's fighting cost the Allies approximately 3,000 men, nearly all of them Prussians. On 16 July the Prussians fell back to Worms, separating themselves from the Austrians.

*Tim J. Watts*

*See also* Basle, Treaties of; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, chevalier de Veygoux; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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# W

## Wagram, Battle of (5–6 July 1809)

The Battle of Wagram (also known as Deutsch-Wagram) witnessed more than 300,000 men locked in combat in what was at the time the largest engagement ever fought. The French victory at this hard-fought battle did not immediately bring the War of the Fifth Coalition to an end, but with the French having gained the upper hand, a further battle four days later at Znaim resulted in an armistice and eventually the signing of the Peace of Schönbrunn.

With Austria's offensive into Bavaria in April 1809 having failed, the army fell back to a position north of Vienna. Napoleon accepted the surrender of Vienna on 13 May, but, eager to defeat the Austrian army and bring the war to an end, he threw his army over the Danube with little preparation and suffered defeat at the Battle of Aspern-Essling on 21–22 May. Archduke Charles, the Austrian army commander, declined to follow up, hoping for a peaceful settlement.

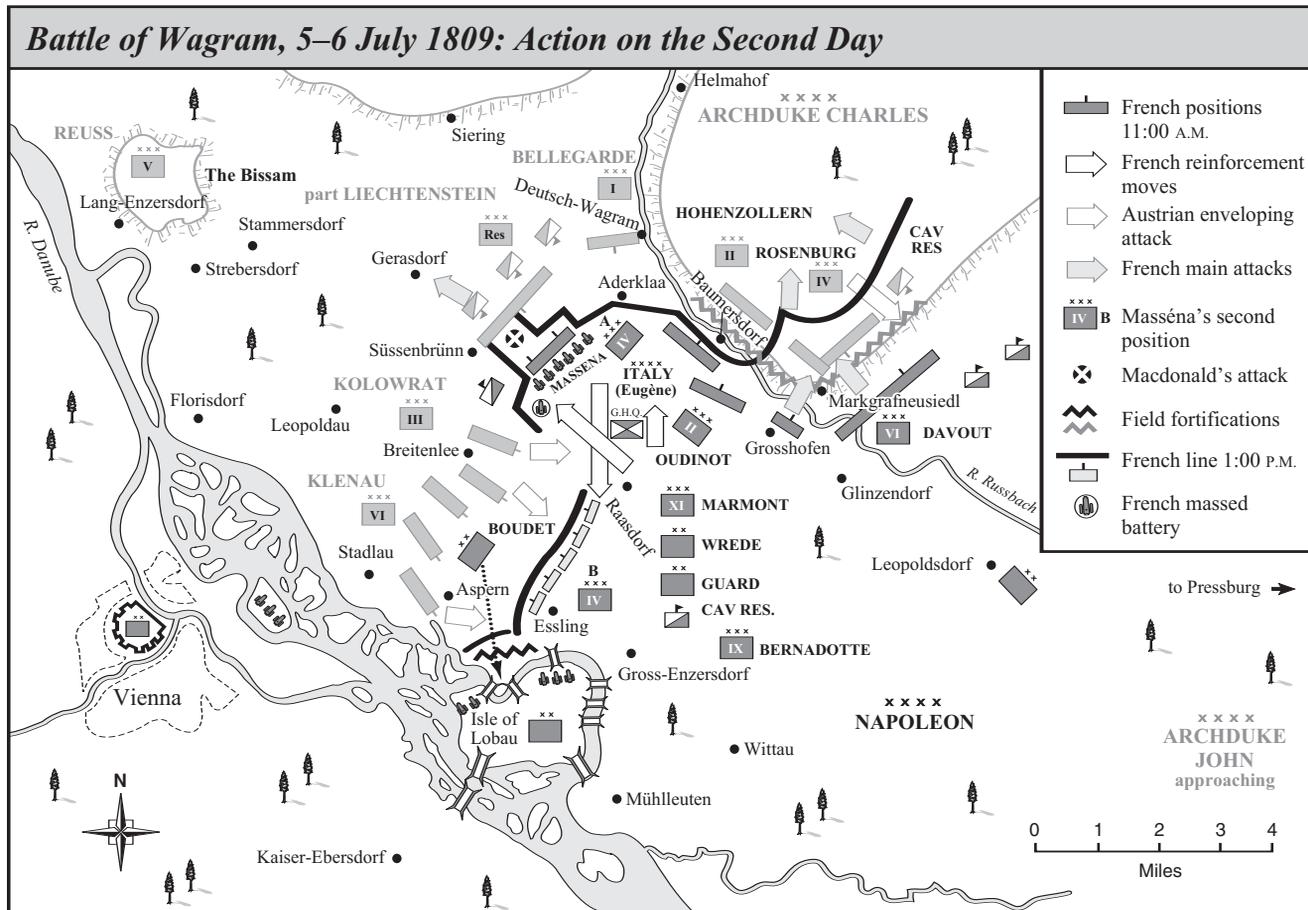
Stung by the defeat, Napoleon had no intention of seeking peace and prepared a second, meticulously planned attack over the river. Everything was in place by 4 July, and that evening, as pontoon bridges swung into position, the first French troops stepped onto the north bank. Napoleon could call on 190,000 men, while against him Archduke Charles mustered 138,000. Two corps and the Cavalry Reserve occupied positions close to the river to delay any French advance, while another three corps held positions a few miles back on a low plateau beyond the Russbach stream, at the northern extreme of a vast flat plain, the Marchfeld. Three more corps and the Grenadier Reserve occupied positions farther to the northeast.

**The French launch their attack.** The first three French corps to cross, under marshals Nicolas Oudinot (II), André Masséna (IV), and Louis Davout (III), opened the battle around 5:00 A.M. on 5 July. Masséna attacked the village of Gross-Enzersdorf, and the two Austrian advanced corps, under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Graf Klenau and *Feldmarschalleutnant* Armand von Nordmann, fell back slowly

as the French advance fanned out across the Marchfeld. Masséna, on the left, advanced toward Breitenlee; Oudinot marched for the Russbach near Baumersdorf; Davout, on the right, targeted Markgrafneusiedl. As a gap opened between Masséna and Oudinot, the Army of Italy under Prince Eugène de Beauharnais and Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte's IX Corps (Saxons) moved forward to fill it. Some skirmishing took place near Raasdorf in midafternoon, but generally the Austrians fell back on their main position.

The first stage of Napoleon's plan was now complete, as his army occupied a great sweeping position extending from Aspern on the left, through Breitenlee toward Aderklaa, before turning along the Russbach toward Markgrafneusiedl. The Austrian front, occupying the outside line of this great arc, extended for nearly 12 miles. Charles now expected Napoleon to occupy these positions for the night and prepare for battle in the morning; however, uncertain of Austrian intentions and strength, the Emperor decided instead on an immediate attack. At about 7:00 P.M., Bernadotte, Eugène, Oudinot, and Davout launched assaults against the villages on the Deutsch-Wagram/Markgrafneusiedl line.

In the center, Baumersdorf, defended by elements of *Feldmarschalleutnant* Prinz Friedrich zu Hohenzollern-Hechingen's II Korps, witnessed a number of vigorous attacks by Oudinot's II Corps. Some French troops entered the village, but others, advancing onto the plateau, were thrown back, forcing the whole group back to Raasdorf. To the left of Baumersdorf, Eugène's Army of Italy crested the plateau and despite some initial panic among *General der Kavallerie* Heinrich Graf Bellegarde's I Corps, the Austrian troops rallied and repulsed the attack, causing the French to open fire on their Saxon allies in the confusion. The attack by Bernadotte's Saxons against Deutsch-Wagram was another confusing affair. In the fading light, Saxon reinforcements, unable to discern friend from foe in the burning village, opened fire on a body of their own men, and the whole force, believing themselves attacked by Austrians



Adapted from Chandler 1966, 720–721.

on all sides, abandoned the village and fled back to Aderklaa. Davout's attack on the far right of the French line was less eventful and gradually petered out.

Although his attacks were repelled, Napoleon was pleased. It appeared the Austrian army was in strength and prepared to fight. His fear that they would retire northward abated. During the night he moved all but one division of Masséna's corps toward Aderklaa to help strengthen his left. His plan for the following day was to hold the Austrians all along the front while Davout attacked on the right and rolled up the line.

Charles, pleased by the performance of his army and with a significant portion of it still uncommitted, also made plans for the morning. Aware of the weakness of the French left, he planned to advance on his right with Klenau's VI Korps pushing toward Aspern and into the French rear. On Klenau's left *Feldzeugmeister* Johann Karl Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky's III Korps would advance toward Breitenlee, keeping in line with the Grenadier Reserve advancing through Süssenbrunn. To their left, the Reserve Cavalry would fill the gap toward Aderklaa where they would encounter *General der Kavallerie* Bellegarde's I Korps, wheel-

ing out from behind Deutsch-Wagram and advancing along the Russbach. Hohenzollern's II Korps would act as support to I Korps, while *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Fürst von Rosenberg-Orsini's IV Korps and Nordmann's Advance Guard would attack Davout, hopefully with the support of Archduke John, whom Charles urgently ordered to the battlefield. The plan required excellent coordination between the corps, but with the army extended over such a wide area, those on the right, farthest from headquarters, received their orders too late to adhere to the strict timetable.

**The Austrian counterattack.** Rosenberg's IV Korps, on the Austrian left, moved first, at about 4:00 AM on the morning of 6 July. Pushing back French outposts, the slow-moving Austrian columns faced heavy musketry from three of Davout's infantry divisions, while cavalry from both sides clashed on the open flank toward Ober Siebenbrunn. In his headquarters at Raasdorf, the sound of firing on the far French right convinced Napoleon that Archduke John had finally arrived on the battlefield. Immediately he marched with the Imperial Guard and Marshal Auguste de Marmont's XI Corps—his infantry reserve—and two heavy cavalry divisions to Davout's support.

Although Rosenberg moved forward on time, it was clear to Charles that his right, III and VI Korps, was not yet in motion. Unwilling to proceed with an unsupported attack, he ordered Rosenberg back to his start line. Aware now that Archduke John had not made an appearance, Napoleon ordered the reserve back to Raasdorf.

Back at headquarters, Napoleon was shocked to learn that Bernadotte's Saxon corps had withdrawn from Aderklaa during the night without orders. Delighted by this good fortune, Bellegarde's I Korps occupied the village and the ground between it and Deutsch-Wagram without a fight. Determined to retake the village, Napoleon ordered Masséna, who had moved up during the night, to attack at once. Masséna's men swept forward against the village, with the Saxons moving on their right. The French stormed through the village but fell back when confronted by the firepower of the Austrian second line, although some established themselves in Aderklaa. The Saxons' retreat left the flank of the Army of Italy uncovered, forcing Eugène to realign.

The Austrian offensive slowly gained momentum as the Grenadier Reserve appeared to the right of I Korps at about 8:00 A.M. Attacking Aderklaa, the grenadiers captured the village, although it changed hands again before the Austrians finally secured it, extending their line to the village of Süssenbrunn. Only now, at about 9:00 A.M., did Kolowrat's III Korps come into view to the right of the Grenadier Reserve. Beyond them a cloud of rising dust announced the arrival of more Austrian troops, Klenau's VI Korps—his path opposed only by General Jean Boudet's single division of Masséna's corps. Klenau's attack on Boudet, close to Aspern, drove the outnumbered French division back and left the Austrian commander an open route into the French rear. However, his orders were clear: the whole Austrian line was to advance in concert, and until III Korps moved forward, he must wait.

**Napoleon redeploys the army.** From his central position at Raasdorf, Napoleon observed the Austrian attack developing and, taking advantage of his shorter inner lines of communication, began to issue orders to defend his open left flank and launch the main attack. By about 10:00 A.M. these crucial movements began. Davout was to attack the Austrian left at Markgrafneusiedl, while Oudinot continued to occupy the attention of the Austrians along the plateau beyond the Russbach. To block any further Austrian advance into the rear, Napoleon ordered Masséna, reforming outside Aderklaa, to march back toward Aspern. As this move required Masséna to march across the front of the now-advancing Grenadier Reserve and III Korps, Napoleon ordered Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières, his cavalry commander, to attack the Austrian line. The attack

was not well coordinated, but it succeeded in halting the Austrian advance.

As the cavalry assault developed, a grand artillery battery of 112 guns formed to cover the area between Aderklaa and Breitenlee. With the cavalry withdrawn, the guns opened fire with such a weight of firepower that Kolowrat had no option but to pull his men back out of canister range. Under such a combined onslaught, the Austrians were unable to oppose Masséna's redeployment, and by about midday, with cavalry support, he engaged Klenau, who was still waiting for the opportunity to advance. Behind the grand battery, Napoleon ordered Marshal Jacques Etienne Macdonald to prepare three divisions of the Army of Italy for an advance.

**Storming the plateau.** On the French right, after an artillery bombardment, Davout launched his attack. Opposed to him, Rosenberg's corps and the advance guard under Nordmann put up a determined resistance against the unrelenting French attacks. Slowly Davout's men gained a foothold on the plateau behind Markgrafneusiedl. Charles arrived with reinforcements, and a vast cavalry battle developed northeast of the village. The advantage swung back and forth until the Austrian cavalry eventually fell back on their infantry.

Napoleon closely observed Davout's progress and began to issue orders for a general advance. Masséna was to attack Klenau vigorously, Oudinot's II Corps was to storm the plateau, and Macdonald was to lead the Army of Italy, supported by cavalry and artillery, against III Korps and the Grenadier Reserve. Macdonald's divisions formed in a massive square formation and edged slowly toward the Austrian line, from which they received devastating close-range musketry. However, the success of Davout and Masséna prevented any Austrian exploitation of the situation, as Napoleon committed all his reserves, except two regiments of the Old Guard, to relieve the pressure on Macdonald.

At about 2:00 P.M. Charles received the deflating news that John's long overdue appearance was to be delayed until 5:00 P.M. His men had fought well, but now Rosenberg was in danger of being outflanked by Davout's cavalry, Oudinot was slowly pushing Hohenzollern back, Bellegarde's exhausted men were under attack by fresh French reserves, and Klenau was falling back before Masséna. At about 2:30 P.M., Charles issued orders to commence a phased withdrawal. Retaining a steady discipline, the Austrian formations deflected all French attempts to disrupt this movement. By nightfall contact had been broken, and the battle was over.

Casualties were heavy on both sides. Figures vary, but 23,750 Austrians killed and wounded, 10,000 missing, and 7,500 prisoners, along with the loss of 10 standards and 20

guns appears likely. French losses can be taken as about 27,500 killed and wounded, with 10,000 allowed for those missing or taken prisoner, along with the loss of 12 eagles or standards and 21 guns.

Ian Castle

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Bellegarde, Heinrich Graf; Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste-Jules; Bessières, Jean-Baptiste; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Beauharnais, Eugène Rose de; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Imperial Guard (French); John, Archduke; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Masséna, André; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Saxon Army; Schönbrunn, Treaty of; Standards, Flags, and Eagles; Znaim, Battle of

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## Wagram Campaign

*See* Fifth Coalition, War of the

## Walcheren, Expedition to (July–August 1809)

In 1808 and 1809, French forces were being drained by operations conducted in the Iberian Peninsula. Even though the British had been forced to withdraw a small army from the Peninsula, its retreat and stand at Corunna in January 1809 had bloodied the French under Marshal Nicolas Soult. Austria viewed this campaign and the French necessity to maintain a large army in Spain as an opportunity

for action. Austrian forces attacked the French in southern Germany but soon found themselves on the defensive. The British assured the Austrians that they would conduct diversionary operations in order to distract the French and divide their forces. The largest of these operations involved an invasion of a Dutch island during the summer of 1809.

The British selected Walcheren as its target due to the island's location in the Scheldt estuary. Several French vessels were either located or being constructed in the area. A British attack in the area could be utilized to destroy these warships and offer some relief to the Austrians. However, news of the Austrian defeat at the Battle of Wagram arrived prior to the launching of the Walcheren expedition. British officials realized the battle probably spelled total defeat for the Austrian army, but they nevertheless opted to continue with the expedition to Holland. John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham led the 45,000-man army being conveyed and escorted by 618 transports and warships. British forces began landing on Walcheren on 30 July, and seized Flushing, the largest town on the island, within two weeks. At this point, the British campaign began to flounder, though some have speculated that they could have seized Antwerp.

The British army stagnated on the island, suffering logistical problems and “Walcheren fever,” another name for the malaria carried by the many mosquitoes living in the low-lying areas of recently reclaimed land. Meanwhile, French reinforcements arrived at Antwerp, thwarting any future British plans to capture that important port town. The majority of Chatham's force reembarked aboard their vessels at the end of September. While only approximately 100 men had died in combat, a staggering 4,000 had succumbed to malaria and other diseases. A small garrison left on Walcheren was evacuated back to Britain by the end of the year.

Debate raged in the government and the press over who was to blame for the failed expedition. In September, the cabinet dissolved, and Viscount Castlereagh (secretary of state for war and the colonies) and George Canning (foreign secretary) resigned their respective positions. The two men later fought a scandalous duel over the affair. Parliament convened a formal inquiry to examine the causes of the failure of the expedition. The Medical Board, targeted for not anticipating the health problems on the island, in turn blamed the medical crisis on inadequate and inefficient supply. Chatham, another target for criticism, noted that his force had been too decimated by disease and too small to undertake sustained operations on the Dutch mainland. In the end, the expedition needlessly cost Britain 4,000 men. In return, British forces managed to burn or capture several French vessels—a minor success—though they did force France to increase its garrison troops along the North Sea.

Terry M. Mays

See also Canning, George; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Medical Services; Peninsular War; Sickness and Disease; Wagram, Battle of

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## War Finance (French)

The French Revolution began partly because of a colossal failure of the French monarch's system of war finance. Louis XVI's immense expenditures on the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and on French intervention in the American Revolutionary War between 1778 and 1783 had created crushing postwar debts that his government could not repay. The king's ministers proposed a series of fiscal reforms throughout the 1780s, but all failed. By 1788 France was on the brink of financial collapse, and the king was forced to attempt a broader financial solution by involving an assembly—first an assembly of nobles, then the Estates-General—directly in governmental decision making on taxation and debt maintenance. When deputies assembled, however, many wanted political concessions and guarantees before addressing the king's war debts.

The formation of the National Assembly and the fall of the Bastille, in June and July 1789, respectively, made military finances truly a national concern. The National Assembly soon created the National Guard and enshrined the principle of citizen-soldiers. During 1790 the National Assembly increasingly took control of military affairs and war finance, weakening the monarch's hold on the army and the state. Following Louis's flight to Varennes in 1791, a series of new laws further centralized the budgetary procedures of war finance under the legislature's control.

As France faced war against Europe's monarchies, the legislature, now known as the Legislative Assembly, had to struggle to meet the costs of war preparations, including clothing, arms, equipment, wages, and food for the troops. Artillery, munitions, fortifications, and ships all had to be maintained. The Assembly issued sweeping calls for volunteers in 1791 and early 1792, bringing more than a hundred thousand new soldiers to the ranks. After war broke out in April 1792, administrators scurried to supply the composite army, formed of a mixture of troops from the old royal army and the new recruits, and the hurried preparations forced the Revolutionary government to rely on a decentralized supply of troops. An Austro-Prussian army invaded France in the summer of 1792, and the Legislative Assembly declared, "*La patrie est en danger!*"

Supplying the 450,000 citizen-soldiers serving in Revolutionary armies in the fall of 1792 tested the Revolutionary government's new system of war finance. In the initial chaos of the Revolution, most French people simply ceased to pay taxes, and the tax mechanisms that provided funds for military finance crumbled. On the other hand, the Assembly gradually ended elites' tax exemptions and established more egalitarian principles of tax distribution. New procedures for tax collection emphasized direct taxation and eliminated most indirect taxes. Through a massive reorganization of local and regional government, taxation became centralized and more efficient. By 1792 the Treasury was delivering funds directly to the various military administrations, when authorized to do so by the War Ministry.

The Revolutionary government also attempted to use monetary policy to meet the needs of war. Church lands and the properties of émigré nobles were seized and sold to raise money for the government. The Assembly created a fluctuating paper currency, known as assignats, to deal with the shortage of cash. Mounting inflation forced currency depreciation, despite attempts to refinance debts and convert government bonds. While the Assembly attempted to nationalize war finance by making the contractors who handled military logistics and finances into public servants, war finance actually remained only partially public. These wartime financiers could make huge profits on war, but they could also incur great losses, and they sought to protect themselves. The Revolutionary reorganization of war supply did not end corruption and waste, then, and the appointment of new administrators through political patronage only worsened the problem.

More troops were needed in the spring of 1793 to face foreign armies and an expanding war, so the new National Convention issued a call for 300,000 more men. Tens of thousands of new soldiers were armed locally and sent to the front, but the increasing taxation and limited conscription led to protests and civil war within France. In a climate of national emergency, the Committee of Public Safety gradually appropriated powers from the War Ministry and began to direct the entire war effort. Lazare Carnot became the key "organizer of victory" during this crisis of war administration. The Revolutionary armies still lacked sufficient troops, so in August 1793 citizen-soldiers began to be recruited by universal conscription, the *levée en masse*. The *levée en masse* implied the mobilization of the entire society as a nation-in-arms and demanded an amalgamation of the ad hoc components of the Revolutionary armies. A staggering 750,000 citizen-soldiers were now fighting for the nation.

Arming all these men strained the munitions and arms industries. In the summer of 1793, the Committee of

Public Safety had created a series of workshops known as the Manufacture of Paris to mass-produce muskets and bayonets for the nation's troops. Arms were manufactured in the Luxembourg Gardens and also at the Tuileries and the Invalides. In the spring of 1794 the arms industry employed over 3,000 workers, who could produce more than 600 musket barrels a day. The Committee of Public Safety invested massive funds in the Manufacture of Paris and in arms production in the provinces, to make muskets and artillery for the Revolutionary armies. As one historian has argued, this arms industry "was an armory, and simultaneously a vast public works program" (Alder 1997, 262). The arms workshops created jobs for Paris's unemployed, many of whom were given strong work incentives, such as being paid a fixed wage per piece produced. The Law of the Maximum of September 1793 represented an attempt by the Revolutionary government to control prices and wages so as to make war finance more efficient.

The administration of the war under the direction of the Committee of Public Safety emphasized centralization and the professional management of war finance and supply. By September 1794, the Committee of Public Safety had committed the state to paying fixed salaries to soldiers and to assuming all responsibility for providing food, clothing, and supplies to the nation's troops through government agencies. As the war lengthened, the Revolutionary government would have to pay for regularized soldiers' pay and pensions, and for hospitals. Yet centralization brought problems too. The complex bureaucratic organizations underwent constant reform and evolution, resulting in overlapping responsibilities for different administrations and confusion for bureaucrats responsible for war finance and supply. Further, members of the Committee of Public Safety used their political influence and patronage to place their associates in administrative posts, leading to factionalism and a politicization of the bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, the system of war finance created by the Committee of Public Safety successfully organized the French nation for war and contributed significantly to the battlefield victories of the Revolutionary armies. After the Thermidorian reaction of July 1794, the Convention and its successor government, known as the Directory (1795–1799), continued to rely heavily on the bureaucratic organizations created by the Committee of Public Safety. The administrations that financed and supplied the armies had become more stable than other government agencies. The army and its support services increasingly influenced government policies and asserted political power within the state.

As French armies carried the war to their enemies, they began to export the costs of fighting. The citizen-soldiers of the Revolution were motivated by nationalism

and pride in their *patrie*. The loyalty of these soldiers allowed their commanders to release their troops to forage for themselves, since they could trust the men to return to the ranks. What was known as living off the land—foraging and requisitioning supplies locally rather than relying on fixed depots and baggage trains—transformed logistics, allowing French armies to make rapid marches without the extensive regular supply services on which monarchical armies had to rely.

Within France, the gradual militarization of society was confirmed by the Jourdan Law of 1798, which formalized conscription. Under Napoleon, the military bureaucracy became even more stable and hierarchical but continued to conduct war finance largely using the system inherited from the Revolutionary period. Napoleon established a national bank and stabilized the currency, but his armies increasingly conducted war finance through contributions, making conquered populations throughout Europe pay for the costs incurred by the Grande Armée.

Brian Sandberg

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Conscription (French); Convention, The; Directory, The; Emigrés; French Army; French Revolution; Levée en Masse; Louis XVI, King; National Guard (French); Public Safety, Committee of; Thermidor Coup

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## War of 1812 (1812–1815)

The War of 1812 fought between Britain and the United States occurred as a direct result of British attempts to break the Continental System imposed by Napoleon and arguments over the Canadian border. The U.S. government

anticipated a swift victory over the numerically inferior British. The initial American attacks on Canada failed, due to inadequacies in the U.S. Army and a lack of aggressiveness on the part of its generals.

Following the abdication of Napoleon in April 1814, the British were able to reinforce their small force in North America with many veterans from the Peninsular War. Despite this, they were unable to achieve a decisive victory. Although Washington was attacked, the Americans were able to keep the British at bay, culminating in a famous, though pointless, victory at the Battle of New Orleans. The war was also fought at sea and on the Great Lakes, and during hostilities many Native Americans allied themselves with the British in order to arrest the westward expansion of the United States.

Many causes led to the steady breakdown in relations between the United States and Britain, which flared into war in June 1812. The principal one was the threat to the trading rights of American shipping imposed by the British interpretation of maritime law and the definition of contraband. Specifically, Britain asserted its right to search for any goods that could benefit Napoleon's war effort in Europe—what the Admiralty in London designated as contraband. If a vessel wished to trade with either France or its allies, it was forced to obtain a license. In practice this policy favored British colonial trading interests.

These instructions were enforced in the Orders in Council that were instituted in November and December 1807. They were a direct response to the Berlin Decrees of 1806, which had sought to restrict trade between the Continent and Britain. Many American seamen had also been pressed into the Royal Navy on the basis that some were in fact deserters from, or were otherwise evading, British service, while the nation remained desperately short of qualified sailors. Innocent Americans found themselves caught up in the Royal Navy's efforts to maintain its numbers, though the U.S. government contributed to the problem by granting instant citizenship to Britons, in the clear knowledge that naturalization was not recognized by the authorities in London.

The causes of the war cannot be solely attributed to Britain, however. There were some in the American government, particularly politicians from the West, who wanted to annex Canada and believed that many within that dominion of the British Crown would support this action. The United States was also concerned about the confederation that the Shawnee leader, Chief Tecumseh, had built up among the Native Americans in the northwest of the country (roughly, modern Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana). This confederation was aimed at stopping the further expansion of the United States. It was generally believed in government circles that in some way the British govern-

ment was supporting Tecumseh, and in fact he did ally himself to the British from the start of the war. Throughout the early months of 1812, tension continued to build, and the situation was not helped by the decision to increase the size of the U.S. Army.

On 18 June 1812 the United States declared war. The American plan centered on a rapid invasion and occupation of Canada and the destruction of British naval forces on the Great Lakes. There was a general belief within the United States that, with their numerically superior forces, these objectives would take little time to attain. The Americans were, however, unprepared to confront the experienced British forces or to react quickly to events, and in general British commanders were much more aggressive in their actions. The first actions of the war constituted a succession of defeats for the United States. In the middle of July, Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan surrendered. On 15 August, Fort Dearborn (present-day Chicago) fell, and General William Hull surrendered his force of 200 troops at Detroit to Major General Sir Isaac Brock. Tecumseh had been active in forcing Hull to surrender, and his forces now began a series of raids on settlements in the Northwest Territory.

American forces were largely able to hold back any further advance, and General William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, having been able to rebuild U.S. forces in the area, in November felt strong enough to launch an offensive into the Indian confederation. This attack culminated in the engagement at Mississinewa in present-day Alabama. The U.S. force captured the Indian village there and then was counterattacked. Despite this victory for the Americans, their losses and the cold weather forced them to withdraw to Greenville. The expedition had secured the flank of Harrison's force from further interference by the Delaware tribes.

The principal actions were, however, fought along the U.S.-Canadian border. The Battle of Queenstown Heights, in present-day Ontario, took place on 13 October. Here the British, although outnumbered, made a series of attacks upon the American force composed of regular troops and eventually defeated them. This defeat would probably not have occurred if a large force of volunteers had not refused to take part in the battle. The British victory, however, was tempered by the death of General Brock.

Harrison hoped to open a winter campaign at the start of 1813. His plans, however, were thwarted when an enemy force under Colonel Henry Proctor destroyed a brigade led by General James Winchester at Frenchtown on the river Raisin on 22 January. After the battle, American prisoners were killed by the Indians led by Tecumseh. Harrison was forced onto the defensive, and in April he was besieged at Fort Meigs by Proctor's forces. However, the British were

unable to take the fort and abandoned the siege in early May. On 27 April U.S. forces had taken York (present-day Toronto), which they burned, yet they were soon to retreat from this position. On 27 May General Henry Dearborn captured Fort George on the Niagara frontier. Nevertheless, the Americans allowed most of the British garrison, under Brigadier General John Vincent, to escape. During the pursuit, the Americans became a little overconfident, and the British were able to attack their pursuers at Stony Creek.

Vincent was encouraged to attack the Americans, as he had been informed by supporters in the area that the U.S. force was widely scattered. The attack was made early in the morning, and in a short space of time four U.S. regiments were in full retreat. Although some American dragoons were able to stabilize the situation for a short time, in the confusion they were fired on by their own side and were forced to withdraw. American generals John Chandler and William Winder were captured, and the ranking officer, the commander of the dragoons, ordered a withdrawal, in the process destroying a large number of vital provisions. The British action at Stony Creek reversed a difficult strategic position. On 29 May a British force attempted to take Sackets Harbor on Lake Ontario, but the small American force there successfully repulsed the attack.

American commanders now made a further attempt to invade Canada. General James Wilkinson advanced down the St. Lawrence River, hoping to link up with another American force led by General Wade Hampton moving from Lake Champlain, the objective being to take Montreal. At Montreal the British were building up a substantial force. Hampton, however, fooled into believing that the forces confronting him were much larger than they actually were, retreated to Plattsburg. Wilkinson, with 8,000 men, continued his advance alone, but was routed at Chrysler's Farm on 11 November by a much smaller force of 800 British regulars and Native Americans.

The scene of the conflict now passed into the area of the Great Lakes. Here U.S. naval forces had been placed under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, who had gained experience fighting in the Tripolitan War against Barbary pirates. Perry had been given control of the squadron based on Lake Erie in early 1813, but his command was still in the process of being constructed at that time. By September, however, Perry felt that he was in a position to attack the British. On the tenth he engaged a British flotilla of six vessels, and despite being outgunned he was able to sink or capture the whole enemy force, with the loss of only his flagship. U.S. control of Lake Erie forced the British to evacuate Detroit within a week, and by the end of the month the British were back in Ontario.

After Perry's victory, Harrison was free to embark on a further invasion of Canada. By now the U.S. Army totaled nearly 6,000 men. Harrison had reached Canadian territory by 27 September. A few days later, on 5 October, Proctor decided to turn to face the pursuing U.S. forces, anchoring his position on the Thames River. Mounted volunteers from Kentucky led the first attack. The initial British volley was unable to check the charge, and, confident in close quarter fighting, the frontiersmen broke their opponents, and many of the British surrendered. Tecumseh and his warriors were able to hold out longer, but they too were defeated. It was rumored that Tecumseh had been killed by the commander of the Kentuckian volunteers, Colonel Richard Johnson. For a small loss, the Americans had completely destroyed the British force. This defeat ensured that the area west of the Thames and the Northwest Territory were securely under U.S. control for the remainder of the war.

During this period, General Andrew Jackson defeated the Creeks at Tallushatchee and Talledega in present-day Alabama. The Americans had been angered by the earlier Creek massacre of the garrison of Fort Mimms on 30 August.

In the last months of the year, the Americans tried to take Montreal with a force under Wilkinson's command. This campaign culminated in the Battle of Chrysler's Farm, along the St. Lawrence River, on 11 November. In poor weather, the American attacks were unsuccessful, and Wilkinson was forced to withdraw. His poor performance in this campaign led to his replacement by General Jacob Brown early in 1814. On 18 December, Fort Niagara fell to the British, and Buffalo was burned on 29 December.

Brown was able to reorganize U.S. forces and in early July 1814 crossed the Niagara River and took Fort Erie. On 5 July Brown's troops were able to inflict a defeat on the British forces led by Major General Phineas Riall at Chippewa, along the U.S.-Canadian border. Riall had moved out from his defensive position and had deployed to face the Americans. In this action, General Winfield Scott's brigade of regular troops wore gray uniforms, which Riall mistook for militia, since the normal uniform color of U.S. regular troops was blue. In the ensuing action, Scott's troops performed well and, in honor of this, gray was thereafter to be worn by West Point graduates. The British government was unnerved by this defeat, and after the abdication of Napoleon, the War Office in London made plans to reinforce British forces in Canada with veterans from Wellington's campaigns in Spain and France.

Once these reinforcements had arrived, the British assumed the offensive. Along the U.S.-Canadian border at Lundy's Lane, on 25 July, General William Drummond led 3,000 troops against the U.S. forces. The British had established themselves on a hill in front of the American force,

whose vanguard was commanded by Winfield Scott. He realized that, although his brigade was outnumbered, it had to maintain its position, because otherwise the whole U.S. force could be placed in jeopardy. Scott ordered his troops to attempt to capture the British guns to their front. The assault was carried out toward the end of the day, and much of the action took place in growing darkness. As a result the fighting occurred at close quarters, negating the numerical advantage of the British. In a hard-fought action, losses were equal, at around 1,000 casualties. Both commanders were injured, and Riall was captured.

The battle was tactically a draw, but the Americans conceded the strategic advantage and fell back to Fort Erie. Nevertheless, the engagement had shown that the American regular troops were able to fight on equal terms with their British counterparts. Drummond then placed Fort Erie under siege. The Americans were able to lift the siege on 17 September when a determined sortie from the fort broke through the British cordon. After a short time, however, the Americans abandoned Fort Erie.

The strategic initiative had now firmly passed to the British. On 19 August Major General Robert Ross, commanding a punitive expedition, had landed in Chesapeake Bay, with the objective of advancing on Washington. His force consisted of 5,000 Peninsular veterans, and although they were faced by numerically superior forces, the British were able to advance the 40 miles to Washington. The American command seemed paralyzed at this time, and President James Madison was forced to flee the capital. Nevertheless, a mixed force of marines from the naval yards and 6,000 militia under the command of General William Winder attempted to halt the British advance at Bladensburg, in Maryland. The U.S. position was strong, with their forces uphill of the British. Ross would also have to cross a stream to reach the enemy line. Initially, the British suffered from American artillery fire as they advanced, but Ross had with him a battery of Congreve rockets that, though they inflicted very few casualties, had a strong psychological impact on the enemy, whom the British then charged.

Unable to withstand the assault, the American militia started to break. Winder's force began to disintegrate, and the only serious resistance offered was by the naval gun crews who had dragged their cannon from the naval yard. This resistance was, however, short-lived, and Ross was able to complete his advance on Washington. There he burned many of the new buildings in the capital, including the White House. Still, Ross realized that he could not continue with his offensive, as supplies were low and communications back to the coast were vulnerable to attack. He also hoped to repeat his success by launching a similar assault on Baltimore. He therefore reembarked his forces and

landed near Baltimore on 12 September. His attack on this well-defended city failed, and Ross himself was mortally wounded. At the same time, Fort McHenry was bombarded by a British flotilla. The resistance of the fort inspired the writing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," the future anthem of the United States.

During the period in which the major engagements were fought on the Canadian frontier, there had been a protracted series of naval encounters in which the Royal Navy fought to maintain control of the main trading routes. Despite the numerical superiority of the British fleet on the North American station, it was unable to prevent U.S. ships from roaming the Atlantic and disrupting British trade. In the course of the war, 800 British vessels were taken or sunk, and American ships were even able to enter the shipping lanes of the English Channel. Despite the fact that there were no fleet actions (the Americans having no ships of the line and possessing nothing larger than a squadron of vessels, though including heavy frigates), the American captains won a series of ship-to-ship actions, chiefly involving frigates, sloops, and brigs.

Captain Isaac Hull, in the *Constitution* (44 guns), thoroughly drubbed and captured the *Guerrrière* (38) off the coast of Nova Scotia (19 August 1812); the 18-gun sloop USS *Wasp* pounded HMS *Frolic* (18) into a defenseless wreck off Virginia (18 October 1812); conducting a murderous long-range bombardment, Commodore Stephen Decatur's USS *United States* (44) forced the *Macedonian* (38) to strike her colors off Madeira (25 October 1812); and Captain William Bainbridge, in the *Constitution*, left HMS *Java* an utter wreck after a two-hour slogging match off the Brazilian coast (29 December 1812).

Notwithstanding some minor defeats of their own, the Americans continued this series of successes over the next two years: the sloop USS *Hornet* sank HMS *Peacock* off Brazil in less than 15 minutes (24 February 1813), though HMS *Shannon*, after a savage encounter, pummeled and captured the USS *Chesapeake* off the New England coast (1 June 1813). American victories at sea were surpassed on the Great Lakes, where, as described earlier, Perry defeated and captured the entire British squadron on Lake Erie (10 September 1813); while a year later, on Lake Champlain, Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough repeated the feat by accepting the surrender of the British squadron after a closely matched 2-hour struggle (11 September 1814). These U.S. successes, though comparatively minor, nevertheless had a significant effect in maintaining support for the war.

By the middle of 1814 the war appeared to be moving toward a negotiated settlement with plenipotentiaries meeting to discuss terms. In late 1814, however, the British were preparing to make one further effort in the south. Jackson, it will be recalled, had led a successful campaign

against the Creeks, who had benefited from the support of British agents. Later, when the Americans learned of a British expedition sent to take New Orleans, Jackson was given command of the city. The British were led by Major General Sir Edward Pakenham, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington. Pakenham landed on 13 December and advanced on New Orleans. Among the low-lying swamps, Jackson had constructed an earthwork, behind which his inferior forces awaited the British assault. Jackson's mixed force included rifle-armed frontiersmen from Tennessee and Kentucky, a group of privateers under the command of a local pirate, Jean Lafitte, and a small contingent of militia and army regulars.

On 8 January 1815, Pakenham realized the U.S. position was quite strong and planned to move troops against both flanks before launching a frontal assault. These flanking forces were however delayed by a combination of difficult terrain, including a swamp on the American left and the Mississippi on the right, and American fire, much of it extremely accurate rifle fire. Pakenham, undaunted, decided to continue with his main assault, which was delivered by a force of 5,300 veterans. Due to the nature of the terrain, the attack had mainly to be made frontally against the earthwork. The advance was stopped short of the defenses by the fierce American fire. The British lost 2,000 men, and Pakenham was killed along with his two immediate subordinates. American losses were extremely light, and the British withdrew from the position.

In fact, the Battle of New Orleans need not have been fought, as the Treaty of Ghent had been signed on 24 December 1814. The main clauses stated that the course of the Canadian border should be finally settled and that other territorial issues should be resolved based on the situation as it stood prior to the outbreak of war (that is, the *status quo ante bellum*). Ironically, only days before the American declaration of war in 1812, the British government had abolished the Orders in Council, which had been a fundamental cause of the war. Anglo-American relations rapidly improved with the cessation of hostilities.

Ralph Baker

*See also* Berlin Decrees; Bladensburg, Battle of; Chippewa, Battle of; Congreve Rockets; Continental System; Frigates; Lundy's Lane, Battle of; New Orleans, Battle of; Orders in Council; Pakenham, Sir Edward; Peninsular War; Tripolitan War; United States; United States Army; United States Navy; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Warsaw, Duchy of

See Poland

## Wartenburg, Battle of

See Germany, Campaign in

## Waterloo, Battle of (18 June 1815)

The last and most decisive battle of the Napoleonic Wars, Waterloo led to Napoleon's final downfall and ushered in an era of nearly four decades of peace in Europe. Few battles in history can rival Waterloo in terms of its sheer drama, not to mention its political significance.

On 26 February 1815 Napoleon emerged from exile on the island of Elba, landed in the south of France, and marched on Paris, gathering adherents and winning the loyalty of the army as he went. Two Allied forces in the Low Countries (present-day Belgium) were of immediate concern: an Anglo-Allied army of 90,000 men under the Duke of Wellington, and 120,000 Prussians under Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt (generally shortened to "Blücher"). Napoleon's plan was to strike at each in turn, thus preventing them from joining forces. On 15 June he crossed the river Sambre with his *Armée du Nord* of 125,000 men and moved through Charleroi on the Brussels road. Two battles were fought on the following day, at Ligny and at Quatre Bras. At the former the Prussians were defeated with serious losses but managed to withdraw north to Wavre.

At Quatre Bras, Wellington, though forced to retire to protect Brussels, had not been crushed, with the result that though the two Allied armies had been kept apart, they were capable of fighting another day. On 17 June Wellington marched north and deployed his tired army on a ridge just south of Mont St. Jean. Having detached Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, with 33,000 men, to keep the Prussians occupied at Wavre, 12 miles east of Wellington's position, Napoleon established his army, now 72,000-strong, on a ridge just south of the Anglo-Allied position.

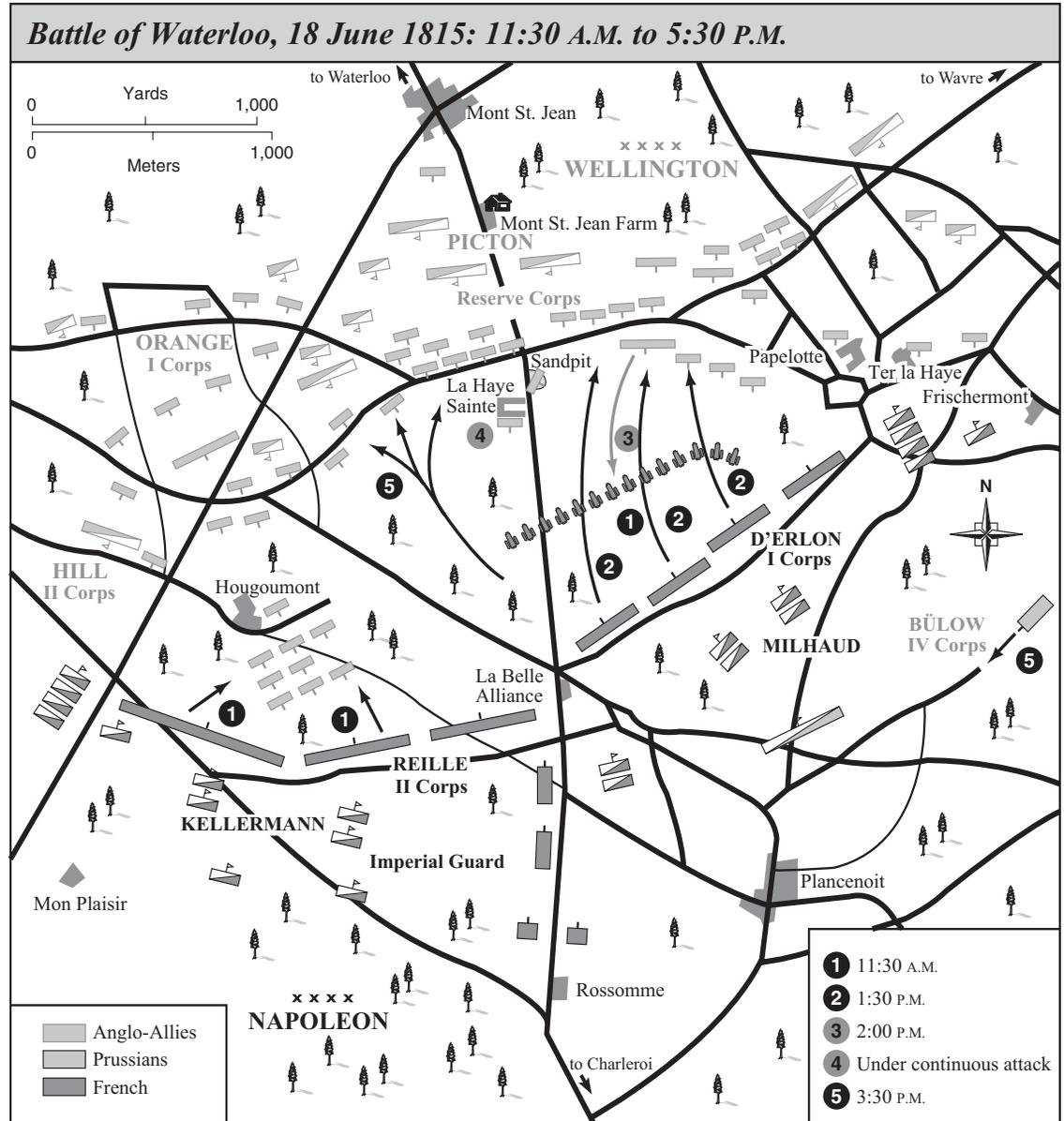
Wellington had 68,000 men, comprising mainly mixed Anglo-Hanoverian, and some Dutch-Belgian, divisions. Most of these he placed along a 2-mile crescent-shaped ridge, though 18,000 were detached 5 miles west at Tubize, to prevent the French from making a wide sweep around to the west and so threatening his right flank. On Wellington's left stood the villages of Papelotte and La Haye. In his center stood the farm of La Haye Sainte near the crossroads formed by the Ohain and Charleroi-Brussels roads. On his right, and somewhat forward of his main line, lay the château of Hougoumont, which included woods, farm buildings, and a garden. Wellington recognized the tactical importance of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, and placed strong garrisons in each. These strongpoints pre-

sented obstacles to a French attack on the Allied right and center, and could offer enfilading fire to any opposing troops that sought to bypass them. Hougoumont was large enough, moreover, to make a sweep around Wellington's right more difficult, though not impossible.

Wellington had chosen the ground beforehand, and the topography naturally favored him, for with many folds and dips the ground offered a degree of protection from the numerically superior French artillery, as did the mud, the result of the previous night's downpour, which prevented round shot from bouncing after first impact. Added to this, much of the field was covered with grain, some of it chest high. Some defenders concealed themselves behind the grain, which in some places also encumbered the advance of the attackers.

As mentioned earlier, in his efforts to keep the Prussians and Anglo-Allies separated, on the morning of 17 June Napoleon had detached Grouchy to pursue the Prussians who, after their defeat at Ligny, had moved east toward Wavre. The Emperor was not aware that, though Grouchy would indeed engage part of the Prussian army on the eighteenth, Blücher, along with several corps, was then on the march to bolster Wellington's defense at Waterloo. Had Napoleon known this, perhaps he would not have opened the battle so late—around 11:30 A.M.—as his plan to keep the Allied armies apart and defeat them in turn would have dictated that he defeat Wellington as early on the eighteenth as possible, before the Prussians could arrive to reinforce him. In the event, Napoleon waited for the ground to harden before opening his frontal attack, in spite of the presence of the heavily fortified farms at La Haye, Hougoumont, and elsewhere. Wellington's dispositions might have suggested a different course to a more cautious attacker: either to withdraw and fight Wellington another day on a field of Napoleon's choosing, or to execute a wide outflanking maneuver so as to rob the duke of the advantages of his strong defensive position on the ridge. Instead, Napoleon sought to pierce the Anglo-Allied center and take control of the slopes of Mont St. Jean, thus dividing Wellington's force in two and wresting control of the vital Brussels road—Wellington's main line of retreat and communication.

Napoleon opened the battle at 11:30 with an attack by General Honoré Charles, comte Reille's corps on Hougoumont, whose capture was vital if the Emperor were to achieve victory, for so long as the Anglo-Allies held it, the French could not confidently threaten Wellington's right or center-right. Situated 500 yards in front of the Allied line, along the crest of the ridge, Hougoumont remained a formidable obstacle to any major French advance. Reille's attack was intended as a diversion to force Wellington to weaken his line in order to reinforce the beleaguered farm complex.



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 78.

Ironically, the French attack throughout the day drew in more and more French troops in a fruitless effort to take the stronghold. In the course of the battle, fewer than 3,000 British, Hanoverians, and Nassauers fended off almost 13,000 French troops, making Hougoumont a virtually separate engagement within the greater context of the battle. The French briefly managed to force open the gate of the farmyard, but a handful of men from the 2nd (Coldstream) Foot Guards shut it before the assailants could break in and overwhelm the defenders. In the course of the day, the French lost large numbers of troops outside the walls and in the woods adjacent during the eight hours of fighting that took place there.

By 1:30 Prussian troops under General Friedrich Graf Bülow von Dennewitz began to arrive, at first in small numbers, on Wellington's left flank. Napoleon, unaware of precisely how many Prussians Grouchy had held up at Wavre, decided that no more time could be lost, and ordered General Jean-Baptiste Drouet, comte d'Erlon to advance with his corps of 16,000 men against the Allied center-left. The troops marched 1,300 yards under artillery fire and captured the hamlet of Papelotte, while a detached brigade attacked La Haye Sainte, seizing its garden and orchard from the King's German Legion. The French made no attempt to set fire to the roof with their howitzers or bring up enough artillery to make a breach in the wall; the

defenders therefore clung on, though heavily outnumbered. D'Erlon's men had reached as far as the crest of the ridge, driving off a Dutch-Belgian brigade in the process, when Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, commanding the 5th Division, ordered a bayonet attack in the wake of a destructive fusillade. Picton was killed, but his infantry was supported by a strong body of cavalry, including the Union and Household brigades, sent forward by Lieutenant General Henry Paget, second Earl of Uxbridge (best known simply as Lord Uxbridge).

The attacking cavalry pushed aside opposing horsemen protecting d'Erlon's left flank and, surprising the infantry, fell upon it with great ferocity, driving them back down the slope in total confusion and taking 2,000 prisoners. Yet, as had happened on several occasions in Spain, the British failed to maintain proper discipline, and rather than stop, re-form, and return to friendly lines, they galloped on in unrestrained excitement, sabering many of the gunners of the grand battery the French had established at the beginning of the battle, but penetrating perilously deep into enemy lines. Major General Sir William Ponsonby found himself unable to control his men, and the French pounced on them with lancers and cuirassiers from both flanks, leaving more than a third of the British cavalry wounded or killed, including Ponsonby himself. Only 1,000 troopers returned of a force of 2,500. While much of the British cavalry had been put out of action for the remainder of the day, d'Erlon's force, which represented a quarter of the French at Waterloo, had been disastrously repulsed, with 25 percent losses and 2,000 men captured. Had he succeeded, d'Erlon might have won the day then and there. Napoleon now had to find another method.

Meanwhile, the defenders of Hougoumont continued to fend off the ferocious attacks of Jérôme Bonaparte's infantry, while at the same time Major George Baring's Hanoverians clung on at La Haye Sainte. The Prussians began to arrive in gradually increasing numbers from Wavre, and Picton's division withdrew back to friendly lines, not making the same mistake as the cavalry. By 3:00 P.M., apart from the fighting around Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, the battle entered a lull, as both sides needed a respite in which to consider their next moves. About this time Grouchy began to hear the sound of the guns at Waterloo. Strictly adhering to his instructions to pursue the Prussians to Wavre, and ignoring the entreaties of his staff officers to march immediately to the sound of the guns—where it was correctly presumed the Emperor was engaging Wellington—Grouchy continued to engage the Prussian contingent of 15,000 men left at Wavre. This was to prove a fatal error for the French, for by 4:30 P.M. the bulk of Blücher's forces were arriving on Wellington's left in large numbers, those numbers increasing hourly.

The French now attempted another grand stroke—this time with their cavalry—at about 3:30, once d'Erlon's corps had regrouped and assembled itself back in the line. A renewed attempt at seizing La Haye Sainte, this time under the personal direction of Marshal Michel Ney, failed. With the grand battery's losses from Uxbridge's attack now replaced, the French resumed their bombardment of the Allied lines, where many regiments were ordered to lie down for protection. Even still, artillery fire took a heavy toll on Wellington's men on the ridge. Ney now sought to clear the ridge by launching a massive cavalry attack, unsupported by infantry, totaling about 5,000 men.

The attack fell on the infantry deployed between Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte. But the defenders had formed square—the classic formation for defense against mounted attack—with several ranks of infantry deployed back-to-back in the form of a square, bristling with bayonets presented in the direction of the enemy on all sides, and thus virtually immune from direct assault by men on horseback. Whereas a square was extremely vulnerable to combined-arms attack, particularly artillery at close range, the French cavalry appeared on the ridge practically unaccompanied, there to confront a wall of impenetrable bayonets behind which stood men beyond the reach of sword and saber, firing their muskets with virtual impunity. More and more cavalry—in the end amounting to some 80 squadrons or 10,000 men—were committed to these futile attacks. So ineffective were they, that many British soldiers were relieved to hear the sound of cavalry trumpets announcing each fresh attack, since approaching cavalry forced the French to cease the fire of their artillery lest they should strike their own advancing horsemen. Still, some Anglo-Allied squares suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the few batteries of horse artillery that did manage to accompany the cavalry, together with some skirmishers.

Yet it was the attackers who suffered the most, for wave after wave could do little more than swirl ineffectively around the squares before receding back down the slope, their horses blown and many men and their mounts lost to musket and artillery fire. Indeed, British gunners often discharged their cannon at short range before taking refuge inside the squares. Once the attackers withdrew, the gunners would re-man their guns and prepare for the next onslaught. These attacks—perhaps a dozen or more—continued for about two hours, between 4:00 and 6:00 P.M., but all in vain, for not only did the cavalry fail to penetrate the squares, the bodies of their fallen comrades and horses choked the field and impeded the progress of the regiments behind. Wellington's squares all held fast, and the French grew weary, with many regiments executing the last charges at hardly more than a trot.



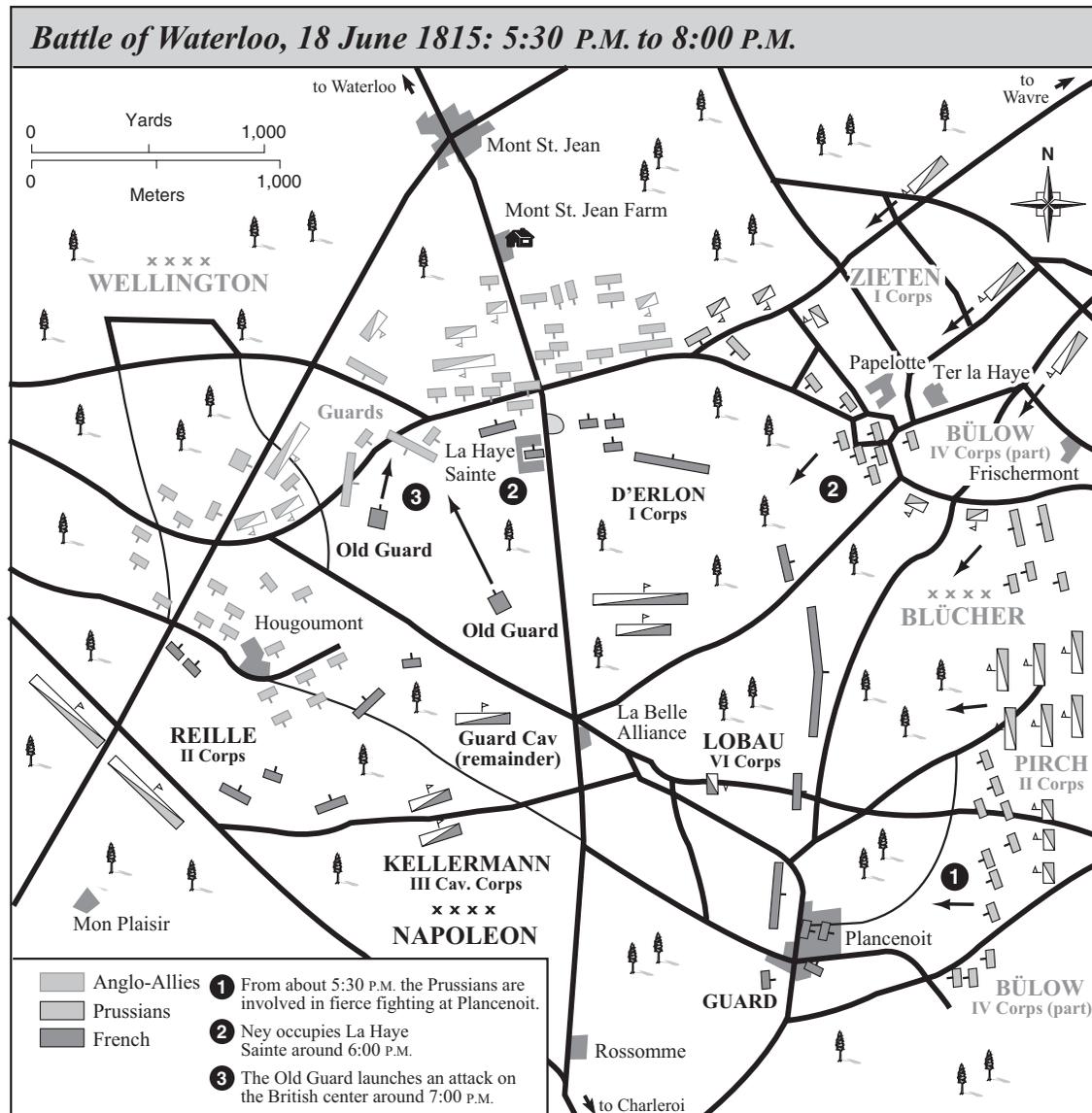
A British square at Waterloo puts up dogged resistance against attacking French cavalry. (Print after P. Jazet from Cassell's *Illustrated History of England*, Century Edition. London: Cassell, n.d., vol. 5)

While Ney's cavalry fruitlessly assaulted the infantry squares, the Prussians under Bülow and General August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau were arriving on Napoleon's right flank, particularly around Frischermont, where General Georges Mouton, comte Lobau was sent to hold them back while the main French effort continued to concentrate on breaking Wellington's center. Bülow's 30,000 men engaged Lobau's 10,000 defenders in furious fighting in and around the Bois de Paris and Frischermont, out of which Lobau was driven toward the village of Plancenoit. Overwhelmed by superior numbers, Lobau was eventually ejected from Plancenoit as well, obliging Napoleon to send in the Young Guard to retake the place, which they did shortly before 7:00 P.M.

By this time the corps of generals Georg von Pirch and Wiprecht Graf von Zieten had also arrived from the east, on Wellington's flank, boosting the morale of the battered Anglo-Allies, disheartening those of the French who were aware of the Prussians' arrival, and drawing away more of Napoleon's reserves that might have been used against Wellington's center. With the tide turning in the duke's favor and the Prussians arriving to bolster his left, Wellington was able to withdraw some of his forces from his ex-

treme left and shift them to his vulnerable center. This was all the more necessary as infantry from the French reserve were beginning to mass around La Belle Alliance, readying themselves for another great attack on the Anglo-Allied center and center-right; specifically, against the tiny garrison still holding out in La Haye Sainte.

Baring and his King's German Legion (KGL) infantry had been reinforced periodically with Nassauers, but in the course of six hours of fighting, his riflemen had received no new stocks of ammunition, and by six o'clock they were desperately short and unable to continue to resist their assailants with anything more than sword bayonets and musket butts. The French, moreover, had set the roof of the farmhouse on fire, and sometime between 6:00 and 6:30 the remaining 42 KGL infantry out of the original 400 defenders were obliged to abandon the post. This was an important tactical victory for the French, for La Haye Sainte stood firmly in the Anglo-Allied center, offering possession of the strategically important Charleroi-Brussels road. The moment was a critical one for Wellington, for if the French could exploit this opportunity before the full force of the Prussians could be felt, Napoleon still stood a chance of seizing the day. Ney



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2002B, 82.

therefore brought up artillery and pounded the line at close range, repulsed an attempt to retake the farmhouse, and forced out riflemen deployed in the sandpit near La Haye.

The moment had arrived for the French to appear in force. Yet they could not do so. Thousands were still engaged around Hougomont and could not be withdrawn quickly enough, even if the order had been issued. D'Erlon's formation, though certainly not eliminated from the fighting, was exhausted and in no state to switch to the offensive. Meanwhile, to the southeast, Bülow's corps had by now retaken Plancenoit, ejecting the Young Guard in bitter house-to-house fighting that exposed the French right flank and brought the Prussians to within a mile of La Belle Alliance in the French center. There were no available

reserves for Ney, despite his pleas, apart from the Old Guard, which Napoleon refused to commit.

Wellington for his part remained in a perilous state, riding up and down the line reassuring his men and ordering no withdrawals for any reason lest it cause a panic and general retreat. While gaps—some of them quite large—appeared along Wellington's line, Napoleon declined to gamble on striking a potentially deadly blow, notwithstanding the pounding his artillery had inflicted on the Anglo-Allies throughout the day. Many regiments were but shadows of their original strengths.

The Prussians, meanwhile, carried on pushing forward into Napoleon's right flank, bringing their artillery close enough even to hit the Charleroi road down which any French retreat was likely to pass. Napoleon sensed the

crisis and ordered two battalions of the Old Guard to recapture Plancenoit with the bayonet. Within half an hour this elite infantry had evicted many times their number of Prussians, enabling the Young Guard to reestablish their former positions in the devastated village, by then choked with dead and wounded. When the Old Guard carried on beyond Plancenoit, however, Bülow's superior numbers began to tell, and the French were driven back. Nevertheless, the Emperor's favorites had given him a respite, and this, with the fall of La Haye Sainte and the wavering Anglo-Allied center, left one last opportunity for Napoleon to defeat Wellington.

Time was short for the French, for much as the Imperial Guard could halt, if temporarily, the Prussian advance against the French right, they were powerless to stop the tide of Prussians linking up with the Anglo-Allies on Wellington's left. If he was to deliver a decisive blow against his opponent, Napoleon had to strike soon. He still had at his disposal 5,000 fresh infantry of the Old and Middle Guard. Brought forward at the right point along the Allied line, the Guard might yet have turned the tide of victory in Napoleon's favor. First, in order to bolster his men's morale, the Emperor circulated false reports that the troops arriving on the French right were in fact Grouchy's and not Prussians. Then, at around 7:00 P.M. the Guard infantry was sent forward—five battalions in the first wave and three in the second, under Ney. The first wave received support from troops of d'Erlon's corps, plus cavalry and artillery of the Guard. Aware of the impending attack and with 15 minutes in which to prepare to receive it, Wellington closed up his line and deployed cavalry to the rear to prevent any possible breakthrough.

As the sun was setting at about 7:30, the Guard marched in columns up the ridge and attacked a point about equidistant between Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte. At the top of the ridge thirty cannon stood to receive them; the grapeshot fired exacted a heavy toll on the attackers. Undeterred, the Guard continued its advance, driving off Brunswickers and British infantry, and capturing some artillery. Yet when a Dutch-Belgian battery fired at close range, followed by a bayonet attack made by 3,000 Dutch-Belgian infantry, a battalion of the Guard was driven back down the slope. Another battalion of the Grenadiers of the (Old) Guard struck Major General Sir Colin Halkett's brigade, but its two British regiments remained steadfast and then repulsed their assailants with musket fire and the support of a nearby battery of horse artillery. The first French wave had thus failed.

Now came the turn of three battalions of the Chasseurs of the (Middle) Guard. These had been subjected to intense artillery fire since they had begun their advance from La Belle Alliance and ascended the ridge toward the

Ohain road. Suddenly, on Wellington's command, from out of the corn rose the 1st Foot Guards, who had been lying prone. The ensuing devastating volley stopped the Chasseurs in their tracks. At the same time they were subjected to grapeshot at under 200 yards' distance. After 10 minutes of this intense fire, the French began to waver, whereupon Wellington ordered the Foot Guards to charge with the bayonet. On this, the Chasseurs retreated down the slopes past Hougoumont and back whence they had come. Finally, another battalion of Chasseurs of the Guard advanced up the ridge, to be met by various units, including Major General Frederick Adam's brigade, Halkett's brigade, the Foot Guards, and Hanoverians out of Hougoumont, all of whom fired on the attackers from various directions. But the final straw came when the 52nd Light Infantry appeared on the Middle Guard's left flank and fired a volley at point-blank range. The remainder of Adam's brigade then charged with the bayonet, driving the Chasseurs away.

Wellington, seeing that the moment of victory had arrived, rode to the top of the ridge and waved his hat in the air to signal a general advance across the entire front. With the repulse of the Guard, the fatal words "*La Garde recule!*" (The Guard recoils!) spread like wildfire down the French ranks, and Napoleon's army rapidly began to dissolve into a fleeing mass. Some of the hitherto uncommitted units of the Guard stood firm in square, but after taking severe punishment from musket and artillery fire at close range, these too broke and ran, following their comrades in headlong flight. The fate of the Armée du Nord was sealed by pursuing Prussian cavalry, who rode down thousands of men before darkness set in.

Napoleon, protected by a small mounted escort and a battalion of the Guard, retreated down the Charleroi road and eventually reached Paris. With his main force shattered and with several Allied armies poised to invade France, Napoleon abdicated for a second time, surrendered himself to the British, and ended his years in exile on St. Helena.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Elba; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Graf Neidhardt von; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Imperial Guard (French); Ligny, Battle of; Ney, Michel; Picton, Sir Thomas; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; St. Helena; Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of; Waterloo Campaign; Wavre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of; Zieten, Wiprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von

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## Waterloo Campaign (1815)

The final act of the Napoleonic Wars, the Waterloo campaign took place in Belgium in 1815. It was the military aspect of Napoleon’s attempt to seize power in France and reestablish his empire after his short exile on the Mediterranean island of Elba. This period is also known as the Hundred Days. The Waterloo campaign included the “four-day war,” which featured the action at Charleroi, and the battles of Quatre Bras, Ligny, Waterloo, and Wavre; the race for Paris; the besieging of a number of fortresses in northern France; and the fall of Paris. The military forces directly involved included the Army of the North (Armée du Nord) under the command of Napoleon, the (Prussian) Army of the Lower Rhine under Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt, and an Anglo-Allied army under the Duke of Wellington consisting of contingents from various German states, the Netherlands, and Britain. The Waterloo campaign marked the end of the Napoleonic Wars, with Napoleon being exiled to the island of St. Helena, where he died six years later.

Napoleon’s first abdication had taken place on 6 April at the end of the campaign of 1814. The Bourbons had been restored as the rulers of France, with Louis XVIII becoming king. While much of France breathed a sigh of relief at the end of a long period of warfare, the unemployed soldiers were dissatisfied and restless. The restoration of a dynasty that had not been in power in France for a generation also caused friction. The bitter disputes over the spoils of war between the victorious Allies at the Congress of Vienna did not escape Napoleon’s attention either. Judging the moment right, he left Elba (contrary to popular belief, the Treaty of Paris did not confine him there or ban him from leaving; thus he did not “escape” as is often asserted) with a handful of supporters and landed in the south of France on 1 March 1815. This snowball soon turned into an avalanche that swept Napoleon to Paris and back into power. He owed his success to the support of the army, but

the country was divided. Open rebellion broke out in the royalist stronghold in the Vendée.

News of Napoleon's return reached Vienna a few days later, galvanizing the Allies into action. They declared Napoleon an outlaw and prepared for war, forming the Seventh Coalition. The great powers joining it included Russia, Austria, Britain, and Prussia. Much of the rest of Europe supported the Allies, although Napoleon's Marshal Joachim Murat, who was concurrently King of Naples, declared for him. The nations of Europe now prepared for the forthcoming conflict. An Austrian army decisively defeated Murat at Tolentino on 2–3 May, while larger forces concentrated along France's northwestern border.

Napoleon's forces were so outnumbered that, at least on paper, he did not have a chance. However, he was a gambler and hoped that an early success would cause the fragile coalition to collapse. After all, the erstwhile Allies had all but gone to war with each other in January 1815, and they had different political aims. While Britain sought an equitable balance of power in post-Napoleonic Europe, the Prussians in particular had territorial ambitions that the Vienna settlement had not satisfied. The new Kingdom of the Netherlands, consisting of modern-day Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, was an unstable mixture of Dutchmen, Flemings, and Walloons, many of whom had been under French rule for the last generation. Here, Napoleon could count on popular support. There were also strong Bonapartist sympathies in Britain, and any military failure might well have led to the fall of the government, led by Lord Liverpool. As Britain was paymaster of the coalition, a change of ministry was likely to cause a change of policy. Napoleon selected the Low Countries as the target for his military adventure.

The Netherlands had been a disputed territory at the Congress of Vienna. It was occupied by both Prussian forces and an Anglo-Allied (British, Dutch, Belgian, and contingents from various small German states) army. On Napoleon's return to Paris, these forces set about preparing for the forthcoming war. Specifically, they brought in reinforcements and formulated a strategy. The Prussians favored an early intervention in France, but the Anglo-Allies, under Wellington's command from early April, urged greater caution, wanting both the Austrians and the Russians to join them for an invasion of France. The Prussians wanted to grab as much of the glory as possible for themselves to underline their territorial claims. Wellington wanted to see that the balance of power so carefully established at Vienna was maintained. In any case, the defense of the Netherlands was the priority of the armies based there, and Brussels could not be allowed to fall to Napoleon, as that might well destabilize the Kingdom of the Netherlands. They decided on a defense of that great city

to its fore, that is, they resolved to move to meet any invading forces. Against a commander known for his rapid movements, that was a highly risky enterprise.

Napoleon had several choices of routes to Brussels. The shortest way was via Mons, the route Wellington considered he would most likely take. While concentrating his forces along the frontier, Napoleon also undertook a number of movements around Lille, teasing Wellington's sensitive right and his line of communication via the Channel ports. The Allies needed to spread their forces to cover all eventualities, while Napoleon could concentrate at the point of his choice, achieving a local superiority in numbers. The legal situation here was a little unusual. The Allies recognized the legitimacy of Louis XVIII's government-in-exile and had declared war on Napoleon, but not France. Accordingly, the border between France and the Netherlands was open. It was business as usual, and the international postal system was operating normally. The Allies were receiving good information from their informants in Paris, who were making use of the post.

This openness made it difficult for Napoleon to achieve the element of surprise, although he later maintained that his invasion astonished the Allies. However, they were aware of the concentration of French forces in the area of Maubeuge, and from 9 June the Allied troops on the frontier were placed on alert. From Maubeuge, Napoleon had two routes to Brussels: that via Mons, where Wellington's army was waiting for him, or that via Charleroi, where Blücher's Prussians were in position. While it was clear to all that Napoleon was likely to strike soon, the date was not certain and the route not definite. Napoleon played those doubts to his advantage, remaining in Paris for as long as he could before leaving to join his army. He did so on 13 June, the Allies hearing this news only hours later. During the course of the next day, it became evident that hostilities were going to commence the coming morning and that the line of attack was going to be via Charleroi. Wellington had already assured the Prussians that in such an eventuality he would move to their support.

The strategic situation on the outbreak of hostilities on the night of 14–15 June was that Napoleon's army, 120,000 men, was concentrated in the area of Beaumont. The Prussian army under Blücher's command, 120,000 men, was deployed over the southeastern Netherlands. The Prussian I Army Corps under General Wiprecht Graf von Zieten, 30,000 men, was facing Napoleon's troops in the area of Charleroi. Wellington, with his headquarters in Brussels, commanded a mixed force of 90,000 Germans, Dutch-Belgians, and British troops deployed in southwestern Netherlands. The quality of Napoleon's troops was generally higher than Blücher's, two-thirds of his Prussians being raw

levies, so Napoleon was considered more than a match for either of the Allied armies in this theater. Should they, however, combine their forces, Napoleon would be overwhelmed by their superiority in numbers. Not surprisingly, he chose to strike at the juncture of their forces, hitting first the Prussians, whom he expected to defeat easily, before moving against Wellington.

After some initial confusion, the Army of the North clashed with the Prussian outposts from 3:30 A.M. on 15 June. The warning cannon woke Zieten, who waited for an hour until the sound of musketry, indicating a serious confrontation, could be heard. He then sent reports to Blücher in Namur and Wellington in Brussels, informing them of this. The Allied outposts along the frontier and adjacent to the Prussians were also informed. While the timing of the arrival of this news in Namur and its movement up the lines of communication of the Allied forces is a matter of record, Wellington made a number of conflicting statements on the subject. However, it is most likely he received this news at 9:00 A.M. Having assured the Prussians that he would come to their assistance rapidly, Wellington did nothing and waited until 6:00 P.M., after receiving several confirmations of this news, before starting to issue orders. Even then, he only ordered his troops to concentrate at their assembly points and waited until that night before finally issuing any orders to move. Wellington had lost a whole day in circumstances that required immediate action. The Prussians were now in danger of being crushed by Napoleon before assistance could arrive.

Blücher's reaction on receipt of this news was to order his army to concentrate in the Sombreffe position, a defensible point on the Namur-to-Brussels road, where he intended to confront Napoleon the next day. He informed Wellington of this. Thanks to a misunderstanding, IV Army Corps under General Friedrich Wilhelm Graf Bülow von Dennewitz, one-quarter of Blücher's forces, did not move off on time. The Prussians were to face Napoleon the next day with fewer men than anticipated. Now more than ever was Wellington's assistance necessary.

Napoleon pushed on in the face of a spirited rearguard action from Zieten, reaching most of his objectives by the evening of 15 June. He had driven a wedge between Wellington and Blücher, with his forces now standing between the two Allied armies. Moreover, his patrols had reached as far as Quatre Bras on the highway to Brussels, putting him in a position to cut the direct line of communication between Brussels and Namur. Blücher had reacted correctly, but did not yet know that Bülow would be delayed. Wellington had now issued orders to his army to move, but had yet to select a single point of concentration. Instead, he left his options open, awaiting developments. That is not, however, what he told the Prussians.

On the morning of the sixteenth, Wellington rode from Brussels to the front. He passed his troops resting near the village of Waterloo before stopping for a moment at the road junction just south of this village to enquire where the two forks of the road led. He then rode through Genappe and on to Quatre Bras. Fortunately, this vital crossroads was still in Allied hands, as the local commander had used his initiative and held his position, despite having been ordered by Wellington the previous evening to move to Nivelles. Once here, Wellington observed the situation and saw little French activity. He then wrote a report for Blücher, the Frasnés Letter, giving misleading information on his positions, before riding to Prussian headquarters at the windmill of Bussy, near Ligny.

Meanwhile, Napoleon was moving the larger part of his army toward the Prussians, whom he intended to crush that day. He placed his left wing under the command of Marshal Michel Ney, expecting him to brush the handful of Allied troops at Quatre Bras out of the way.

When Wellington met Blücher, he saw that the bulk of Napoleon's forces were drawing up to attack the Prussians. Wellington repeated his earlier promises of coming to their support, but in reality knew he was not in a position to do so with the numbers promised. On his return to Quatre Bras, he was surprised to find the French attacking his forces there. Fortunately, his commander on the spot, the Prince of Orange, had ordered up reinforcements, and Wellington was able to hold his position that day.

The Battle of Ligny commenced about 2:30 P.M. and continued until darkness. For much of the day, the Prussians held their own in vicious street fighting, but the final French assault that evening broke through their center, leaving the scattered remnants falling back. Blücher went missing, having led a desperate cavalry charge in an attempt to hold on. General August Graf Neidhardt von Gneisenau, the Prussian chief of staff, attempted to have his men rally at Tilly, near to Wellington's position, but control broke down. Most of the defeated Prussians fell back toward Wavre, 12 miles east of Waterloo, and part toward Namur.

Despite this success, Napoleon had let his one real chance of a decisive victory in the campaign slip. Although he had allocated the corps of General Jean-Baptiste Drouot, comte d'Erlon to Ney's wing, Napoleon recalled it without reference to Ney. The Prussians were holding on at Ligny with greater tenacity than Napoleon had expected, so he ordered d'Erlon to move to confront their right flank. That could well have resulted in a crushing defeat. Ney, too, could have defeated Wellington had d'Erlon arrived at Quatre Bras. When Ney found that d'Erlon had inexplicably turned around, he sent him urgent orders to retrace his

steps. Thus, a substantial part of the Army of the North spent the day wandering around aimlessly.

Since the French shot the Prussian messenger to Wellington, the duke did not hear of Blücher's defeat until the following morning. Instead of continuing the battle as expected, Wellington fell back to the ridge of Mont St. Jean, south of the village of Waterloo, where he set up his headquarters.

During the early hours of the morning, some sort of control was reestablished over the Prussian army and Wavre selected as the point for it to rally. Napoleon waited for most of the morning before sending off Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy with 33,000 men to pursue the Prussians. By then, the trail had gone cold, and it was some time before he caught up with them. Napoleon believed the Prussians had ceased to be an effective force.

The Emperor now took charge of Ney's wing, adding to it most of the troops that had fought at Ligny. He followed up, although the pursuit of Wellington was not particularly vigorous. Napoleon was losing the initiative.

Heavy rain showers during the night of 17–18 June did not make the going easy. The French supply system broke down, and many of Napoleon's men left their units to look for food. Order was restored the next morning.

The Prussian forces rallied at Wavre, and when the missing ammunition trains were located, Gneisenau confirmed his intention of moving a substantial part of his army the next day to support Wellington. The Prussian march was delayed for several reasons. One was the fact that the freshest corps—Bülow's—was designated to lead the march, even though it was the farthest from Wellington. Then a fire broke out in Wavre, blocking the narrow streets. Finally, the rain had turned the country paths on the route to Plancenoit into mudslides that particularly delayed wheeled vehicles. The much-needed artillery would be the last to arrive. Nevertheless, Wellington observed the leading Prussian posts shortly before the start of the battle.

The battle itself commenced around 11:30 A.M., when men of General Honoré Charles, comte Reille's corps first attacked the château of Hougomont on Wellington's right. The fighting here continued for most of the day. D'Erlon's corps then assaulted the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte in Wellington's center, before staging a general attack at that point. A charge from the Earl of Uxbridge's cavalry drove this off, and the remainder of the day's action in this area consisted of a heavy artillery bombardment, several attempts to storm La Haye Sainte before its defenders ran out of ammunition and finally withdrew, and cavalry charges



Napoleon addresses the Old Guard as it prepares to attack the Anglo-Allied center at Waterloo. (Print by Ernest Croft from *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* by William M. Sloane, New York: Century, 1906, vol. 4)

against infantry squares. Losses on both sides were severe, and the situation for Wellington was precarious.

At 4:30 P.M. the Prussians staged their first of three attacks on the village of Plancenoit to Napoleon's right rear. This sucked in a substantial part of the Emperor's last reserves of infantry, particularly elements of the Imperial Guard, depriving him of the opportunity of using these crack troops in the final assault on Wellington's center. This final assault took place at 7:30 P.M., but the elite of the elite was thrown back in disorder. About the same time, Plancenoit fell to the Prussians, endangering Napoleon's line of retreat. Resistance collapsed, and the French fled the field, leaving behind a substantial part of their artillery and ammunition wagons. Blücher and Wellington met at the inn of La Belle Alliance about 9:00 P.M., their symbolic handshake marking the end of the battle.

At Wavre, the Prussians resisted determined assaults from Grouchy's men into the morning of the nineteenth, when news of Waterloo arrived. The French here fell back. Blücher headed rapidly for Paris, wanting to be the first there, so that he could exact revenge without restraint. Several combats were fought during the pursuit, and a number of the French-held fortresses along their northern frontier either capitulated or were stormed, this phase of the action being undertaken largely by the Prussians, with some support from forces of the German Confederation (the newly formed body of central European states created by the Great Powers at the Congress of Vienna). Paris fell to the Allies on 7 July. Although Napoleon had surrendered to the British, a number of fortresses with pro-Bonapartist garrisons continued to resist until well into the autumn.

The surrender of Napoleon marked the end of his final attempt at reestablishing his power in Europe, while his exile to the isolated Atlantic island of St. Helena ended an era. The balance of power established at the Congress of Vienna withstood several tests during the nineteenth century, so demonstrating that the Allied reconstruction of Europe made possible by Napoleon's defeat in the Waterloo campaign stood on a firm foundation.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bülow von Dennewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Graf; Drouet, Jean-Baptiste, comte d'Erlon; Elba; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton Graf Neidhardt von; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Imperial Guard (French); "Italian Independence," War of; Ligny, Battle of; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Louis XVIII, King; Murat, Joachim; Ney, Michel; Orange, William, Prince of; Paris, First Treaty of; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Reille, Honoré Charles Michel Joseph, comte; St. Helena; Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Second Earl of; Vienna, Congress of; Waterloo, Battle of; Wavre, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur

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### Wattignies, Battle of (15–16 October 1793)

The Battle of Wattignies was a hard-fought two-day battle that occurred when a French army tried to repel an Austrian invasion in October 1793. Revolutionary France actually faced two invasions from the Austrian Netherlands that year. An Anglo-Hanoverian army under Frederick Augustus, the Duke of York, advanced along the English Channel to besiege Dunkirk. Meanwhile, an Austro-Dutch army under the command of *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg), had crossed into northeastern France, taking the fortresses of Valenciennes and Condé, then besieging Le Quesnoy during the summer.

General Jean-Nicholas Houchard led the Armée du Nord against the Duke of York's forces at Hondshoote on 8 September 1793. Here, Houchard's troops won a victory that forced the Anglo-Hanoverians to withdraw and secured the northern approaches from the Austrian Netherlands. However, the general's failure to pursue the enemy army led the Committee of Public Safety to remove him from command on 22 September. Houchard was later tried and executed, providing a warning to future commanders of French Revolutionary armies.

Although the British invasion had been halted, the Austro-Dutch army continued to advance unimpeded. Saxe-Coburg's troops forced Le Quesnoy to surrender on 11 September, before advancing against Maubeuge, a major fortified town on a key road to Paris that also served as a major encampment for about 20,000 French troops. About 26,000 Dutch and Austrian troops invested the town and began formal siege operations, hoping to capture this substantial French force and clear the way for an advance on Paris at the same time. Saxe-Coburg positioned a covering force of about 37,000 men, under the command of *Feldzeugmeister* Franz Sebastian de Croix Graf von Clerfayt, around Wattignies to protect the besieging troops.

General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan took command of the Armée du Nord and the Armée des Ardennes in September and hurried to meet the invading Austrian and Dutch forces. Jourdan, a former private in the French royal army, may have seemed a surprising choice as the commander to face the most serious remaining military threat to Revolutionary France in 1793. Yet Jourdan proved capable at organizing his troops, and Lazare Carnot, who joined the Armée du Nord as a *représentant en mission* during the Wattignies campaign, ably assisted him. Carnot, soon to be known as the great "Organizer of Victory" in his capacity as minister of war, seems to have been convinced by this experience subsequently to advise all field commanders "on every occasion [to] engage in combat with the bayonet" (Lynn 1984, 189). Jourdan and Carnot decided to attempt

to relieve the siege of Maubeuge and ordered the army of about 45,000 men to advance against the Austrian covering force, which was strung out along a wide front. Jourdan reported to the Committee of Public Safety, "I have only time to tell you that my country will be triumphant, or I shall perish in defending it" (Phipps 1980, 1:252).

Austrian commanders were aware of French preparations to attack them, but Saxe-Coburg supposedly was so confident of victory that he said he would become a *sans-culotte* if the French defeated him. Clerfayt's troops were strung out in a wide cordon south of Maubeuge that would allow him to gather only some 21,000 men to face directly the impending French attack at Wattignies. Further, the Austrians were deployed in fairly wooded terrain that would effectively inhibit the use of cavalry and that would put his force at a potential disadvantage if attacked, since the Austrian cavalry far outclassed their French counterparts.

On 15 October, the French army deployed facing their Austrian counterpart around Wattignies with General Florent Joseph Duquesnoy's division on the right, General Antoine Balland's division in the center, and General Jacques Pierre Fromentin's on the left. Jourdan launched attacks on both wings of the Austrian army, with Duquesnoy's troops attacking the village of Wattignies and Fromentin advancing on the left. After both of the wings made initial progress, the French center began an attack on the Austrian troops posted around the village of Dourlers. In the wake of these initial French successes, Austrian artillery fire checked the French infantry in the center and repulsed Duquesnoy's troops at Wattignies. Meanwhile, Austrian cavalry counterattacked Fromentin's division, driving off its cavalry and cutting down many infantrymen. The French suffered at least 1,500 casualties during the first day's battle.

During the night, Jourdan reorganized his troops and prepared a new plan of attack for the next day. He decided to shift some of the infantry from the French center to the right and to concentrate his attacks on Wattignies and the Austrian left wing. Meanwhile, Saxe-Coburg strengthened the Austrian left, expecting a renewed French effort to take Wattignies.

Fog covered the fields on the morning of 16 October, as the French infantry under Jourdan, Duquesnoy, and General Claude Jacques Lecourbe advanced in columns of attack against the Austrian defenses at Wattignies. French artillery batteries prepared the way for the infantry by battering the enemy lines. The French center and left remained largely passive as the main attack developed. The defenders repulsed the first assault on the village, and Austrian cavalry disrupted some French infantry coming up to assist Duquesnoy's division. After rallying some of the disorganized troops, Jourdan led another coordinated attack

on the enemy positions, breaking into Wattignies and pushing the Austrian defenders back. The victorious French then swept beyond the village, completing the victory.

The Austro-Dutch army abandoned its siege of Maubeuge and withdrew northward, but the Armée du Nord was unable to pursue. Instead, Jourdan prepared encampments for his troops, since his army had suffered approximately 8,000 casualties in the fighting, while the Austrians had lost about 5,000. In Paris, the government, known as the Convention, removed Jourdan from command of the Armée du Nord in January 1794 over his refusal to pursue the Austrians along the river Sambre. Still, Jourdan had established a victorious reputation and was not executed. He later served again as a Revolutionary general and then as a marshal under Napoleon.

The French rightly greeted the victory at Wattignies as another Valmy, halting an invasion and saving the Revolution. Historian Jean-Paul Bertaud emphasizes that Wattignies “marked a turning point in the state of military education of the army. . . . For the first time the army maneuvered well” (Bertaud 1988, 238). Wattignies revealed the growing effectiveness of the French Revolutionary military system and paved the way for a new series of French offensives into the Austrian Netherlands in 1794.

Brian Sandberg

*See also* Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite; Convention, The; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Hondschoote, Battle of; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Public Safety, Committee of; Valmy, Battle of; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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## Wavre, Battle of (18–19 June 1815)

The Battle of Wavre took place during the Waterloo campaign in and around the town of Wavre on the river Dyle

in the southern Netherlands, now Belgium. Here, the Prussian III Army Corps (General Johann Freiherr von Thielmann) held up the right wing of Napoleon’s Army of the North, which was commanded by Marshal Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy, preventing it from participating in the Battle of Waterloo, then simultaneously underway 12 miles to the west. This action helped to decide the day at Waterloo.

Once the remainder of the Prussian army had marched through Wavre on their way to Waterloo on the morning of 18 June, Thielmann set about preparing the town for defense with the 15,000 men he had available. Grouchy had more than double that at his disposal (33,000), including III Corps (under General Dominique Vandamme) and IV Corps (under General Maurice Etienne, comte Gérard), as well as generals Claude Pajol and Isidore Exelmans’s cavalry corps.

Wavre was situated on the left bank of the Dyle, with a suburb on the opposite bank. Stone bridges joined them, and there were several more bridges along the river. The recent heavy rain had made the river unfordable.

Vandamme’s men started to draw up for the attack on the afternoon of 18 June, attempting to seize the bridges at 4:00 P.M. Grouchy then came up and assumed command. Fierce fighting raged around the bridge at Limal, before the French eventually penetrated as far as the town itself. The ensuing street fighting continued into the night, with counterattacks following each attack.

Vandamme also moved against the village of Bas-Wavre, downstream from the town. He made scant progress here, taking a few houses south of the river, but not capturing the bridge.

That evening, Napoleon’s letter, sent to Grouchy at 1:00 P.M. ordering him to move on Waterloo, arrived. It was simply too late for Grouchy to comply that day. Napoleon had to fight this great battle with a third of his men not available where they were needed.

Grouchy ordered Pajol to move rapidly to Limal and awaited the arrival of the divisions of Gérard’s IV Corps. He then personally led them to Limal, where they arrived at 11:00 P.M. Pajol was holding the bridges, so they crossed the Dyle and climbed the heights to its north. Here, they clashed with Prussian troops and were forced to retire. Recognizing the importance of the crossing at Limal, Grouchy ordered Vandamme to move there, leaving behind only enough men to cover the bridges. Grouchy was now in a position to move toward Napoleon the next day.

That night, Thielmann received unconfirmed reports of an Allied victory at Waterloo. Confirmation arrived in the morning. Nevertheless, the battle around Wavre recommenced early on 19 June. Grouchy’s superiority in numbers told, forcing the Prussians to retire. At 10:30 A.M.,

learning of Napoleon's defeat, Grouchy called off his attack and decided on a withdrawal to Namur. Thielmann did not follow up immediately, and Grouchy was able to break off the combat under the cover of a screen of cavalry.

*Peter Hofschröder*

*See also* Gérard, Maurice Etienne, comte; Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de; Pajol, Claude Pierre; Thielmann, Johann Adolph Freiherr von; Vandamme, Dominique Joseph René; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign

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### Weissenburg, Battle of (13 October 1793)

Weissenburg, one of many battles fought in the various campaigns on the Rhine front during the War of the First Coalition, displayed many characteristics of the early phase of the Revolutionary Wars: French lack of preparedness, Allied dissension and dithering, and the growing ability of the French government to organize the national defense through a unique combination of terror and professionalism. The focus of the clash was the famous Weissenburg Lines, a series of entrenchments created by Claude-Louis-Hector, duc de Villars in 1706 and extending for some 52 miles along the river Lauter, supporting nearby permanent fortifications and protecting Alsace against invasion from the north. The protection was sorely needed following the fall of Mainz in late July 1793.

Admittedly, the 100,000 Allied troops under the Duke of Brunswick advanced both late and slowly. Brunswick's Prussians, suspicious of Austrian political aims, soon stopped moving altogether and settled into camps at Pirmasens and Kaiserslautern. Farther south, *Feldmarschalleutnant* Dagobert Graf Würmser's Austrians blockaded Landau and established themselves opposite the weak left of the Weissenburg Lines, to which 25,000 troops of the Army of the Rhine under the inexperienced Carlen had retreated after several defeats. Eventually, the Allies agreed to a joint assault. On the night of 12–13 October, Waldeck attacked from behind the French right, whereupon Würmser's forces assaulted the center in three places. Condé's émigrés took Bergzabern. More skillful French leadership might have stemmed the tide, for the complex Allied attacks were only loosely coordinated. Fearful of being cut in half by Brunswick's 10,000 Prussians advancing from the southwest, however, the French retreated in disorder to Strasbourg (ironically, Würmser's native city).

The French public and leadership viewed the defeat as a terrifying disaster, and indeed, the Austrians threatened

to annex Alsace, but the blow was more psychological than real—and perhaps even a blessing in disguise. French losses were only about 2,000, whereas those of the Allies were more than twice as heavy. In addition, the Allies failed to capitalize on their victory, whereas the defeat spurred the French government, known as the Convention, to decisive action. After quarreling again with the Austrians, the Prussians stopped to besiege outlying French positions, thus allowing Strasbourg to organize its defenses.

Barely two weeks after the rout, St. Just and Le Bas, *représentants en mission* from the Committee of Public Safety, arrived to restore order. By requisitioning goods and funds from civilians and imposing draconian punishments for infractions of military discipline, they supplied the troops with both new resources and new motivation. The arrival and increasing cooperation of two new generals, Louis Lazare Hoche (Army of the Moselle) and Jean-Charles Pichegru (Army of the Rhine), completed the turnaround: By the end of the year, the French were in control of the Rhine front.

*James Wald*

*See also* Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of; Convention, The; First Coalition, War of the; Geisberg, Battle of the; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Mainz, Siege of; Pichegru, Jean-Charles; Public Safety, Committee of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf

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### Wellesley, Arthur

*See* Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

### Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, First Marquis (1760–1842)

British diplomat and eldest brother of the victor of the Peninsular War and the Waterloo campaign, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington. The son of Garret

Wesley, the first Earl of Mornington, Richard Wellesley (styled Viscount Wellesley until 1781) was born 20 June 1760 in County Meath, Ireland. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, he left Oxford in 1781 to assume the Mornington peerage as the second earl upon his father's death.

Wellesley was elected a Member of Parliament in 1784 and became a junior Lord of the Treasury in 1786, the same year he started his brother Arthur's military career by enrolling him at the Royal Academy of Equitation at Angers in France. He later purchased for his brother a series of army commissions. Wellesley's growing interest in India moved him to the Board of Control for India, and led to his surprise appointment as governor-general of Bengal in 1797.

When Wellesley arrived in India, the East India Company faced growing unrest in various provinces, the leaders of which controlled large military forces backed by French officers. Wars with Mysore (1799) and a campaign against the Marathas (1803), combined with Wellesley's diplomacy, cemented British domination over much of India. He established Fort William College in Calcutta in 1799 to train British civil servants in the administration of the subcontinent. His success in India earned him the marquisate of Wellesley in December 1799, thus granting to him the title for which he is best known, first Marquis Wellesley.

Having successfully opposed the French threat in India, Wellesley was recalled from India in 1805, largely due to the dissatisfaction of the East India Company, which was saddled with war debts. Returning home in 1806, Wellesley accepted the ambassadorship to the Spanish provisional government, the Junta Central, in Seville, in 1809. Wellesley cooperated with his brother Arthur in prosecuting the war in the Iberian Peninsula and spent most of his time seeking support for his brother's army. Wellesley also found himself at odds with the junta over opening the representative assembly, the Cortes. Frustrated with the lack of support, Wellesley tendered his resignation, which led to renewed vows of support for Wellington's campaign from foreign secretary George Canning.

From 1810 until his resignation in early 1812, Wellesley served as foreign secretary in the ministry of Spencer Perceval. After Perceval's assassination in May 1812, the Prince Regent asked Wellesley to form a government. Few were willing to serve under Wellesley, however, largely because of his strong support for Catholic emancipation and what was seen as undue attention paid in seeking support for his brother's campaign in Spain. Instead, Lord Liverpool formed a government.

Wellesley accepted the post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1821, largely because his support of Catholic emancipation seemed politically expedient during the period of unrest that followed the Napoleonic Wars. When

his brother, since 1814 the Duke of Wellington, became prime minister in 1828, Wellesley resigned over their differences over Catholic emancipation. Wellesley held several other government jobs, including another brief stint as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1832 to 1834, after Catholic emancipation had been approved, before finally retiring from public life in 1835. Wellesley died on 26 September 1842 at Kingston House, Brompton.

*Thomas D. Veve*

*See also* Cádiz, Cortes of; Canning, George; Catholic Emancipation; India; Ireland; Junta Central; Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of; Peninsular War; Perceval, Spencer; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of (1769–1852)

Arguably, Britain's greatest soldier, yet incontestably the principal figure responsible for the Allied victories in both the Peninsular War and the Waterloo campaign. During the course of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, no other commander enjoyed greater success against the French than did the Duke of Wellington, who defeated a string of Napoleon's subordinates in Portugal, Spain, and southern France between 1808 and 1814, before finally confronting and vanquishing the Emperor himself at Waterloo in 1815.

The fourth son of impoverished Anglo-Irish aristocrats, Garret Wesley (the family surname being changed to Wellesley in 1789), first Earl of Mornington, and Anne, eldest daughter of Arthur Hill, first Viscount Dungannon, Arthur Wesley was born on 1 May 1769 and variously educated—at Eton, through private tuition in Brussels, and at a military academy at Angers, in France. He was not athletic, nor indeed particularly strong in health, but reasonably accomplished in music and mathematics, both of which he preferred to outdoor or other academic pursuits, and showed no particular interest in, nor aptitude for, military affairs, unlike his elder brother, Richard, the future Marquis Wellesley. With money loaned to him by Richard,

who became head of the family upon Mornington's death in 1781, Arthur purchased his commission in March 1787, joining the 73rd Foot as an ensign before exchanging first into the 41st Foot in January 1788, next into the 12th Light Dragoons in June 1789, and finally into the 18th Light Dragoons in October 1792.

From 1787 to 1793 he was aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was elected to the Irish Parliament as the member for Trim, County Meath, in 1790, serving for five years. In an age when promotion could be obtained through wealth alone, Wellesley advanced rapidly up the ranks through lavish spending and family connection, becoming lieutenant colonel of the 33rd Foot in 1793. He served in the Duke of York's campaign in Holland in the following year, fighting at Boxtel on 14 September. Wellesley's disappointment at the poor record of the army and the incompetence displayed by senior officers during the campaign led him to make a careful study of military affairs, seeking lessons to be learned from the debacle.

In 1797 his regiment was sent to India, where he benefited greatly from his brother Richard's position as governor-general. As a brigadier, Wellesley commanded a division of British and Indian troops in the campaign against Tipu Sultan of Mysore in 1799, when he distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam, which fell on 4 May. Thereafter, Wellesley proved himself adept at the civil administration of both the city and the region as a whole. Despite the fact that poor health obliged him to remain behind when Sir David Baird led an expedition to Egypt in 1801, Wellesley received a promotion to major general the following year at the remarkably young age of thirty-three.

During the campaign against the Mahrattas, he scored two celebrated victories at which he was heavily outnumbered: at Assaye, on 23 September 1803, and Argaum (Argoan), on 29 November. His time in India toughened Wellesley, enabled him to appreciate the connection between tactics and topography, and to grasp the importance of adequate logistics and reconnaissance. He maintained austere domestic habits—being abstemious and taking very little sleep in a narrow campaign cot—all of which were to stand him in good stead during his later years fighting the French in Iberia. Wellesley also showed himself a very competent civil administrator during his years on the subcontinent.

Battle-hardened and experienced, Wellesley left India on 10 March 1805, now as Sir Arthur Wellesley—and returned to Ireland. He was given command of a brigade stationed along the Channel coast while Britain stood poised to receive a threatened French invasion which, in the end, never materialized. In 1806 he was elected to Parliament as the member for Rye, and later for other constituencies. On 10 April he married Catherine Pakenham, with whom his partnership never properly developed. From 1807 to 1809



The Duke of Wellington, commander in chief of the Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish armies, which he led to victory in the Peninsula. He later commanded the Anglo-Allied army during the Waterloo campaign in 1815. (Engraving by W. Say after Thomas Phillips from *British Military Prints* by Ralph Nevill, London: Connoisseur, 1909)

he served as chief secretary for Ireland in the Duke of Portland's government, though he took leave from Dublin in 1807 to lead a division in the expedition to Copenhagen, where he defeated the Danes at Kjöge on 29 August.

Wellesley was promoted to lieutenant general in the summer of 1808 and given command of an expedition dispatched to Portugal, which the French had occupied the year before. He defeated the French at Roliça (16 August) and Vimeiro (21 August), for which he became widely popular at home, though he was superseded by lieutenant generals Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, who refused Wellesley's pleas to pursue General Jean Andoche Junot and force the surrender of the entire French army in Portugal.

When on 31 August his superiors signed the Convention of Cintra, by whose lenient terms the French were to be evacuated from Portugal in British ships, Wellesley was ordered by his superiors to sign the agreement, much to his own distaste. All three generals were recalled to Britain to account for themselves before a court of inquiry that, how-

ever, on 22 December exonerated Wellesley from any misconduct connected with this unauthorized agreement with the vanquished enemy. Meanwhile, in November and December, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore was caught in the midst of his disastrous Corunna campaign, which ended with a horrendous fighting retreat to the northwest coast of Spain, where in January 1809 a Royal Navy squadron evacuated the shattered remains of his army.

Moore having been killed in battle at Corunna, Wellesley assumed command of British forces in Portugal upon his arrival in Lisbon on 22 April. Wasting no time, he opened an offensive, surprising and defeating Marshal Nicolas Soult at Oporto on 12 May, and temporarily ejecting his forces from Portugal. On the basis of help promised by the Spanish, Wellesley then crossed the border into Spain and, on 27–29 July, with nominal help from Spanish general Gregorio García de la Cuesta, confronted the French under Napoleon's brother King Joseph and Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Talavera, for which defensive victory Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington on 4 September. Without adequate support from the Spanish, however, he was obliged to retire back into Portugal, where the army did not fight again between August 1809 and February 1810.

Wellington completely reorganized the army, forming permanent divisions and integrating Portuguese brigades—trained, armed, and clothed under British auspices—into his forces. During the campaign of 1810 Wellington defeated the French at Busaco on 27 September, thus halting the enemy's advance on Lisbon, around which Wellington directed the construction of a remarkable series of fortifications, entrenchments, and outposts known as the Lines of Torres Vedras. Marshal André Masséna, discovering that he could not penetrate these formidable defenses and unable to feed his army as a result of Wellington's scorched-earth policy, retreated on 16 November toward the border fortress of Almeida, with the Anglo-Portuguese army in pursuit.

Wellington confronted Masséna again in a bitterly fought struggle for Fuentes de Oñoro on 3–5 May 1811, while his subordinate, Marshal (his rank in the Portuguese Army) Sir William Beresford, defeated Soult at Albuera on the sixteenth. By this time Wellington's army had evolved into a highly effective fighting force, supported by the diversionary activities of Spanish guerrillas who were tying down substantial numbers of French troops throughout the Peninsula, so relieving some of the pressure from the British army. His achievements thus far earned for Wellington an earldom on 18 February 1812.

In order to advance into Spain, Wellington had to secure the border fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, his siege of the former of which he had to raise owing to

the advance of marshals Auguste de Marmont and Soult. On 20 January 1812, however, he assaulted and carried the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, followed on 6 April by Badajoz, though at a terrible cost to his infantry, for whom Wellington wept in the wake of the fighting. Still, the path into Spain now lay open, with even greater advantages accruing to Wellington as a result of the withdrawal of substantial numbers of French forces for service in Napoleon's forthcoming campaign against Russia. In his great summer offensive, Wellington scored a remarkable success at Salamanca on 22 July against Marmont, dispelling the myth that the earl was a "defensive" general.

Even so, his subsequent occupation of Madrid in August proved but temporary after his failure in September and October at besieging Burgos—his only major setback in the Peninsula. Pursued by Soult and General Joseph, comte Souham, Wellington conducted an exhausting, costly retreat to the Spanish-Portuguese border before establishing winter quarters. Nevertheless, he was the toast of both Spain and Portugal, received numerous titles and decorations from their respective governments, and was appointed commander in chief of the Spanish Army in October. On behalf of his own nation, Wellington received a marquise on the third of that month from the Prince Regent.

By the time the new campaign season opened in the spring of 1813, the army had been bolstered by substantial numbers of reinforcements from Britain. With these swelling his existing force, Wellington—for the first time able to deploy superior numbers against the French—opened a new, carefully planned offensive that led to a crushing victory at Vitoria on 21 June. This proved the decisive battle of the war, and forced the French to evacuate most of what they still controlled of Spain. Nevertheless, the fortresses at San Sebastian and Pamplona still remained in French hands, and Soult proceeded to pursue a skillful campaign along the Pyrenees, with fighting at Sorrauren (28–30 July), Vera (1 September), and elsewhere. Yet, with the French no longer able to launch offensives of their own, Wellington took San Sebastian—like Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, stormed at heavy cost—on 31 August before crossing the Bidassoa River on 7 October and entering France itself. On native soil, Soult continued to prove himself a formidable opponent, yet consistently obliged to give ground, the heaviest fighting taking place at the Nivelle (10 November), St. Pierre (13 December), the Nive (9–13 December), Orthez (27 February 1814), Tarbes (20 March), and, finally, at Toulouse (10 April), a tragically pointless battle fought before news arrived that Napoleon had already abdicated at Fontainebleau four days earlier.

After an absence from Britain of five years, Wellington received a hero's homecoming, whereupon the Prince

Regent appointed him ambassador to France on 21 April and made him a duke on 3 May. On 15 February 1815 Wellington arrived at the Congress of Vienna as a delegate, joining the British foreign secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, who had been representing his nation's interests in the negotiations for the political reconstruction of postwar Europe that had begun the previous November.

When Napoleon returned from Elba and landed in France on 1 March, Wellington took command of the Anglo-Allied army in the Netherlands and narrowly defeated Marshal Michel Ney at Quatre Bras on 16 June, before, two days later and in conjunction with the Prussian army under the command of Field Marshal Gebhard Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt, vanquishing Napoleon—against whom Wellington had never personally fought before—at the historic encounter at Waterloo. In the subsequent occupation of France Wellington served as commander in chief of Allied forces, an appointment that marked the end of his active military career, though he remained commander in chief until his death.

Wellington's appointment as Master General of the Ordnance from 1818 to 1827 inaugurated a long political career, during which he led several diplomatic missions to the Continent. He became prime minister in 1828, pushing through legislation granting Catholic emancipation, a cause he reluctantly supported if only to avoid civil war in Ireland. He resigned from office in November 1830 owing to objections against political reforms proposed for the House of Commons, but returned briefly as prime minister in 1834, and later as home secretary.

Wellington's politics were marked by ultra-conservatism and a staunch opposition to social and political reform, for which he made himself unpopular during various stages of his postwar career. With his public standing largely restored by 1841, the duke took up in that year a cabinet post as minister without portfolio, and by the time he retired from public life five years later he had achieved an exalted status in British society. He died of stroke, aged eighty-three, at Walmer Castle in Kent on 14 September 1852, mourned by all ranks of society. Wellington's funeral procession, which passed through London to St. Paul's Cathedral on 18 November, was watched by an estimated 1.5 million people.

In assessing Wellington's leadership qualities, one must inevitably examine his record in the Peninsular War, Waterloo merely marking the climax of a career whose foundations were laid in India before maturing in Iberia. The high professional standards that the army achieved in Spain and Portugal were a testament to Wellington's abilities not only as a superb commander in the field, but also as a highly skilled administrator. His constant concern for the welfare of his men earned him his troops' respect and,

later, devotion, though it could not be said that Wellington was loved, unlike his great nemesis, Napoleon.

Indeed, the duke stood largely aloof socially, dressed in sober fashion, demanded strict discipline, never hesitated to order punishments—including death—for infractions, worked extremely long hours, and expected the same commitment to duty of his staff, who for the most part rendered him excellent service. Wellington also possessed remarkable stamina and made industrious use of his time. He would rise at 6:00 A.M. and work until midnight, writing large numbers of orders and dispatches, and rode between 30 and 80 miles a day. In the six years he spent in the Peninsula he never once went on leave.

Wellington's supreme self-confidence about his plans and his abilities was tempered by an understanding of his limitations based on clear-sighted forward planning and good use of intelligence. He began the war with a well-conceived and effective long-term strategy in mind and he adapted his tactics—usually but not always, defensive—to suit the ground, his opponents' strengths and weaknesses, and the capabilities of his men. He possessed the sort of intelligent mind that could quickly assess a situation, whether at the strategic or tactical level. He laid his plans carefully and often anticipated those of his enemy. He had a good grasp of logistics and understood that an effective army required regular supplies of food, equipment, and ammunition. As such, he recognized the importance of an efficiently run commissariat.

Wellington seldom delegated authority to his subordinates in order to maintain personal control of affairs whenever possible, particularly on the battlefield. His orders were clear and he saw to it that they were carried out precisely. While his failure to delegate may be seen as a fault, his consistent battlefield successes owed much to his presence on the scene, where by exposing himself to fire he encouraged his men and could see at first hand where action needed to be taken: sending reinforcements, exploiting a success, withdrawing, and so on. Proof of his constant presence in the thick of things is shown by his narrow escape from capture on three occasions and the three times when he was hit by musket balls—though without receiving serious injury.

Wellington recognized—and acknowledged early in the war—that with only one army, and a small one at that, he could not afford to be defeated: He simply could not enjoy that luxury. Criticisms leveled against him as a strategically “defensive” general should be analyzed in this light. He spent three years in a largely defensive posture and seldom took risks, fighting only when circumstances were favorable and then with positive results. By preventing the French from concentrating their massive numbers against him, he could fight their armies sepa-

rately on reasonable terms and wait for the time to switch to the offensive.

Thus, though the French had several hundred thousand men in the Peninsula at any given time, Wellington normally fought battles with about 50,000 men on each side. Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, in particular, enabled him to do so, since that campaign not only required some French troops to transfer east, but would later deny to French commanders in the Peninsula much-needed reinforcements. From then on the French were obliged to fight a two-front war, thereby emboldening Wellington to move to the offensive. While it is true that at the tactical level he largely fought on the defensive, this was by no means always the case, as demonstrated at Oporto, Salamanca, Vitoria, and elsewhere.

Wellington understood that the war in the Peninsula would be long, and where other commanders might have regarded the odds as hopeless, he persisted. If his campaigns failed, he would accept responsibility, and he understood his dependence on the goodwill and cooperation of his hosts. He never gave in to what he called "the croakers," officers in his own army who suggested, often behind the scenes, that the war was a lost cause, particularly in the period between Talavera and the withdrawal of Masséna from the Lines of Torres Vedras.

He inherited an army that, though it had undergone reforms under competent men like Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir John Moore, had a poor military record. Yet in the course of a few years he organized and trained the finest army of its size in Europe. And, whatever one may say about the contribution made by the Spanish—both regulars and guerrillas—the balance of Allied victory or defeat in the Peninsula ultimately hung on the ability of Wellington's army to defeat the French in the field. This he did consistently with small numbers that usually varied between 30,000 and 60,000 men, of mixed nationality, but men of exceptionally high caliber, training, and leadership.

In short, Wellington's consistent victories owed much to his careful planning, his personal supervision of the fighting, and his ability to react appropriately as circumstances changed. He anticipated the actions of his adversaries, who were often experienced generals, and so could plan accordingly. Finally, he commanded an army, composed, in the main, of competent general officers and well-trained men, probably the best Britain has ever produced. His victories were not entirely unbroken: Burgos stands out as the exception, but few commanders of any age enjoyed the succession of victories for which Wellington may rightfully claim credit.

*Gregory Fremont-Barnes*

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Albuera, Battle of; Almeida, Sieges of; Badajoz, Second Siege of; Badajoz,

Third Siege of; Beresford, Sir William Carr; Bidassoa, Crossing of the; Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Bonaparte, Joseph; Burgos, Siege of; Busaco, Battle of; Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount; Cintra, Convention of; Ciudad Rodrigo, Second Siege of; Copenhagen, Attack on; Corunna, Retreat to; Flanders, Campaigns in; Fuentes de Oñoro, Battle of; García de la Cuesta, Gregorio; India; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kjöge, Battle of; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de; Masséna, André; Moore, Sir John; Ney, Michel; Nive, Battle of the; Nivelles, Battle of the; Oporto, Battle of; Orthez, Battle of; Pamplona, Siege of; Peninsular War; Quatre Bras, Battle of; Roliça, Battle of; Salamanca, Battle of; San Sebastian, Siege of; Sorcau, Battle of; Souham, Joseph, comte; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; St. Pierre, Battle of; Talavera, Battle of; Tarbes, Battle of; Torres Vedras, Lines of; Toulouse, Battle of; Vera, Battles of; Vienna, Congress of; Vimeiro, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, First Marquis; York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of

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### West Indies, Operations in the (1793–1810)

Between 1793 and 1810, the West Indies became a major theater of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Operations in the Caribbean were complicated by the necessity for cooperation between the army and navy, the large number of casualties caused by disease, and the ever-growing threat of slave revolts.

When the French Revolutionary government declared war on Britain on 1 February 1793, the conflict thus far involving (principally) France, Austria, and Prussia, evolved from a European conflict to a global war. Prior to the outbreak of the Anglo-French phase of the conflict, the Caribbean was already in turmoil, as the ideals of liberty and equality had sparked civil unrest and slave rebellions across the French Caribbean islands. France's richest colony, St. Domingue, the western portion of the island of Hispaniola (the eastern part being the Spanish possession of Santo Domingo), was plagued with continual warfare after a slave revolt began in August 1791.

In the spring of 1793 Britain began offensive operations in the West Indies, but attention was diverted to the campaigns in Europe. The first conquest was the French island of Tobago, which surrendered on 15 April after the British landed a small force from Barbados. Meanwhile, the French governor of Martinique, General Donatien Rochambeau, had difficulty putting down a royalist revolt. The local British commander sailed in June with 1,100 troops to Martinique. By the time the British arrived, Rochambeau had already captured the main royalist camp. Despite being supported by 800 royalists, the British attack on St. Pierre on 18 June failed after running into a republican ambush. The British withdrew and evacuated over 5,000 royalist refugees.

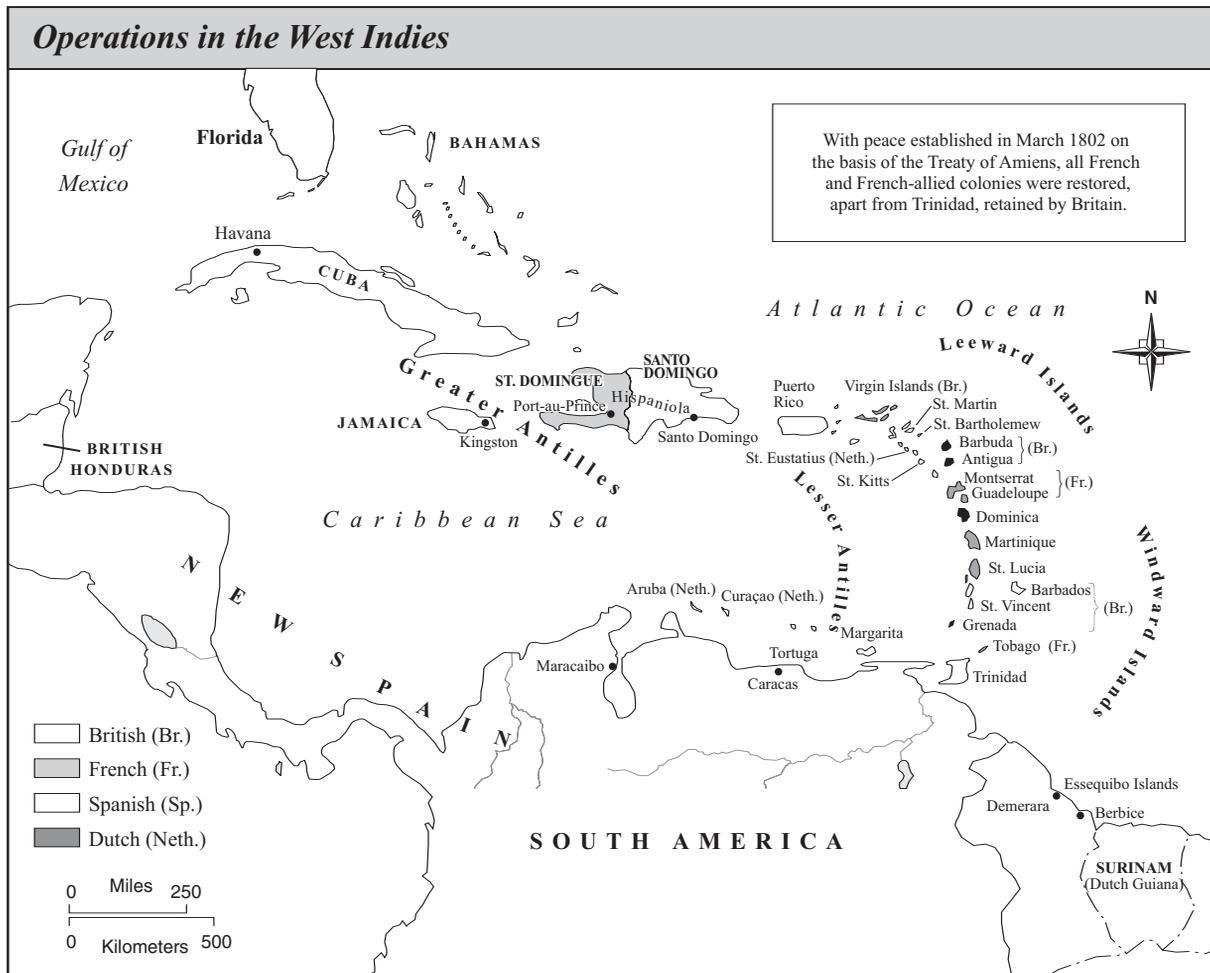
Meanwhile, the British secretary of war, Henry Dundas, prepared plans for a large expedition to the Caribbean during the fall of 1793 to be commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Charles Grey and Vice Admiral Sir John Jervis. Events in Europe put the expedition in jeopardy, as troops were sent to halt the French offensive in Flanders and protect the captured city of Toulon. In addition, the governor of Jamaica decided to support French planters on St. Domingue, reducing the available British force to a total of around 7,000 men. The expedition left on 26 November and straggled into Barbados by early January 1794.

On 2 February the expedition left Barbados to attack Martinique. Armed with detailed plans of the French defenses provided by royalists, Grey devised a strategy to carry out multiple landings in order to confuse and disperse the French garrison. To defend Martinique, Rochambeau had only around 2,000 men, including regulars and the mulatto national guard. While the British quickly gained control of most of Martinique, Rochambeau consolidated his forces in the forts protecting Fort-de-France. Due to the stubborn defense of the French garrison and the rains that hindered the progress of the British siege, Rochambeau was able to hold out until 25 March. While the British succeeded in capturing this important island, the persistence of the French defense had cost the British nearly a month and half of the campaign season.

The British quickly prepared to continue their sweep of the West Indies. The next target was the smaller French island of St. Lucia to the south. After leaving several regiments on Martinique, the British landed around 5,000 men at various points on St. Lucia on 1 April. The several-hundred-man French garrison quickly surrendered on 4 April after the British had made a strong show of force. After leaving 1,000 troops on St. Lucia, the British continued their offensive and invaded Guadeloupe, where the French garrison surrendered on 22 April 1794 after two weeks of resistance.

Meanwhile, to leeward, in mid-September 1793, a British squadron, loaded with troops from Jamaica, ran into some French white planters who offered the British control of Mole St. Nicolas. The British seized the offer, thereby beginning the British occupation of St. Domingue. Slowly the British increased their control over the southern province of the colony.

June 1794 marked a major turning point in operations in the West Indies. On 2 June nine French ships carrying over a thousand troops anchored off Guadeloupe near Point-à-Pitre. The local British commander did not possess sufficient forces to oppose their landing and called on the governor for aid. Messengers were sent out to Grey and Jervis, who were about to depart from the Caribbean. However, the governor had died that day, and the second in



Adapted from Fremont-Barnes 2001, 35.

command took several days to send reinforcements to Point-à-Pitre. After the French stormed Fort d'Épée, the British retreated across to the other half of the island, Basse Terre. Even the arrival of Grey and Jervis did little to improve the situation for the British. The French squadron was safely anchored in the port of Point-à-Pitre under the protection of the harbor forts, while Grey did not have many troops available to deal with this new threat, as sickness had ravaged his ranks and his reinforcements had been sent on to St. Domingue.

Leadership of the French fell to the republican commissioner Victor Hugues, as all of the other generals and government leaders were killed or incapacitated in the initial fighting or subsequent onset of yellow fever. Hugues published the French declaration of emancipation, which bolstered his disease-ravaged ranks with ex-slaves and free blacks. In late June Grey decided to attempt to storm the French forts, as there was little time available before the sickly season arrived. Hugues had around 3,000 men to face Grey's 3,500. The British assault on 1 July became

bogged down in the town, where the veteran British units were mauled by the French, breaking British morale. Grey evacuated all his troops back to Basse Terre. Disease continued to whittle down the British force and the European troops of the French. Hugues responded by conscripting and training an additional 2,000 black recruits.

When Jervis's ships drifted off their station in September, the French launched an invasion of Basse Terre on 27 September. Most of the British troops surrendered on 6 October, leaving the British in control of only the town of Basseterre. Hugues laid siege to the place, which eventually surrendered in December 1794.

Then, both in Europe and the Caribbean, the British stood on the defensive. In January 1795 Hugues was reinforced with another 2,000 troops, which he used to assume the offensive, sending representatives to St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada. To Grenada, an ex-French colony, Hugues sent the mulatto planter Julien Fédon to lead the local French population, which had grown discontented with British rule. The local British commander had only

100 troops at his disposal. On St. Vincent, Hugues aided the French population and the native Caribs, who eventually took over control of most of the island. Hugues also sent aid to the French insurgents on St. Lucia who had been harassing the British since their invasion. Losing control over the island and fearing defeat, the British evacuated St. Lucia in June. Only on Dominica, where the old French population failed to rise, did Hugues's efforts prove unsuccessful. To the leeward, the British were not faring much better, as they were under pressure on St. Domingue, and a revolt among the native Maroons broke out on Jamaica.

The loss of its continental allies and the threat posed by Hugues's use of emancipation as an incentive to encourage resistance to British occupation led Britain to prepare a major expedition to the Caribbean. Initially the goal of the operations planned for 1795–1796 was to reconquer Guadeloupe, in the belief that by cutting off French support from the island, they would weaken the resolve of republican forces on the other islands. The British prime minister, William Pitt, hoped that a victory in the West Indies would lead to the conclusion of hostilities with France without the need for continental allies. These operations constituted the largest overseas expedition ever mounted by Britain, even though it was only able to muster 22,000 of the planned 30,000 troops. Even so, combined with the forces already in the West Indies, this force accounted for almost half of the entire British Army. The expedition, commanded by Major General Ralph Abercromby and Rear Admiral Hugh Christian, was to reinforce St. Domingue. The expedition was ready by November, but poor weather forced nearly two-thirds of the vessels to return to port. Dundas then changed the plan: First, recapture St. Lucia, then secure St. Vincent and Grenada, and then occupy Demerara.

Abercromby was sent ahead to begin preparations, while the ships undertook repairs. When he arrived in Barbados in March 1796, Abercromby found that some of the troops that had arrived early had already been sent to reinforce Grenada. Before the rest of the expedition arrived, Abercromby decided to detach small forces to capture the Dutch colonies of Curaçao and Demerara, both of which had offered to place themselves under British control. In mid-April part of the expedition arrived, giving him a total of 7,000 available troops. On 25 April Abercromby landed on St. Lucia. The French garrison put up stiff resistance, forcing Abercromby to lay siege to the island. With the arrival of an additional 5,500 men, he completely encircled the garrison. Although the French black troops put up a stubborn defense, the lack of rain enabled the besiegers to make progress without delays due to weather or disease, while the defenders' own water supplies ran dry. On 25 May the garrison of 2,000 troops

surrendered, although a number of men took to the hills to continue their former guerrilla campaign against the British.

Leaving 3,000 men to garrison St. Lucia, Abercromby dispatched 2,500 troops to both St. Vincent and Grenada. By June both Fédon's revolt on Grenada and the French-Carib uprising on St. Vincent had been suppressed. Although the British Windward Islands were secured, no new advances were made, as the situation was the same as in 1794, with the French still in control of Guadeloupe. Meanwhile, the occupation of St. Domingue fell from the list of priorities, and fewer reinforcements, many of them worthless cavalry, were sent to the island. Meanwhile, in May, a French squadron landed 3,000 troops, as well as a number of guns and ammunition for the republicans.

During the summer of 1796 the British made little progress in the West Indies, as disease killed over two-fifths (6,500) of their troops and confined another one-fifth (4,000 men) to the hospitals, having left only 6,500 men fit for duty by January 1796. Meanwhile, in Europe, France had knocked Prussia and Spain out of the war in 1795, the latter power switching sides to oppose Britain, and thus forcing the Pitt government to end its offensive in the Caribbean.

When Spain declared war on Britain on 8 October 1796, Britain decided to launch a new offensive to attack the vulnerable Spanish Empire, hoping to capture both Buenos Aires and Trinidad. While the expedition to Buenos Aires was dropped due to lack of available ships, the expedition to Trinidad was delayed until January 1797 by the difficulty in obtaining shipping and then the news of General Louis Lazare Hoche's expedition to Ireland. Meanwhile, a small Spanish squadron had reinforced Trinidad with another 1,500 troops.

When the British expedition arrived in February, Abercromby collected around 3,700 troops aboard five ships of the line and eight smaller vessels. As the fleet made its way around Trinidad, the British discovered a small Spanish squadron. With insufficient numbers of men to crew his ships, the Spanish admiral set fire to them and led his men across the island toward *Puerta de España*. During the morning of 17 February, the British disembarked, and the Spanish governor surrendered the next day. Leaving 1,000 men to garrison the island, Abercromby gathered 4,000 troops to launch an attack on Puerto Rico, which Abercromby hoped would surrender quickly like Trinidad.

The British landed east of Puerto Rico's principal port of San Juan on 18 April. The Spanish governor, Don Ramón de Castro, refused the British demand to surrender and reinforced his already formidable defenses. After several failed attempts to advance on the fortifications of San Juan, Abercromby abandoned his plans and evacuated his forces during the night of 30 April.

After the failed attack on Puerto Rico, Britain focused on retaining its conquests rather than continuing its offensives. As part of that plan, Britain started to withdraw its troops from St. Domingue. In the spring of 1798 troops were evacuated from nearly all of southern St. Domingue, with the exception of Mole St. Nicholas and Jeremie. However, even these two locations proved too difficult and costly to defend, obliging the British to withdraw completely in August, leaving St. Domingue for good.

Meanwhile, things were calm in the Windward Islands, as a British squadron blockaded Guadeloupe and Hugues was running low on supplies. While there were no major British operations, several minor expeditions were undertaken. On 20 August 1799 the governor of Dutch Guyana (alternatively, Guiana, now Surinam), surrendered the colony to the British upon the arrival of a small naval squadron. Similarly, Curaçao capitulated to passing British frigates on 13 September 1800.

With the failure of the British expedition to Holland in 1799, Dundas returned to his colonial strategy. Although projects for large-scale expeditions against Cuba, New Orleans, and Buenos Aires were scrapped, the British decided to seize the Swedish and Danish colonies in a preemptive strike, to prevent the formation of a new League of Armed Neutrality of the Baltic States, as had been organized in 1780 during the American Revolutionary War.

While 5,000 reinforcements sailed to the Caribbean in February 1801, Lieutenant General Thomas Trigge and Rear Admiral John Duckworth had opened an offensive the preceding month with the 2,000 troops available. On 20 March 1801 the British quickly captured the Swedish colony of St. Bartholomew; the Franco-Dutch island of St. Martin (24 March); and the Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. John's (both 29 March), and St. Croix (31 March). Meanwhile, on 16 April, the French evacuated the Dutch colonies of St. Eustatius and Saba, which were quickly seized by the British.

By the same year, however, France had once again defeated Britain's continental allies, Austria and Russia. In order to save the situation in Europe, the new British prime minister, Henry Addington, agreed to establish peace with France according to the Treaty of Amiens whose preliminary terms were signed in October 1801, later to be definitively settled in March 1802. In conformance with Amiens, Britain returned all of the captured colonies except the Dutch and Spanish possessions of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Trinidad, respectively.

The Peace of Amiens gave Bonaparte free rein to carry out his plan to rebuild the French West Indian empire, a plan that included the reestablishment of slavery. The key part of his plan involved the reassertion of France's authority over St. Domingue, which was now controlled by the ex-

slave general, Toussaint Louverture, who had liberated the entire island of Hispaniola and renamed the place Haiti. Napoleon secretly instructed his brother-in-law, General Charles-Victor Leclerc, to eliminate black leaders, disarm the black population, and eventually reenslave them.

Even before the Peace of Amiens was fully ratified, Napoleon had dispatched Leclerc and Admiral Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse with over 20,000 men to St. Domingue. The main force sailed from Brest and Rochefort in mid-December 1801 and arrived off the island in late January 1802. The fleet divided into smaller squadrons, each contingent sent to capture one of the numerous coastal towns of St. Domingue. While some black commanders quickly defected to the French, Toussaint and others resisted and withdrew into the interior of the island to fight. By May Leclerc had persuaded almost all of the black leaders to return to the service of France with promises of maintaining their ranks or positions. Even so, Leclerc's position was deteriorating, as yellow fever decimated his ranks and news of the restoration of slavery in Guadeloupe reached Haiti. During the summer, as Leclerc tried to disarm the black population, resistance movements sprang up across St. Domingue, and by October, many of the black officers joined the rebellion. In November Leclerc died from yellow fever, and command of the troops in St. Domingue passed to Rochambeau, who fought in vain to maintain control.

The Peace of Amiens proved little more than a ceasefire, and hostilities resumed upon Britain's declaration of war on 18 May 1803. Bonaparte's aspirations for a French empire in the Caribbean were quickly ended. A British squadron blockaded the newly independent Haiti, preventing badly needed reinforcements and supplies from reaching the besieged French garrison, portions of which soon began surrendering to the British in order to escape from black forces. Finally, in November, Rochambeau surrendered to the blockading British fleet, leaving only the French garrison of the town of Santo Domingo, on the southeastern coast of the island, to hold out.

In the Windward Islands, Lieutenant General William Grinfeld and Commodore Samuel Hood gathered 3,000 troops in June 1803 to attack St. Lucia. The outnumbered French garrison, led by General Jean François Xavier Noguès, surrendered a few days later on 22 June. The British quickly continued on to Tobago, which surrendered on 30 June. On 20 September the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice surrendered to the British after Grinfeld made a strong show of force. On 25 April 1804 a British force of 2,000 men invaded Dutch Guyana, which surrendered in early May after a short siege.

In 1805 France resumed the offensive in the Caribbean. As part of the planned invasion of England, Napoleon wanted his various fleets to rendezvous in the West

Indies, where they would divert Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson's fleet from European waters and wreak havoc before returning to seize control of the English Channel. On 11 January 1805 Admiral Edouard de Missiessy left Rochefort with 3,500 men aboard five ships of the line and three frigates. Arriving at Martinique in February, Missiessy quickly proceeded to attack the nearby British island of Dominica. General Joseph Lagrange landed his troops on the twenty-second and captured one of the British forts, but the commander had withdrawn the majority of his forces to the safety of another fort in the interior of the island. Having little time available, and expecting Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve, with the combined French and Spanish fleets, to arrive soon, Missiessy and Lagrange decided to abandon the attack on Dominica after collecting a contribution of 100,000 francs. After disembarking reinforcements on Guadeloupe, Missiessy sailed to St. Christopher (St. Kitts), Nevis, and Montserrat, where he collected another 300,000 francs in contributions. In March, upon learning that Villeneuve's initial attempt to sail from Toulon had failed, Missiessy completed his mission by leaving 500 troops for the French garrison of Santo Domingo before returning to France.

Unbeknownst to Missiessy, Villeneuve had successfully slipped out of Toulon on 17 January with a large French fleet carrying 3,300 troops. Arriving in Martinique on 14 May, these troops were used on 31 May to assault Diamond Rock, a little islet off the southern coast of Martinique that had been fortified by the British. Although the terrain made the assault difficult, the British garrison, having expended nearly all its ammunition and weakened by extreme thirst, surrendered on 2 June. When two ships arrived from France, Villeneuve learned that the Brest fleet had not left and that Missiessy had already returned to France. Villeneuve thereupon opted to attack Barbados in June and collected troops from both Martinique and Guadeloupe. On the way, however, Villeneuve learned of the presence of a British fleet nearby and decided to call off the attack. The troops recently taken aboard were then loaded onto frigates to be disembarked on Guadeloupe, while Villeneuve sailed for Spain. This was to be the last French offensive in the West Indies. Despite the presence of two French fleets, little had been accomplished.

In December 1805 Admiral Corentin de Leissègues sailed from Brest with a small squadron of five ships of the line and two frigates to transport 1,000 reinforcements and additional munitions to the besieged garrison in Santo Domingo. While Leissègues reached Santo Domingo in late January 1806 and disembarked the troops and supplies, his ships needed repairs before they could get under way. In early February a large British fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Sir John Duckworth spotted and destroyed

them at the Battle of Santo Domingo on 6 February 1806. Following this defeat, Napoleon sent only frigates, either singly or in small squadrons, to carry reinforcements to the Caribbean.

In 1807 the British returned to the offensive in the West Indies. On 1 January four British frigates sailed into the harbor of St. Ann and quickly overwhelmed the surprised Dutch garrison of Curaçao. After a British fleet attacked the neutral Danish fleet at Copenhagen (2–5 September 1807), the British moved to capture the Danish colonies in the Caribbean. Accordingly, on 21 December the islands of St. Thomas and St. John's, followed on the twenty-fifth by St. Croix, surrendered to the British after the attackers made a strong show of force. In March 1808 the British stormed two of Guadeloupe's dependencies, Marie-Galante on the second, and Désirade on the thirtieth, in order to deprive French privateers of their safe anchorages. During the summer the British intercepted French documents reporting the weakness of the garrison on Martinique. The British assembled on Barbados 8,000 men from various colonial garrisons, while 4,000 men were shipped down from Canada for the attack. Meanwhile, on 14 January 1809, the French colony of Guiana surrendered to a small Anglo-Portuguese expedition of 500 men.

On 30 January the British invaded Martinique with around 12,000 men. As in the 1793 invasion the British disembarked their troops at several points in an attempt to divide the attentions of the French garrison. Slowly the overwhelming number of British troops forced the French to fall back toward the fortifications around Fort-de-France. On 10 February the British began their siege of Fort Desaix (formerly Fort Bourbon). After holding out for two weeks and with no sign of a relief force, Captain General Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse surrendered on the twenty-fourth.

Having learned from their previous experiences, the British quickly reembarked the troops brought from Canada and shipped them back to Halifax before they could be ravaged by disease. On 17 April, the British stormed the remaining dependency of Guadeloupe, the Iles des Saintes. Furthermore, the remnants of the French garrison of Santo Domingo surrendered to the British on 6 July. Napoleon had belatedly organized a fleet to relieve Martinique, but the British had shattered it through the use of fire ships near the Basque and Aix Roads, near Rochefort, on 11–16 April 1809.

In early 1810 the British ended their offensive in the West Indies. While the British had made numerous raids on Guadeloupe since 1809, they launched a full-scale invasion with 7,000 troops on 28 January 1810. Abandoned by most of his black troops and colonial militia, General Manuel Ernouf surrendered on 6 February. From Guade-

loupe, the British then dispatched a small force to capture the Franco-Dutch island of St. Martin and the Dutch colonies of St. Eustatius and Saba. Thus, by 1810, the French and Dutch had lost the whole of their West Indian colonial possessions.

Kenneth Johnson

*See also* Abercromby, Sir Ralph; Addington, Henry; Amiens, Treaty of; Armed Neutrality, League of; Basque Roads, Attack on; Copenhagen, Attack on; England, French Plans for the Invasion of; First Coalition, War of the; Flanders, Campaigns in; Haiti; Hoche, Louis Lazare; Leclerc, Charles-Victor Emmanuel; Martinique; Medical Services; Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount; Nelson, Horatio, First Viscount; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Pitt, William; Santo Domingo; Santo Domingo, Battle of; Second Coalition, War of the; Sickness and Disease; Slave Trade; Slavery; St. Lucia; St. Vincent, John Jervis, First Earl of; Third Coalition, War of the; Toulon, Siege of; Toussaint Louverture; Trinidad, Expedition to; Villaret-Joyeuse, Louis Thomas; Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de

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## Westphalia

Westphalia was one of a number of kingdoms created by Napoleon from the residue of the Holy Roman Empire to

support the hegemony of France in Europe. These kingdoms were of two categories: satellite kingdoms ruled by Napoleon and his family, and independent kingdoms allied with the French Empire. Westphalia was in the first category. A good example of a kingdom in the second category was Bavaria.

Westphalia has traditionally been a geographic term referring to the particular region of Germany east of the Rhine but west of the river Elbe, encompassing Brunswick, Hesse, and parts of Hanover. Napoleon created the Kingdom of Westphalia as a political entity as a result of the Peace of Tilsit (July 1807), mostly from the former domains of the Duke of Brunswick and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. These individuals had supported Prussia in its losing effort against Napoleon during the War of the Fourth Coalition, and to some degree the kingdom's creation also served as punishment. The Emperor named his youngest brother Jérôme (who was only twenty-three at the time) as king, and Cassel was designated as the capital. To further legitimize his brother, Napoleon had Jérôme marry a princess from the royal family of Württemberg.

Napoleon's intention was to create a kingdom ruled by the Bonaparte family that could also serve to dominate a larger political entity, also Napoleon's creation, known as the Confederation of the Rhine (Rheinbund). Alongside Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and other German principalities, Westphalia would serve as a model of French ideas in law and governance. It would also serve as a military and political counterweight in the western part of Germany.

According to specific instructions provided by Napoleon, the country was structured as a constitutional monarchy. The Napoleonic Code served as its law, with an independent judiciary (appointed by the king, however). Jérôme Bonaparte was to rule as king through a council of state overseen by a parliament. Administratively the new country was organized, as in France, into departments (eight in all). All the feudal vestiges and taxes of the Holy Roman Empire were effectively eliminated. Had there not been continued war and strife in Europe, the chances would have been good for a long and stable government on a liberal model. However, Westphalia was almost immediately subjected to Napoleon's "blood tax" by being required to raise an army of 25,000 men to add to the overall contributions of the Confederation of the Rhine to Napoleon's military adventures.

The Westphalian Army was constructed almost exactly on the French model, relying, like its French counterpart, on conscription. The army was composed of both line and guard units. The Royal Guard closely resembled Napoleon's Imperial Guard, although it was smaller in number, and it was meant to provide a solid core of loyal troops. The Westphalian Guard included cavalry, infantry,

and artillery as well as specialists and some of the finest light troops at that time in Europe, due to the abundance of *Jäger* (literally, “hunters”; riflemen) who had served the Holy Roman princes in the Hessian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick forest preserves. The Guard also included a regiment styled the *Hussars Jérôme Napoléon*, paid for by Jérôme’s father-in-law, the king of Württemberg. The line units included the same basic three branches. The cavalry was well mounted and included both heavy and light regiments. The artillery was organized according to the Gribeauval system, with standardized and excellent guns. Napoleon’s hope was that the natural martial ability of the Hessians and Brunswickers who made up the majority of the population would permeate the army (Westphalia’s population was almost 2 million).

Almost immediately, though, Jérôme had problems filling out the regiments of his army. Napoleon’s involvement in Spain soon resulted in Westphalia’s “fair share” being sent south—including the line chevauléger (light horse) regiment, which remained for almost the entire war. During the War of the Fifth Coalition in 1809, Jérôme and his army were charged with defending parts of the Confederation of the Rhine against incursions by the Austrians and British and were forced to deal with attempts to cause a popular uprising in Westphalia itself. It is a measure of some success of French proxy rule that only a few Westphalian officers and troops supported the revolts of 1809 led by the former Duke of Brunswick (most of whose troops were Bohemian), the turncoat General Wilhelm von Dornberg (a colonel in the Guard), and the hot-headed Prussian major Ferdinand von Schill. Schill was killed in fighting in Stralsund, and both Dornberg and Brunswick were driven from the Continent. Jérôme’s kingdom had survived its first major crisis, but not without a cost.

The real problem for Westphalia turned out to be not so much the men but the finances to pay for them. Additionally Jérôme had to pay for the upkeep of fortresses and their provisioning for French troops. Until the dissolution of the kingdom in late 1813, Jérôme and his subjects constantly struggled to meet his older brother’s force requirements and always came up short in manpower and money. Nevertheless, Westphalia managed to produce a prodigious number of troops for the campaigns in Spain, Russia, and Germany—eventually over 100,000 Westphalians served in Napoleon’s armies between 1808 and 1813. The real disaster occurred, as for most of the German kingdoms and for Napoleon himself, in Russia in 1812; out of over 22,000 Westphalian troops with the Grande Armée (nearly all in Jérôme’s VIII Corps), only 1,500 returned. Yet in spite of all this, the kingdom remained relatively loyal until late into 1813. The most notable instance of disloyalty was the defection of the two line hussar regiments at the start of the

fall 1813 campaign. Nevertheless, the Guard Hussars followed Jérôme out of Germany to fight on in 1814 as the 13th (French) Hussars.

As for Jérôme, his skill at military command was probably limited to no higher than corps command. As a wing commander he did poorly, and he abandoned the army early during the Russian campaign. As a ruler he did better; both traditional and more recent scholarship give him high marks for just the sort of enlightened liberal governance that Napoleon had originally intended. There is no other way to explain the remarkable performance of this satellite kingdom than to give Jérôme his fair credit as a ruler.

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*See also* Bavaria; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Civil Code; Confederation of the Rhine; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Hanover; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Guard (French); Peninsular War; Russian Campaign; Schill, Ferdinand Baptista von; Saxony; Tilsit, Treaties of; Württemberg  
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## Westphalian Army

*See* Westphalia

## Wetzlar, Battle of

*See* Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

## Wilberforce, William (1759–1833)

William Wilberforce was the most important leader of his generation—or indeed of any period—in the campaign

against slavery within the British Empire. The gregarious son of a wealthy merchant family in Hull, Yorkshire, he had an evangelical religious experience in 1785 that convinced him to commit himself to the service of God in a way that would benefit humanity. Although slavery is nowhere condemned in the Bible, Wilberforce and other evangelicals, both those who like him remained in the Anglican Church and those who broke away as Methodists, believed that it was an evil that they had a divine mission to redress. In 1787 he and others formed the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, expecting that ending the trade would lead to better treatment of slaves already in the colonies.

As a Member of Parliament (MP) since 1780 and a friend of the prime minister William Pitt, Wilberforce could gather the support of cabinet ministers and others in the House of Commons. Persuading Parliament to abolish the slave trade, however, proved more difficult than he expected, though the struggle might have taken far longer without the well-connected Wilberforce. Almost every year from 1789 he tried but failed to get a majority in the House of Commons, his only success being a resolution for gradual abolition in 1792, which had no practical effect. The French Revolution and the slave revolt in French St. Domingue (Haiti) in 1791 gave pause to some of those who were well disposed toward abolition, but the 100 Irish MPs sent to Parliament after the union with Britain in 1801 increased the support. In the meantime Wilberforce had helped in 1791 to found the Sierra Leone Company to resettle freed slaves in West Africa. The slave trade in the British Empire was finally abolished in 1807 as the major achievement of Lord Grenville's so-called Ministry of All the Talents. Wilberforce received great praise but was bitterly disappointed that international abolition did not follow the Congress of Vienna, which merely condemned the slave trade. He now turned his attention to the condition of British-owned slaves, which had not improved since 1807. By 1819 slave registers, with one copy in the colony and one in London, had been introduced to prevent illegal imports and curb the harsh punishments employed by the owners.

In the early 1820s, complete abolition of slavery had become the greatest moral and reform cause in Britain, but Wilberforce's health was too poor to lead the Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1823. In the same year, without opposition, Parliament passed resolutions calling for amelioration in the treatment of slaves and their eventual freedom. This reform foundered on the refusal of the West Indian assemblies to enact legislation and the preoccupation of British governments after 1827 with other issues. In 1833, as Wilberforce lay dying, Lord Grey's government passed an act emancipating the slaves after a seven-year "apprenticeship" (later ended in 1838) to their former

owners, who received £20 million in restitution. The triumph was celebrated in Wilberforce's funeral in Westminster Abbey, though some radicals criticized him for overlooking the deprivation of British workers and indeed supporting repressive legislation during and after the wars against France.

*Neville Thompson*

*See also* Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron; Haiti; Pitt, William; Slave Trade; Slavery; Union, Act of; Vienna, Congress of

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### Winter, Johan Willem de (1767–1812)

Dutch admiral best known for his determined leadership against the British at the hard-fought Battle of Camperdown in 1797. Johan Willem de Winter was born on 31 March 1767 in Kampen as a scion of a military family, whose tradition he upheld, as he joined the army as a cadet at the age of nine. After service in the Garde du Corps of Prince William V of Orange and in the colonial army in Demerara, he joined the navy as a midshipman. As a lieutenant he saw action at Dogger Bank on 5 August 1781.

When in the late 1780s the Dutch Republic was torn between reformist Patriots and the Regent patriciate, which by that time had made common cause with the Prince of Orange, de Winter was a staunch Patriot, an exception in the traditionally Orangist navy, and in 1787 he joined one of the small Patriot bands that patrolled the borders of the Dutch Republic. The rebellion was quelled with Prussian support, however, and de Winter fled to France, probably to Dunkirk. In 1792 he joined the Légion Batave (Légion Franche Étrangère) as a lieutenant colonel and received rapid promotion in the Army of the North through his personal bravery. On 18 January 1795 troops under his command captured the Batavian fleet at Den Helder, although the fleet had already surrendered before he arrived. When the Dutch Republic became the Batavian Republic in 1795, de Winter was attached to the Marine Committee, and on 26 June he was promoted to commander of the Batavian Navy, though he had never commanded a ship or a fleet and had not been on active service in the navy since 1789. However, being Dutch by origin yet loyal to them, de Winter was an excellent ally for the French.

De Winter immediately set about to reinforce the fleet, which was in a sorry state. His career as its commander is

as closely linked to the fleet's tragic fate, as his name is bound to the terrible Dutch defeat at Camperdown (Kamperduin), when on 11 October 1797 de Winter, commanding the main body of the Batavian fleet, met a British fleet under Admiral Adam Duncan. De Winter's fleet was largely destroyed, shattering any prospect for a Franco-Batavian invasion of Ireland as well as the last remnants of Dutch naval prestige. His flagship *De Vrijheid* was the last to surrender, and de Winter showed remarkable bravery and tenacity. He was taken captive and was eventually exchanged. Until that time he was allowed to travel home on parole yet honor-bound not to hold any military commission or exercise command. Despite his defeat at Camperdown, he was hailed as a hero and exonerated by a later inquiry.

In 1800 de Winter was sent on a diplomatic mission to France to press the First Consul, Bonaparte, to support Dutch interests in the East Indies, but failed, both through Bonaparte's intransigence as well as through his own naïveté and lack of tact. In 1801 he regained his command, a position he retained during the reign of King Louis Bonaparte (1806–1809), but from that point on he had to share his post with Carel Hendrik Ver Heull, a favorite of Napoleon and probably a more capable commander. De Winter was not involved in any further major action, however, as during the British invasion of Walcheren in 1809 he was passed over in favor of Ver Heull on account of the Emperor's preference for the latter.

When the Netherlands were annexed by France in 1810, de Winter's work became largely administrative, as there was only a vestige of a fleet left and Napoleon's attention was focused on Russia. While suffering from poor health, de Winter traveled to Paris and died there on 2 June 1812. His body was buried in the Panthéon, his heart in Amsterdam. In 1821 the latter was brought to Kampen, where it was placed in the Bovenkerk.

*M. R. van der Werf*

*See also* Bonaparte, Louis; Camperdown, Battle of; Dutch Navy; Flanders, Campaigns in; Netherlands, The; Texel, Capture of the Dutch Fleet of; Walcheren, Expedition to

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**Winzegorode (Wintzingerode),  
Ferdinand Fedorovich, Baron (1770–1818)**

Russian general and corps commander. Winzegorode was born to a prominent Hessian family and studied at the Cassel Cadet Corps from 1778 to 1785 before joining the Hessian Guard. However, he soon took a discharge, and

over the next few years, he served in the armies of various lesser German states. Winzegorode served in the Austrian army in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) in 1790 and on the Rhine in 1792–1793 and again in 1795–1796. He entered Russian service with the rank of major in the Military Order Cuirassier Regiment on 19 June 1797. He became lieutenant colonel in the Life Guard Izmailovsk Regiment and adjutant to Grand Duke Constantine in early 1798, and he earned promotion to colonel on 5 June 1798. However, on 14 February 1799, Winzegorode was allowed to leave the Russian and join the Austrian service to take command of the Archduke Ferdinand's Dragoon Regiment and participate in operations against the French in 1799. Winzegorode returned to Russia on 24 November 1801 and was appointed to the Quartermaster Section of the Imperial Retinue. He rose to major general and adjutant general on 24 April 1802. Between 28 May and 23 September 1803, he served as *chef* (colonel proprietor) of the Odessa Hussar Regiment.

In early 1805, Winzegorode served on a diplomatic mission to the Prussian court in Berlin and took part in the drafting of the Allied plan of operations against France. During the 1805 campaign, he served at Russian headquarters, and distinguished himself at Dürnstein (Krems). At Hollabrunn (Schöngrabern), he and Prince Peter Bagration tricked Marshal Joachim Murat into a one-day armistice and helped General Mikhail Kutuzov to rescue his army. Winzegorode then fought at Austerlitz, though after the battle he was held responsible for the defeat. He left the Russian service on 15 January 1807, and in 1807–1811, Winzegorode served in the Austrian Army. In 1809, he distinguished himself at Aspern-Essling, where he was severely wounded and received promotion to *Feldmarschalleutnant* on 5 June 1809. He returned to the Russian Army on 23 May 1812.

During the 1812 campaign, Winzegorode commanded a partisan detachment in the Smolensk *gubernia* (province) and covered the route to St. Petersburg. For his actions, he received a promotion to lieutenant general on 18 September. On 22 October, as the French withdrew from Moscow, Winzegorode entered the city with his adjutant to negotiate with the enemy and prevent them from destroying the Kremlin. He was, however, detained by the French and Napoleon initially wanted to court-martial him for treason, claiming Winzegorode, as a Hessian, was his subject (Hesse had become part of the Confederation of the Rhine in July 1806). As he was transported from Moscow, however, Winzegorode was rescued by Cossacks near Radoshkevichi, between Minsk and Vilna. He assumed command of a corps at Grodno and distinguished himself pursuing the French. In 1813, he took part in the actions at Kalisch, Lützen, Grossbeeren, Dennewitz, and

Leipzig, for which he was promoted to general of cavalry on 20 October 1813.

In 1814, Winzgorode commanded a corps and fought at Soissons, Craonne, Laon, and St. Dizier. In late 1814, he led the 2nd Independent Corps, and after returning to Russia, he took command of the 2nd Cavalry Corps, with which he marched back to France during the Hundred Days in 1815. After the war, Winzgorode took command of 2nd Corps (21 April 1816) and later of the Independent Lithuanian Corps on 7 July 1817. In May 1818, he traveled to Germany to recuperate from wounds but died at Wisbaden on 30 June 1818.

*Alexander Mikaberidze*

*See also* Aspern-Essling, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Bagraion, Peter Ivanovich, Prince; Confederation of the Rhine; Cossacks; Craonne, Battle of; Dennewitz, Battle of; Dürnstein, Battle of; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Grossbeeren, Battle of; Hollabrunn, Action at; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Laon, Battle of; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Moscow, Occupation of; Murat, Joachim; Russian Campaign; St. Dizier, Battle of; Third Coalition, War of the

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**Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich  
(Peter Ludwig Adolf) Graf zu (Sayn-)  
(1769–1843)**

Prominent Russian general of German descent, commander of the Allied forces in 1813. Wittgenstein was born as Peter Ludwig Adolf Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg on 5 January 1769 in Pereyaslav, in the Poltava province in Ukraine. His father was a Westphalian nobleman who himself had risen to the rank of lieutenant general in the Russian Army. In April 1781 at the age of twelve he enlisted as a sergeant in the Life Guard Semeyonovsk Regiment. In 1789 he transferred to the Horse Guards, becoming a cornet the following year. By 1793 he served as a major in the Ukraine Light Horse Regiment. He first saw action in the campaign of 1794 against the Polish uprising, distinguishing himself at the Battle of Ostrolenka and the assault on Praga (a district of Warsaw). In 1796 he participated in General Vareljan Zubov's Persian campaign along the Caspian Sea and, after the capture of the fortress of Derbent, he delivered its keys to St. Petersburg.

After serving in three cavalry regiments, Wittgenstein was promoted to colonel of the Akhtyrsk Hussar regiment on 9 February 1788, became commander of the Akhtyrsk Hussars on 5 May 1799, and rose to the rank of major gen-

eral and commander of the Mariupol Hussars on 1 July 1799. He commanded these units until 29 October 1807, except for three months (October 1801–January 1802), when he led the Elizabetgrad Hussar Regiment. He distinguished himself commanding this unit during the War of the Third Coalition (1805), when he participated in the battles at Amstetten, Wishau, and Austerlitz. In the following year, his regiment was transferred to the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (in present-day Romania), where he took part in the initial Russian operations of the Russo-Turkish War (1806–1812) before returning to central Europe to take part in the War of the Fourth Coalition (1806–1807), fighting the French at Ostrolenka in February 1807. On 10 November 1807, he received command of the Life Guard Hussar Regiment, which he commanded until 22 April 1818. On 24 December 1807 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and commanded a corps in southern Finland for the next three years, during which time Russia fought a brief war against Sweden.

During the Russian campaign in 1812, Wittgenstein commanded the 1st Corps that, reinforced by *opolchenye* (untrained militia) and garrison regiments, covered the approaches to St. Petersburg. In July and August, he engaged Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's troops at Wilkomir, Klyastitsy, Kokhanovichi, and two battles at Polotsk. For his success in the latter battle, he was promoted to the rank of general of cavalry on 3 November. After Polotsk, in November, he earned the sobriquet the Savior of St. Petersburg. During the French retreat from Moscow, Wittgenstein pursued Oudinot's forces and participated in the bloody crossing of the Berezina, where he was partially responsible for allowing the remnants of Napoleon's forces to escape. From February to April 1813, he occupied Berlin and received several awards for services performed the previous year.

After the death of Prince Mikhail Kutuzov in April 1813, Wittgenstein became commander in chief of the Russian Army and commanded the (Russo-Prussian) Army of Silesia at Lützen and Bautzen, where he was defeated. This promotion, thus, proved beyond his capabilities, and so on 26 May he was succeeded by General Mikhail Barclay de Tolly. Wittgenstein was present at the battles of Dresden and Leipzig, during the autumn campaign in Germany, and, during the 1814 campaign in France, at Nancy and Bar-sur-Aube, at the latter of which he was severely wounded.

In 1818 Wittgenstein was appointed commander of the 2nd Army and became a member of the State Council. In February 1826 he again received command of the Mariupol Hussars, becoming its regimental *chef* (colonel proprietor). On 3 September he was given the rank of general

field marshal. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829, Wittgenstein commanded the Russian army, capturing Macin and Bralia in 1828. The following year, however, he retired from the army on grounds of ill health. That was the formal reason; in reality, he was ignored and circumvented by his own general staff, led by the young and ambitious General Ivan Diebitch, who corresponded directly with Tsar Nicholas I. After retiring, Wittgenstein settled on his estate, where he led a quiet life; in 1834 the king of Prussia elevated him to the rank of prince for his role in the 1813 campaign, and two years later Nicholas conferred on him the title of His Highness Prince. Wittgenstein died on 11 June 1843 in Lemberg (now L'vov).

*Laurence Spring*

*See also* Amstetten, Battle of; Austerlitz, Battle of; Barclay de Tolly, Mikhail Andreas; Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bautzen, Battle of; Berezina, Actions and Crossing at the; Dresden, Battle of; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kutuzov, Mikhail Golenishev-, Prince; Leipzig, Battle of; Lützen, Battle of; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Polotsk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Russo-Polish War; Russo-Swedish War; Russo-Turkish War; Third Coalition, War of the

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## Wordsworth, William (1770–1850)

One of the greatest English poets of the nineteenth century and Poet Laureate (1843–1850), who laid the foundation for the English Romantic movement.

Wordsworth was born, the second of five children, to the family of John Wordsworth, a relatively prosperous lawyer and estate manager, in the Lake District of northern England. His mother, Anne Cookson, died when he was only seven, followed by his father's death six years later. Orphaned and placed with his siblings under guardianship of their uncles, Wordsworth studied at the Hawkshead School where his teacher, William Tyler, encouraged his various interests in classics, literature, and mathematics. His rural explorations profoundly impressed his psyche, affecting him throughout his life. In his autobiographical *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, he reminisced, "Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up / Fostered alike by beauty and by fear" (Wordsworth 1996, 52, I:305–306).

In 1787 Wordsworth enrolled at St. John's College, Cambridge, but the stringent atmosphere of the college did not appeal to him and "a feeling that I was not for that

hour, nor for that place" haunted him (*ibid.*, 106, III:80–81). Still, he persevered and completed his education with a degree in 1791. His student years were noteworthy for the publication of his first sonnet in *The European Magazine* in 1787 and his memorable trip to France in 1790, where he observed ongoing Revolutionary turmoil and became an ardent republican sympathizer. After his graduation, he returned to France in 1791 and grew to admire French Revolutionary principles. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, / But to be young was very Heaven," wrote the young poet (440, X:692). He delighted in French victories over Britain and denounced hereditary monarchy, hoping "to equalize in God's pure sight Monarch and peasant" (233, VI:456).

While in France, he fell in love with Marie Annette Vallon, a surgeon's daughter, who gave birth to his daughter, Anne Caroline, in 1792. He reflected this relationship in his poem *Vaudracour and Julia* and confessed in *The Prelude* his desire to "turn aside / From law and custom" (*ibid.*, 378, XI:603) to gain happiness with her. However, as France declared war on Britain and the rest of Europe, Wordsworth was compelled to return to England that year, leaving his common-law wife and their newborn child. Over the next decade, Wordsworth and Vallon struggled to maintain a relationship despite distance and political unrest. Vallon was actively engaged in the royalist cause and was under surveillance by the Revolutionary government up to the time of the Consulate.

By 1802, with his passion already withered, Wordsworth was finally able to visit Annette and Caroline for four weeks. Yet the new series of wars on the Continent prevented him from seeing them again for nearly two decades. In 1816, he did not attend his daughter's wedding, and his next meeting with Annette and Caroline was only in October 1820, when Wordsworth had already long been married to Mary Hutchinson. Annette would live for another twenty-one years, while Caroline lived until 1862. He continued to support them in later life.

Back in 1792, upon his return to England, Wordsworth faced some of the most difficult years of his life as he struggled with poverty and his pro-republican sentiments. His first poems, *Descriptive Sketches* and *An Evening Walk* (1793) were ill-received. During this period, he was influenced in his radicalism by William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Tom Paine. The privation of these years ended when in 1795 his friend Raisley Calvert bequeathed him £900, allowing him to pursue his literary interests. Wordsworth settled at Alfoxden House, near Bristol, with his sister Dorothy, who served as his housekeeper, nursemaid, friend, and secretary. That same year, Wordsworth met Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and their partnership blossomed over the next few years. As they "together wantoned in wild Poesy" (*ibid.*, 534, XIII:414), Coleridge made a last-

ing influence on Wordsworth, who abandoned his earlier, socially conscious poems in favor of the more lyrical and dramatic works that earned him fame.

Another consequence of Wordsworth's friendship with Coleridge was his decision to start working on an ambitious poem that eventually developed into his masterpiece, *The Prelude*. In 1798 Wordsworth and Coleridge published *Lyrical Ballads*, an event often considered the beginning of the English Romantic movement. Wordsworth then wintered in Germany during 1798–1799 where he wrote some of his most poignant poetry, including the “Lucy” and “Matthew” poems. Returning to England, he produced a new edition of *Lyrical Ballads* in 1800 and received an inheritance from his father's estate, allowing him to marry his childhood friend Mary Hutchinson in 1802. The couple would have five children.

Wordsworth's *Poems, in Two Volumes* was published in 1807 and received scathing reviews. Wordsworth had chosen to disregard contemporary conventions and instead write about common people and events in such poems as “The Old Cumberland Beggar,” “The Thorn,” “Alice Fell,” and “Michael,” while firmly repudiating his critics by establishing the parameters of his work. Wordsworth was also disparaged by his critics for having discarded his youthful idealism. By 1804 Wordsworth had become dismayed by the social degeneration that he believed had resulted from the French Revolution. He accepted that some societal improvement warranted revolutionary activity, but the emerging Napoleonic tyranny completely soured him on republicanism. The death of his favorite brother in 1805 had a deep impact on him and made his poetry more somber and restrained. By 1807 he was a Tory, advocating parliamentary reform and confirming his allegiance to Britain. He also established the *Quarterly Review*, a Tory periodical.

Wordsworth's appointment in 1813 as official Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland assured the family a solid income and warranted a move to Rydal Mount, Ambleside, for his family and Dorothy. *The Excursion* was published in 1814 and a revised *Poems* in 1815, followed by *The White Doe of Rylstone* (1815), *Thanksgiving Ode* (1816), *Peter Bell* (1819), and *Guide through the District of the Lakes* (1820). He resigned his position as Distributor when he succeeded his friend Robert Southey as Britain's Poet Laureate in 1843. He was not required to write: this was in honor of past literary contributions, his critics having long since accepted him.

Wordsworth died of pleurisy on 23 April 1850 and was buried in the churchyard at St. Oswald's Church, Grasmere. *The Prelude*, having gone through four distinct manuscript versions (1798–1799, 1805–1806, 1818–1820, and 1832–1839), was published posthumously in 1850. Wordsworth sought to place poetry—“the first and last of

all knowledge . . . immortal as the heart of man” (ibid., 445)—at the center of human experience. He introduced new attitudes toward nature and its relation with man and set new standards of sensibility and psychological understanding.

Annette E. Richardson

See also Blake, William; Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Consulate, The; Keats, John; Paine, Tom; Romanticism; Scott, Sir Walter; Shelley, Percy Bysshe; Southey, Robert

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### Wrede, Karl Philipp Freiherr von (1767–1838)

Bavarian general who fought against the French Republic and then commanded Bavarian troops allied to the French until 1812. In 1813–1815 he fought against Napoleon and later rose to the rank of field marshal in the Bavarian Army.

Wrede's first major command was that of an infantry brigade at the Battle of Hohenlinden, in December 1800, covering the retreat of the Austrian army. After the peace of Lunéville the following year, Bavarian forces became allied to the French. Wrede faced the Austrians in 1805 and took part in the encirclement of their forces under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Karl Mack Freiherr von Leiberich at Ulm. In 1806–1807, during the War of the Fourth Coalition, Bavarian forces took part in a number of sieges of Prussian fortresses, at which Wrede was present. In 1809, during the War of the Fifth Coalition, he commanded a division in the Bavarian corps led by Marshal François Lefebvre. He fought at Abensberg and at Neumarkt, where his division held off a superior force under the Austrian commander Johann von Hiller. Wrede was then sent with the rest of the Bavarian troops to the Tyrol to put down the rebellion there. When his division was then ordered to rejoin the main French army, Wrede made a forced march of

170 miles in four days. During the Battle of Wagram, Wrede was ordered to attack the Austrian line where Marshal Jacques Etienne Macdonald's attack had failed. Using his artillery to good effect, he was able to break the weakened enemy, though he himself was wounded by an artillery shell. Wrede was sent back to the Tyrol to help complete the destruction of forces supporting the Austrians. He was later made a Count of the Empire as a reward for his service.

In the campaign in Russia in 1812, he commanded a division in the (Bavarian) VI Corps under the command of General (from August, Marshal) Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr. The Bavarians of VI Corps guarded the northern flank of the Grande Armée and were engaged in two battles at Polotsk. After the retreat from Russia, Wrede helped to reorganize the shattered Bavarian Army. By 1813 Wrede commanded the Army of the River Inn. However, the king of Bavaria was turning against Napoleon. Wrede was duly instructed to make peace with the Allies, which he did at Reid (8 October), by which agreement, after the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October), Bavarian forces joined the Allies. On 30 October Wrede commanded at the Battle of Hanau, where he attempted to trap the retreating French army. Due, however, to faulty deployment, by which his force was split by a river spanned only by a single bridge, Wrede was badly defeated. At La Rothière, during the 1814 campaign in France, his force arrived on the flank of the French and nearly succeeded in destroying the bulk of the enemy. He then went on to defeat Marshal Nicolas Oudinot at Bar-sur-Aube. After Napoleon's abdication, Wrede took part in the Congress of Vienna, representing the views of the Bavarian government. Although Bavarian forces were mobilized against Napoleon during the campaign of the Hundred Days in 1815, Wrede did not see action.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Abensberg, Battle of; Bar-sur-Aube, Battle of; Bavaria; Bavarian Army; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Fourth Coalition, War of the; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Gouvion St. Cyr, Laurent, comte; Hanau, Battle of; Hohenlinden, Battle of; La Rothière, Battle of; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Leipzig, Battle of; Lunéville, Treaty of; Macdonald, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre; Mack, Karl Freiherr von Leiberich; Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Polotsk, Battle of; Russian Campaign; Third Coalition, War of the; Tyrol, Uprising in the; Ulm, Surrender at; Vienna, Congress of; Wagram, Battle of

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## Würmser, Dagobert Sigismund Graf (1724–1797)

Veteran Austrian commander of Alsatian origin, who was defeated by Bonaparte at Castiglione and Bassano during the 1796 Italian campaign. He commanded French and Austrian hussars, as well as being *Inhaber* (honorary colonel) of two Austrian hussar regiments in the 1790s and a Balkan *Freikorps* (irregular volunteers). His determined defense of Mantua delayed Bonaparte's advance across Italy in 1796 for several months.

Born in Strasbourg, Würmser came from an old Alsatian family and joined the French army as a hussar officer, distinguishing himself in advance-guard and outpost work. In 1762 he and his irregular legion transferred to the Austrian army, and after further distinguished service, he was promoted to *Generalmajor* in the following year and to *Feldmarschalleutnant* in 1778. During the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779), he led his hussars against Prussian troops attempting to assault the right wing of the Jaromirz fortified camp and repelled them. Over the winter, he directed *Oberst* (colonel) Wilhelm Klebek's *Grenzers* in a raid on Ditterbach, taking eight flags, and the following January, he destroyed Prinz Wilhelm von Hessen-Philippstal's force near Glatz, leading the third of a five-column assault. For his exploits, he was appointed *General Kommandant* of Galicia in 1788.

As commander of the Army of the Upper Rhine in 1793, he defeated the French army of General Adam de Custine and then halted a French attempt to relieve Mainz in July by defeating them at Offenbach. From early September to mid-October, he smashed through the fortified Lautersburg and Weissenburg Lines, previously considered impregnable defenses. He directed the capture of Fort Louis on 27 October, but was later forced by numerically superior French forces to withdraw across the Rhine. Forced to remain on the defensive in early 1795, when the Prussians left the First Coalition, Würmser briefly resigned his command, but after being reappointed to command the Upper Rhine army in August 1795, he resumed the offensive and took Mannheim in November.

Promoted to *Feldmarschall*, he was transferred to Italy in June 1796 to shore up the shattered army facing Bonaparte's advance. Tasked with relieving Mantua, his three-pronged assault enabled him to break through on 2 August and destroy the French siege works, but Bonaparte's counterattack against *Feldmarschalleutnant* Vitus Freiherr von Quosdanovich led to a French victory at Castiglione on 5 August. A second attempt during the first half of September was defeated at Bassano, although Würmser had again broken through to Mantua with his cavalry. This time, he had to seek safety in the fortress and endure the remainder

of the siege as its commander. Despite his directing of several breakout attempts, the supplies ran out, and after the field army's defeat at Rivoli, he was forced to surrender on 2 February 1797. His health had been shattered by the siege, and he died six months later.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Bassano, Battle of; Castiglione, Battle of; First Coalition, War of the; Italian Campaigns (1792–1797); Mainz, Siege of; Mannheim Offensive; Mantua, Sieges of; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797); Rivoli, Battle of; Weissenburg, Battle of

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## Württemberg

Württemberg, the dominant power in the Swabian Circle of the Holy Roman Empire, was anomalous in that a traditional representative body, the Territorial Estates, still exercised an authority parallel to that of the ruler in domestic and foreign affairs. Its history nonetheless exemplifies the perils and opportunities that the Revolution presented to German states of the second rank.

Duke Carl Eugen (ruled 1744–1793) advocated neutrality in the war with France, but his brothers, Ludwig Eugen (ruled 1793–1795) and Friedrich Eugen (ruled 1795–1797), had no such reservations, and a decade of conflict proved devastating. Württemberg sued for peace in 1796, and suffered crushing exactions, first from the conquering French and then from the returning and vengeful Austrians. Both the Estates and Duke Friedrich II (ruled 1797–1816) exploited the resultant fiscal-political crisis by flexing their muscles and pressing their versions of reform.

Content to use Austria against the Estates, but humiliated when it dragged him down to defeat and exile in the War of the Second Coalition, Friedrich turned from the weak Habsburg ally to the strong French enemy. He thereby acquired territory and protection, undercut the separate diplomacy of the Estates, and crushed their resistance to centralization. The Imperial Recess of 1803 raised Württemberg to an electorate and exchanged its lost French possessions for German ecclesiastical territories and imperial cities. Overawed by Napoleon in 1805, Friedrich concluded an alliance (solidified in 1807 by marrying his daughter Katharina to Jérôme Bonaparte). After Austerlitz, Württemberg was rewarded with Habsburg lands in Swabia and the status of a kingdom in the new Confederation of the Rhine (1806). Friedrich abolished the Estates, imposing an absolutist administration. Modern-

ization was initiated and carried out by the sovereign rather than, as elsewhere, by bureaucrats.

By 1810 Württemberg had doubled the population and territory it had possessed before the Revolution. One price was supplying troops for Napoleon's campaigns (some 20,000 in 1809 and 16,000 in 1812). One paradoxical result was to instill both pride in service for the Emperor and a new national consciousness that could be directed against France in the "War of German Liberation" of 1813.

Following the Battle of Leipzig (16–19 October 1813), Friedrich returned to the Allied side. The Congress of Vienna confirmed the kingdom's borders but rejected Friedrich's attempt to dictate a constitution, forcing him to restore the Estates. Tension between the latter and the crown were resolved in 1819 under the popular King William I (reigned 1816–1864), when a constitution blending elements of the "Good Old Law" and the new order was promulgated.

Württemberg's elite educational system produced generations of outstanding intellectual talent—including the poets Friedrich von Schiller and Friedrich Hölderlin and the philosophers Georg Hegel and Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling—whose work, which entered the canon of a German national literature, reflected their encounter with the upheaval of revolution.

*James Wald*

*See also* Austerlitz, Battle of; Bonaparte, Jérôme; Confederation of the Rhine; Germany, Campaign in; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial Recess; Leipzig, Battle of; Schiller, Friedrich von; Second Coalition, War of the; Third Coalition, War of the; Vienna, Congress of

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## Würzburg, Battle of (3 September 1796)

Decisive Austrian victory over the French, which ended the campaign on the Rhine during the War of the First Coalition. After initially withdrawing, Archduke Charles had defeated French general Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at Amberg and driven him west to Würzburg. The battle gradually extended northward until Charles massed his cavalry to destroy the French center. Jourdan withdrew across the Rhine, allowing Charles to turn south and force General Jean Moreau to retreat hastily from Bavaria.

After victory at Amberg, Charles drove Jourdan's Army of the Sambre and Meuse toward the key crossroads at Würzburg. On 1 September, Charles pushed two divisions (under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze and *Generalmajor* Anton Graf Sztáray) toward the city. Jourdan had reached Schweinfurt, 40 kilometers to the northeast and, leaving General François Lefebvre's division, marched to preempt the Austrians on 2 September. General Jacques-Philippe Bonnaud's reserve cavalry and General Edouard François Simon's infantry division were soon driving Hotze toward the city, but Sztáray secured the Repperndorf hills, east of the city, to cover the archduke's advance. Jourdan arrived with General Jean Etienne Championnet's division and General Dominique Klein's cavalry, who evicted Sztáray from Kurnach village. General Paul Grenier's division brought the French total to 30,000. Charles massed 31,000 infantry and 13,000 cavalry.

On 3 September, thick fog disguised the archduke's advance. Sztáray and Hotze attacked Simon around Lengfeld at dawn, driving the French out of the Kurnach valley. Jourdan counterattacked around 10:00 A.M. to split Sztáray from Charles, whose troops were arriving. Championnet attacked Sztáray frontally, while Simon retook Lengfeld toward noon, and from the north, Bonnaud and Grenier attempted to outflank Sztáray's right. Charles rushed *Feldmarschalleutnant* Paul Kray Freiherr von Krajova's light cavalry division forward, and they moved north to face Bonnaud. Kray's infantry followed, while *Feldzeugmeister* Ludwig Graf Wartensleben's heavy cavalry forded the river and turned north. Around noon, Grenier's advance was halted by Kray's cavalry, and Championnet was making no progress against Sztáray. By 1:00 P.M. Kray's infantry were engaging Grenier, and Wartensleben's cavalry had reached Euerfeld. As the two armies formed up along a southwest to northeast alignment, Jourdan massed Bon-

naud's cavalry on Championnet's left, allowing Klein's light cavalry to attack Kray. Frantic orders were dispatched to Lefebvre to send reinforcements, but Kray's cavalry had cut the road.

As Klein attacked, *Generalmajor* Johannes Fürst zu Liechtenstein's light cavalry countercharged, only to be repulsed by Bonnaud, while Sztáray was joined by Austrian grenadiers at 3:00 P.M. Bonnaud counterattacked, but Charles halted him with some heavy cavalry, while others attacked Grenier's right. As Kray drove Grenier northward, Austrian cavalry massed in the center and in a single charge swept Bonnaud away. Jourdan ordered a retreat to the northwest, pursued by the grenadiers and light infantry into the Gramschatzer Forest, near where Austrian cavalry broke four French squares. The French lost 6,000 troops, compared with an Austrian total of 1,469. It was Charles's greatest victory and rewarded his daring campaign strategy.

David Hollins

*See also* Amberg, Battle of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; First Coalition, War of the; Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Kray, Paul Freiherr von Krajova; Lefebvre, François Joseph; Moreau, Jean Victor; Rhine Campaigns (1792–1797)

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# Y

## **Yorck von Wartenburg, Johann David Ludwig Graf (1759–1830)**

Prussian general and important instructor of Prussian light troops. On 30 December 1812 he signed on his own initiative the Convention of Tauroggen, which declared the Prussian auxiliary corps under his command neutral and prepared the uprising of Prussia against France. In 1813–1814 his I Corps was the backbone of the Army of Silesia under General Gebhard von Blücher. Most famous were his crossing of the river Elbe at Wartenburg (3 October 1813) and his attack on Möckern (16 October) during the Battle of Leipzig. He was made *Graf* (count) Yorck von Wartenburg on 3 June 1814.

Born on 26 November 1759, Yorck, like many other noblemen destined for military service, entered a Prussian infantry regiment at a young age. He began his career on 1 December 1772 as a corporal, his subsequent promotions being to ensign (4 March 1775) and second lieutenant (11 June 1777). He served during the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779) and, in spite of being brave, his refusal to take orders from an officer who had plundered during this conflict ended his career. On 10 January 1780 he was dishonorably discharged and held under arrest for a year for insubordination. On 1 June 1781, through recommendations, he succeeded in being employed as a company commander in the Swiss infantry regiment Meuron in Dutch service, spending 1783–1784 in the East Indies (present-day Indonesia). He however left in 1785 out of discontent with political developments there. On 7 May 1787 Yorck was allowed to reenter Prussian service as a captain (the patent being antedated to 30 May 1786, the day after King Frederick William II had first rejected his request) in a newly raised fusilier battalion.

His subsequent promotions were to major (27 November 1792); lieutenant colonel (11 June 1800); colonel (2 June 1803); major general (18 June 1807); lieutenant general (24 March 1812); general of infantry (8 December 1813); and, finally, general field marshal (5 May 1821).

Because of his distinguished service during the 1794–1795 campaign in Poland, he was appointed commander of a newly raised fusilier battalion on 12 September 1797. On 16 November 1799 he became commander of the Prussian rifle regiment. Leading his regiment, he distinguished himself in the 1806 campaign, above all in the combat at Altenzaun (26 October), but was severely wounded and taken prisoner at Lübeck (6 November). In 1807 he was exchanged and employed in East Prussia. In the following years he was given command of different brigades and made governor-general of a succession of different provinces. Owing to his abilities in instructing light troops, he became inspector of the Prussian rifle battalions on 16 November 1808 and inspector general of all Prussian light troops (hussar regiments and fusilier and rifle battalions) on 16 February 1810.

On 12 March 1812 Yorck was appointed second in command of the Prussian auxiliary corps and became commander of this corps on 12 October, having already taken over de facto command as of 17 August, from General Julius von Grawert, who had fallen ill. On 11 March 1813 Yorck was exonerated for his part in the capitulation at Tauroggen. In the campaign in Saxony in the spring of 1813, his corps was part of the Russo-Prussian army under the command of the Russian general Peter Graf zu Wittgenstein. On 12 July it was designated I Corps, and assigned to the Army of Silesia under Blücher's command. Yorck's corps distinguished itself in the autumn campaign in Saxony and in the campaign of 1814 in northern France. On 8 May 1814, a week after the conclusion of peace, II and III Corps were also placed under Yorck's command, and on 18 June he became commander of the Prussian troops in Silesia. On 15 April 1815 he was appointed commander of V Corps, which, however, did not see action in the Waterloo campaign, and returned to his post in Silesia on 3 October 1815.

On his own request, Yorck was pensioned on 26 December 1815; he died on 4 October 1830.

*Oliver Schmidt*

*See also* Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; Fourth Coalition, War of the; Germany, Campaign in; Leipzig, Battle of; Taugoggen, Convention of; Russian Campaign; Wittgenstein, Peter Khristianovich (Peter Ludwig Adolf) Graf zu (Sayn-)

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### York and Albany, Frederick Augustus, Duke of (1763–1827)

Second son of George III of Great Britain, the Duke of York led three unsuccessful campaigns in the Low Countries (1793–1799) and served twice as commander in chief of British forces.

Groomed to join the British Army, the Duke of York trained in Prussia under Frederick the Great and his successor Frederick William II, eventually marrying the latter's daughter Frederica, in 1791. On the outbreak of war between Britain and France in 1793, York commanded troops as a major general at the siege of Valenciennes in the campaign of 1793, but failed to take Dunkirk. The following year, he held the center of the Anglo-Austrian army under *Feldmarschall* Friedrich Josias Graf Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (generally known as Saxe-Coburg), but faltered at Tourcoing because of poor logistical supply and insufficient Austrian support. Promoted to field marshal and commander in chief, York was recalled in 1795. A final campaign in 1799 in conjunction with Hanoverian and Russian troops ended in disaster on the Helder, in North Holland, inspiring the nursery rhyme “The Grand Old Duke of York.”

Proving a far better administrator than a general, York implemented needed reforms, pulling underage officers out of the field and establishing the Military Colleges at

Woolwich (1800) and High Wycombe (1802), the forerunner to Sandhurst. Unfortunately, York's mistress Mary Ann Clarke used his office to sell commissions, promotions, and army supply contracts, a scandal that surfaced in 1806 and was investigated by the House of Commons in 1809. Although cleared by a Commons vote of 278 to 196, York resigned and was replaced by Sir David Dundas until reinstated in 1811.

As heir to the throne (1817–1827) after the death of George IV's only child, York lived extravagantly at his manor, Oatlands, and in London with a series of mistresses and was an important member of Regency high society and the House of Lords. A friend and supporter of the Duke of Wellington, York used his political patronage to oppose Catholic emancipation and push Wellington toward accepting the prime ministership in 1828. York predeceased his elder brother King George IV, dying on 17 January 1827 in London.

*Margaret Sankey*

*See also* Catholic Emancipation; Flanders, Campaigns in; George III, King; North Holland, Campaign in (1799); Prince Regent and the Regency Period; Tourcoing, Battle of; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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### Young Guard

*See* Imperial Guard (French)

# Z

## Zaragoza, Sieges of

See Saragossa, Sieges of

## Zieten, Wierprecht Hans Karl Friedrich Ernst Heinrich Graf von (1770–1848)

Prussian general. In the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815), the support of the Duke of Wellington's left wing by I Corps under Zieten's command was vital to the outcome of the battle. From 1815 to 1819, he commanded the Prussian corps of occupation in France. He was made *Graf* (count) on 3 September 1817.

Zieten entered military service on 26 May 1785, becoming a corporal. On 2 February 1788 he became a cornet, a second lieutenant on 10 June 1790, a captain of the army on 7 December 1793 (that is, without assignment to a unit), a major on 12 June 1800, a lieutenant colonel on 21 June 1807, and a colonel on 20 May 1809 (the patent being postdated to 1 June). On 12 December of that year he was promoted to brigadier general, rising to major general on 14 March 1813 (the patent being postdated to 30 March). He was made a lieutenant general on 13 December 1813, a general of cavalry on 18 June 1825, and a general field marshal on 6 June 1839. He fought in the campaigns of 1792–1794 on the Rhine, and in the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815 in Germany, France, and Belgium, respectively.

Born 3 March 1770, Zieten joined the hussar regiment of his distant relative, the famous General Hans Joachim von Zieten, at the age of fifteen. From 1793 to 1806, he was adjutant to General Friedrich Adolf Graf von Kalckreuth (or Kalkreuth). In 1806 he reentered service in the line, commanding different hussar brigades and regiments, until, on 12 December 1809, he was given charge of the Upper Silesian brigade. In 1811 he was a member of the commission that prepared the new regulations for cavalry exercise. In the spring of 1813 his brigade was part of the

army corps commanded by General Gebhard von Blücher, distinguishing himself especially in the combat at Haynau on 26 June. After the armistice he commanded the 11th Brigade in II Corps.

On 10 April 1814, Zieten took command of II Corps from General Friedrich Graf Kleist von Nollendorf. On 19 March 1815 he was made commander of I Corps, which bore the main burden of fighting on 15 June, and at Ligny on the following day. He also fought at the Battle of Waterloo on the eighteenth and took part in the advance on Paris. On 3 October he became chief of the Prussian corps of occupation in France. After the return of this formation to Prussia, he was made commanding general of VI Corps on 11 February 1819. Zieten was pensioned on 2 June 1839 and died on 3 May 1848.

*Oliver Schmidt*

See also Blücher von Wahlstatt, Gebhard Lebrecht Fürst; France, Campaign in; Germany, Campaign in; Kleist von Nollendorf, Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Graf; Ligny, Battle of; Waterloo, Battle of; Waterloo Campaign; Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of

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## Znaim, Battle of (10–11 July 1809)

This battle, the last fought during the War of the Fifth Coalition, occurred as a result of the French pursuit of the defeated Austrians after the Battle of Wagram (5–6 July 1809). Marshal Auguste de Marmont began the action on the tenth and was soon in difficulty. Early on the eleventh, however, Napoleon and Marshal André Masséna arrived to shift the balance. The fighting was ended by the announcement of a cease-fire toward the end of the day.

The immediate cause of the two-day Battle of Znaim was the decision of the Austrian commander in chief, Archduke Charles, to stage a rearguard action near the

town of Znaim (now Znojmo, in the Czech Republic), about 80 kilometers north of Vienna, in order to give his army time to withdraw its baggage train in safety toward Moravia. Marmont's two combined French and Bavarian corps were the first of Napoleon's troops to arrive on the field following the course of the river Thaya. Believing that he faced only a rear guard, Marmont ordered his Bavarian troops to take the village of Tesswitz south of Znaim, while the rest of his troops attacked the village of Zuckerhandel.

The Bavarians succeeded in storming Tesswitz but were then thrown out by Austrian reinforcements. Marmont renewed the Bavarian attack, and Tesswitz was retaken, only to be lost soon after. The village changed hands a number of times during the day, this contest constituting the heaviest fighting the Bavarians saw in the whole campaign. Marmont had hoped to swing his cavalry in behind the Austrian rear guard, but on reaching high ground above Tesswitz, they were faced with five enemy corps. The French cavalry was forced to withdraw in the face of a large body of Austrian cuirassiers.

Marmont was now engaged by 40,000 Austrian troops and was heavily outnumbered. His men nevertheless managed to hold onto both Tesswitz and Zuckerhandel overnight. Archduke Charles withdrew his forces into a strong defensive position situated so as to hold the north bank of the Thaya and Znaim. Napoleon arrived at Tesswitz at 10:00 A.M., and despite the fact that he had brought with him reinforcements of cavalry and artillery, he believed that his force was too weak to launch a full-scale attack. His plan therefore was to employ Masséna's corps to pin the Austrians throughout the day and to await the corps of marshals Louis Davout and Nicolas Oudinot, which would be able to arrive early on the twelfth. Masséna launched his attack on the extreme right of the Austrian position during midmorning and quickly seized the main bridge across the Thaya south of Znaim. His troops took two small villages and then advanced directly on Znaim. Charles meanwhile reinforced the Austrian position with two grenadier brigades, which advanced during a thunderstorm and initially threw the French back.

The situation was stabilized by a body of French cavalry at approximately 7:00 P.M., when French and Austrian staff officers rode along the opposing lines announcing a cease-fire, which led to the signature of an armistice on the twelfth. Znaim was to prove the last action of the 1809 campaign. The two sides signed a treaty of peace at Pressburg on 26 December.

*Ralph Baker*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Davout, Louis Nicolas; Fifth Coalition, War of the; Masséna, André; Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de;

Oudinot, Nicolas Charles; Pressburg, Treaty of; Wagram, Battle of

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## Zürich, First Battle of (4–6 June 1799)

Indecisive Austrian victory during the War of the Second Coalition, which forced the French on to the defensive in Switzerland. After defeating General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan's French army at the first Battle of Stockach in Germany, Archduke Charles had been left on the defensive for two months by the political leaders in Vienna. In June he marched to Zürich, the last defensive line in northern Switzerland before the Rhine valley and a key junction on the road to Italy. Over three days, he attempted to dislodge Masséna's (French) Army of Helvetia (Switzerland) from the 650-meter Zürichberg hill. Masséna eventually withdrew, but the Austrians could not exploit their success.

The Austrian *Feldmarschalleunant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze had foiled French general André Masséna's attack on the Austrian Tyrol in March 1799 and advanced into the Graubünden (eastern Switzerland) in May. On the pretext of supporting him, Archduke Charles led 40,000 men south from Germany to seize what he considered the key strategic area. Joined by Hotze's 15,000 troops south of Lake Constance in late May, he defeated Masséna at Winterthur, following which the French army withdrew to concentrate 45,000 men in the fortified position on the Zürichberg, east of Zürich, which Charles believed to be virtually impregnable.

Unable to cross the river Limmat to the north, which was protected by extensive marshes, the Austrians had to take the Zürichberg. On 4 June the main assault was mounted in four columns totaling twenty-one battalions (as cavalry was useless) with a reserve. By midday all were engaged in a near stationary line on the steep slopes, the Austrian advance halted by French artillery set up in redoubts, together with musketry from French infantry dug in on the wooded slopes. To the south, additional columns under *Generalmajor* Franz Jellacic Freiherr von Buzim and *Generalmajor* Graf Bey reached the southern city gate, but were driven back. French general Nicolas Soutl described the hill as "an enormous volcano vomiting flame" (Phipps 1980, 5:130).

After bridges were thrown over the river Glatt on the northern flank around 2:00 P.M., the Austrian columns under *Feldmarschalleutnants* Karl Graf Hadik, Prinz Joseph von Lothringen, and Heinrich Fürst zu Reuss-Plauen resumed their attacks, but could make no further

progress. *Feldzeugmeister* Olivier Graf Wallis's column (center and reserve) penetrated the French defenses and attacked their main camp, but was driven out by 8:00 P.M. by a French counterattack. Heavy rain prevented any activity on 5 June, but the Austrian army regrouped. As the assault resumed at 2:00 A.M. on the following day, it soon became clear that Masséna had evacuated his positions and withdrawn to new defenses around the Albisrieden ridge, west of Zürich. Unwilling to risk further heavy casualties after sustaining more than 2,000, but having secured the city, Charles had to await further directions from Vienna.

Allied forces had cleared northern Italy and, following their victory at Novi, the Russians under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov marched north to take over in Switzerland, while on 19 July Charles was ordered back to Germany. Masséna exploited the opportunity to defeat General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov and Hotze at the second Battle of Zürich.

*David Hollins*

*See also* Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste; Masséna, André; Novi, Battle of; Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Second Coalition, War of the; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Stockach, First Battle of; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, Second Battle of

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## Zürich, Second Battle of (25–26 September 1799)

A decisive French victory over a combined Austro-Russian force, which turned the tide of the War of the Second Coalition and prompted the Russians to abandon their allies. When, after the breakdown of the Treaty of Campo Formio the French Revolutionary Wars restarted in 1799, Switzerland's key strategic position between southern Germany and northern Italy made it an important battleground. The Austrians under Archduke Charles defeated the French at the first Battle of Zürich in early June, but political blunders led to the main Austrian force being ordered north before Russian reinforcements could arrive. The French under General André Masséna took advantage of the Allied weakness to defeat the small remaining

Austro-Russian force in late September. Political tensions within the Allied coalition worsened as the Russians made a difficult retreat into Austria, and they left the coalition at the end of the year.

The French had established a puppet Helvetic (Swiss) Republic in 1798 and occupied most of Switzerland, although Austria controlled the eastern Graubünden (Grisons). When the military phase of the War of the Second Coalition began in March 1799 (the coalition having been formed the previous December), the (French) Army of Helvetia under Masséna was halted on the Austrian border by *Feldmarschalleutnant* Johann Freiherr von Hotze's Austrian Vorarlberg Korps, which drove the French back on Zürich, supported by 40,000 troops under Archduke Charles from Germany. The Austrian forces combined to defeat Masséna at the first Battle of Zürich over 4–6 June, but Masséna secured his defensive positions behind the river Limmat, and Archduke Charles had been ordered to remain in position pending the arrival of Russian troops, under Field Marshal Alexander Suvorov, from Italy.

The Russian advance guard, 27,000 men under General Alexander Rimsky-Korsakov, began arriving at Austrian headquarters at Klotten on 12 August, and sixteen days later Archduke Charles marched away with 30,000 men, heading for the central Rhine. He left 16,000 troops under Hotze, but it would be mid-September before Suvorov's main body even entered Switzerland. Hotze and Rimsky-Korsakov were facing Masséna's 76,000 troops, hoping that Suvorov's 21,000 men would arrive from the south in time to form the third component of a renewed assault on Zürich. By 20 September Suvorov could anticipate reaching Schwyz, 40 kilometers south of Zürich, six days later, when the assault would begin and his men would march on Lucerne to cut the French line of retreat.

A proficient mountain warfare commander, Masséna saw his chance: on 25 September he seized the initiative by crossing the Limmat, which flows north-east from the Zürichsee (Lake Zürich). His attack comprised three thrusts: Masséna with 35,000 troops would attack Rimsky-Korsakov around Zürich; 10,000 under General Nicolas Soult would attack Hotze on the river Linth, to the south of the Zürichsee; and another 10,000 troops under General Gabriel Molitor would tackle the Austrian left, to separate it from Suvorov. First, Masséna feigned attacks on Rimsky-Korsakov's right and left wings before launching his main assault on the Russian center at a bend in the Limmat, 10 kilometers from Zürich, which allowed French artillery to provide effective supporting fire.

Rimsky-Korsakov was initially concerned with launching counterattacks by his left wing under General Peter Essen against the French divisions under generals Adolphe Edouard Mortier and Dominique Klein around

the Albisberg on the western side of the lake, but by 2:00 P.M. Masséna's main body was approaching the city. Separated from his right wing, Rimsky-Korsakov attempted to mass his forces in front of Zürich, but they made easy targets for the French, and by 9:00 P.M. the Russians had been driven back into the city.

To the south, Soult's troops had begun crossing the river Linth between the two lakes, the Zürichsee and the Walensee, around 4:00 A.M. on the morning of the twenty-sixth. This French advance gained an early advantage: During an early morning reconnaissance ride near Weesen on the Walensee, Hotze was killed by French outpost fire. Under cover of fog, the French crossed the upper Zürichsee and the Linth, splitting the 8,000 demoralized Austrian troops in two and quickly driving them back to Lichtensteig. The Austrian left wing under *Feldmarschalleutnant* Franz Jellacic Freiherr von Buzim made progress toward Glarus and reached the Panixer Pass, but was then marching away from Suvorov. Indecisive fighting with Molitor was only resolved on 29 September when French reinforcements and news of the defeat forced Jellacic to withdraw in line with the other Allied forces.

The Russians held the Zürichberg during the night of 25–26 September, but Rimsky-Korsakov recognized the precariousness of his position, and in some disorder his troops began their retreat toward the upper Rhine on the following morning. Abandoning 8,000 casualties, Rimsky-Korsakov lost another 3,800 men as he was forced to take a longer route, which subjected them to regular French raids. As the battle was being fought, Suvorov was approaching the Chinzig Pass, 45 kilometers to the south, so on receipt of the news of Rimsky-Korsakov's defeat, he had to turn east to retreat into Austria.

Masséna's victory had saved the crumbling French Republic and reduced the impact of Bonaparte's return to

France on 8 October, as the news reinvigorated the Directory. Nevertheless, Bonaparte would seize power a month later in the coup of Brumaire (9–10 November), and Switzerland would become the essential mounting area for the two French armies, which would advance north into Germany and south into Italy in the decisive campaign of 1800. The recriminations between the Austrian and Russian governments over the defeat led to Tsar Paul I of Russia effectively abandoning the coalition by the end of 1799 and subsequently seeking better relations with the new French government, the Consulate.

David Hollins

*See also* Brumaire, Coup of; Campo Formio, Treaty of; Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Teschen; Consulate, The; Directory, The; Italian Campaigns (1799–1800); Masséna, André; Mortier, Adolphe Edouard Casimir Joseph; Paul I, Tsar; Rhine Campaigns (1799–1800); Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Mikhailovich; Second Coalition, War of the; Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu; Suvorov, Alexander Vasilievich; Switzerland, Campaign in; Zürich, First Battle of

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2. Battle of the Glorious First of June, 1 June 1794
3. Battle of St. Vincent, 14 February 1797
4. Battle of the Nile, 1 August 1798
5. Treaty of Lunéville, 9 February 1801
6. Treaty of Amiens, 25 March 1802
7. Pitt's State Paper, 19 January 1805
8. Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October 1805
9. Admiral Collingwood's Dispatch, 22 October 1805
10. Documents concerning the Continental System, 1806–1810
11. Documents concerning the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806
12. Documents concerning the Peace of Tilsit, 1807–1808
13. Encounter between the frigates HMS *Macedonian* and USS *United States*, 25 October 1812
14. Treaty of Chaumont, 1 March 1814
15. (First) Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814
16. Declaration of the Powers against Napoleon, 13 March 1815
17. Holy Alliance Treaty, 26 September 1815
18. (Second) Treaty of Paris, 20 November 1815

## 1. William Pitt's Speech to the House of Commons, 1 February 1793

Coupland, R., ed. 1916. *The War Speeches of William Pitt the Younger*. Oxford: Clarendon, 24–51.

*In laying out his country's grievances against Revolutionary France in a long address to Parliament, Pitt produced one of the greatest speeches of his long and distinguished career as prime minister.*

The Speaker of the House of Commons opened the session with the following statement:

His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons, copies of several papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the Most Christian King, by His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise a copy of an Order by His Majesty in Council, and transmitted by His

Majesty's commands to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

In the present situation of affairs, His Majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the know affection and zeal of the House of Commons to enable His Majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles, which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

G. R. [*George Rex (King)*]

The Speaker having read the message, Pitt rose.

Sir—I shall now submit to the House some observations on the many important objects which arise out of the communication of His Majesty's message and out of the present situation of this country. And in proceeding to the consideration of that message, the attention of the House should, in the first instance, be strongly directed to that calamitous event, to that dreadful outrage against every principle of religion, of justice, and of humanity, which has created one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence in every part of this island, and most undoubtedly has produced the same effect in every civilized country.

At the same time I am aware, that I should better consult not only my own feelings, but those of the House, if considerations of duty would permit me to draw a veil over the whole of this transaction, because it is, in fact, in itself, in all those circumstances which led to it, in all that attended it, and in all which have followed, or which are likely to follow it hereafter, so full of every subject of grief and horror, that it is painful for the mind to dwell upon it. It is a subject which, for the honour of human nature, it would be better, if possible, to dismiss from our memories, to expunge from the page of history, and to conceal it, both now and hereafter, from the observation of the world.

*Excidat ille dies aevo, neu postera credant  
Secula; nos certe taceamus, et obruta mula  
Nocte tegi nostrae patiamur criminal gentis.*

[Let that day be blotted out of Time,  
and let not after ages believe the story;  
let us at least be silent and suffer the sins  
of our race to be hid and buried deep in night.]

These, Sir, are the words of a great historian of France in a former period, and were applied to an occasion which has always been considered as an eternal reproach to the French nation [the St. Bartholomew Massacre]: and the atrocious acts lately perpetrated at Paris are, perhaps, the only instances that furnish any match to that dreadful and complicated scene of proscription and blood. But whatever may be our feelings on this subject, since, alas! it is not possible that the present age should not be contaminated with its guilt; since it is not possible that the knowledge of it should not be conveyed by the breath of tradition to posterity, there is a duty which we are called upon to perform—to enter our solemn protestation, that, on every principle by which men of justice and honour are actuated, it is the foulest and most atrocious deed which the history of the world has yet had occasion to attest.

There is another duty immediately relating to the interest of this and of every other country. Painful as it is to dwell upon this deed, since we cannot conceal what has happened, either from the view of the present age or of posterity, let us not deprive this nation of the benefit that may be derived from reflecting on some of the dreadful effects of those principles which are entertained and propagated with so much care and industry by a neighbouring country. We see in this one instance concentrated together the effect of principles, which originally rest upon grounds that dissolve whatever has hitherto received the best sanctions of human legislation, which are contrary to every principle of law, human and divine. Presumptuously relying on their deceitful and destructive theories, they have rejected every benefit which the world has hitherto received from the effect either of reason, experience, or even of Revelation itself. The consequences of these principles have been illustrated by having been carried into effect in the single person of one whom every human being commiserates. Their consequences equally tend to shake the security of commerce, to rob the meanest individual in every country of whatever is most dear and valuable to him. They strike directly against the authority of all regular government and the inviolable personal situation of every lawful sovereign. I do feel it, therefore, not merely a tribute due to humanity, not merely an effusion of those feelings which I possess in common with every man in this country, but I hold it to be a proper subject of reflection to fix our minds on the effect of those principles which have been thus dreadfully attested, before we proceed to consider of the measures which it becomes this country to adopt, in order to avert their contagion and to prevent their growth and progress in Europe.

However, notwithstanding that I feel strongly on this subject, I would, if possible, entreat of the House to consider even that calamitous event rather as a subject of reason and reflection than of sentiment and feeling. Sentiment is often unavailing, but reason and reflection will lead to that knowledge which is necessary to the salvation of this and of all other countries. I am per-

sueded the House will not feel this as a circumstance which they are to take upon themselves, but that they will feel it in the manner in which I state it, as a proof of the calamities arising out of the most abominable and detestable principles; as a proof of the absence of all morals, of all justice, of all humanity, and of every principle which does honour to human nature; and, that it furnishes the strongest demonstration of the dreadful outrage which the crimes and follies of a neighbouring nation have suggested to them. I am persuaded the House will be sensible that these principles, and the effects of them, are narrowly to be watched, that there can be no leading consideration more nearly connected with the prospect of all countries, and most of all, that there can be no consideration more deserving the attention of this House, than to crush and destroy principles which are so dangerous and destructive of every blessing this country enjoys under its free and excellent constitution.

We owe our present happiness and prosperity, which has never been equalled in the annals of mankind, to a mixture of monarchical government. We feel and know we are happy under that form of government. We consider it as our first duty to maintain and reverence the British constitution, which, for wise and just reasons of lasting and internal policy, attaches inviolability to the sacred person of the Sovereign, though, at the same time, by the responsibility it has annexed to government, by the check of a wise system of laws, and by a mixture of aristocratic and democratical power in the frame of legislation, it has equally exempted itself from the danger arising from the exercise of absolute power on the one hand, and the still more dangerous contagion of popular licentiousness on the other. The equity of our laws and the freedom of our political system have been the envy of every surrounding nation. In this country no man, in consequence of his riches or rank, is so high as to be above the reach of the laws, and no individual is so poor or inconsiderable as not to be within their protection. It is the boast of the law of England, that it affords equal security and protection to the high and the low, to the rich and the poor.

Such is the envied situation of England, which may be compared, if I may be allowed the expression, to the situation of the temperate zone on the surface of the globe, formed by the bounty of Providence for habitation and enjoyment, being equally removed from the polar frosts on the one hand and the scorching heat of the torrid zone on the other; where the vicissitude of the seasons and the variety of the climate contribute to the vigour and health of its inhabitants and to the fertility of the soil; where pestilence and famine are unknown, as also earthquakes, hurricanes, and the like, with all their dreadful consequences. Such is the situation, the fortunate situation of Britain: and what a splendid contrast does it form to the situation of that country which is exposed to all the tremendous consequences of that ungovernable, that intolerable and destroying spirit, which carries ruin and desolation wherever it goes!

Sir, this infection can have no existence in this happy land, unless it is imported, unless it is studiously and industriously brought into this country. These principles are not the natural produce of Great Britain, and it ought to be our first duty and principal concern, to take the most effectual measures in order to

stop their growth and progress in this country, as well as in the other nations of Europe.

Under this impression, I wish to bring the House to the consideration of the situation in which we stand with respect to France, and with respect to the general state of the different Powers of Europe. This subject was very much discussed on the first day of the present session, and I had the good fortune to concur with a very large majority of the House in the address that was presented to His Majesty, for his most gracious speech to both houses of Parliament. Gentlemen then drew their inferences from those notorious facts which every man's observation presented to him: and those circumstances were supposed to excite every sentiment of jealousy and precaution. They induced the House to arm His Majesty and the executive Government with those powers which were indispensably necessary for effectually providing for the safety of the country. Many weeks have now elapsed since the beginning of the session, when the country appeared to be in a critical situation. Let us consider what are the circumstances now to attract our attention at the moment when the message of His Majesty calls on us for farther decision.

The papers which contain the communication between this country and France, consist of two different parts. The one comprehends the communication between this country and France, prior to the period which attracted those sentiments of jealousy I have stated. This part also contains those comments which have taken place since, and those explanations which have been entered into by His Majesty's permission, with a view, if possible, that our jealousy might be removed in consequence of some step that might be taken. The other part consists, either of what were notorious facts at the meeting of Parliament, or of those notorious facts which, though not officially communicated by His Majesty, were very generally known to the public.

The first part of these papers has never before been made public. The date of the first communication is May 12, 1792. And the communication from that period till July 8 contains the system on which His Majesty acted between France and the other European Powers. From that period down to the meeting of Parliament, His Majesty had most scrupulously observed the strictest neutrality with respect to France. He had taken no part whatever in the regulation of her internal government. He had given her no cause of complaint; and therefore the least return he might expect was that France would be cautious to avoid every measure that could furnish any just ground of complaint to His Majesty. He might also well expect that France would have felt a proper degree of respect for the rights of himself and his allies [Prussia and Holland]. His Majesty might most of all expect, that, in the troubled state of that country, they would not have chosen to attempt an interference with the internal government of this country, for the sole purpose of creating dissension among us, and of disturbing a scene of unexampled felicity. But fortunately for this country, they did not succeed. The express assurances contained in the papers which have been printed and are now on the table, the very compact on the part of France does distinctly and precisely apply to every one of these points.

I have no doubt but gentlemen have applied the interval in perusing these papers with sufficient attention to make it unne-

cessary for me to trouble them with more than the leading points. You will perceive that the very first communication is from M. Chauvein [the French ambassador to Britain], May 12, 1792, and contains this passage:

Thus the King (of France) saw himself forced into a war, which was already declared against him; but, religiously faithful to the principles of the constitution, whatever may finally be the fate of arms in this war, France rejects all ideas of aggrandizement. She will preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitutions, her unalienable right of reforming herself whenever she may think proper: she will never consent that, under any relation, foreign Powers should attempt to dictate, or even dare to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her. But this very pride, so natural and so great, is a sure pledge to all the Powers from whom she shall have received no provocation, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French well know how to show at all times for the laws, the customs, and all the forms of government of different nations.

The King indeed wishes it to be known, that he would publicly and severely disavow all those of his agents at foreign courts in peace with France, who should dare to depart an instant from that respect, either by fomenting or favouring insurrections against the established order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of such States, under pretence of a proselytism, which, exercised in the dominions of friendly Powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

This paper, therefore, contains a declaration, that whatever might be the fate of arms, France rejected all ideas of aggrandizement; she would preserve her rights, she would preserve her limits and her liberty. This declaration was made in the name of the King.

Gentlemen must remember, after the first revolution, and after the establishment of what they called the model of a government of liberty, the King wished it to be known, that he would publicly disavow all those of his agents at foreign courts, in peace with France, who should dare to depart an instant from that respect, either by fomenting or raising insurrections, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the internal government of such States, under pretence of proselytism, which would be a real violation of the law of nations. They have therefore passed, by anticipation, that sentence on their own conduct; and whether we shall pass a different sentence, is one of the objects of this day's consideration.

In the passage I have read, two distinct principles are laid down: the one, that whatever might be the fate of arms, France renounced all ideas of aggrandizement, and declared she would confine herself within her own territories; the other, that to foment and raise insurrections in neutral States, under pretence of proselytism, was a violation of the law of nations. It is evident to all Europe, her conduct has been directly the reverse of those principles, both of which she had trampled under foot, in every instance where it was in her power. In the answer to that Note of

M. Chauvelin, His Majesty expresses his concern for the war that had arisen, for the situation of His Most Christian Majesty, and for the happiness of his dominions. He also gives him a positive assurance of his readiness to fulfil, in the most exact manner, the stipulations of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce [of 1786]; and concludes with these words:

Faithful to all his engagements, His Majesty will pay the strictest attention to the preservation of the good understanding which so happily subsists between him and His Most Christian Majesty, expecting with confidence, that, animated with the same sentiments, His Most Christian Majesty will not fail to contribute to the same end, by causing, on his part, the rights of His Majesty and his allies to be respected, and by rigorously forbidding any step which might affect the friendship which His Majesty has ever desired to consolidate and perpetuate, for the happiness of the two Empires.

We may also see what general assurances France thought fit to make to Great Britain, from a Note from M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville [the Foreign Secretary] dated June 8, 1792; where it is said,

The King of the French is happy to renew to the King of Great Britain the formal assurance, that everything which can interest the rights of His Britannic Majesty will continue to be the object of his most particular and most scrupulous attention.

He hastens, at the same time, to declare to him, that the rights of all the allies of Great Britain, who shall not have provoked France by hostile measures, shall by him be no less religiously respected.

In making, or rather renewing this declaration, the King of the French enjoys the double satisfaction of expressing the wish of a people, in whose eyes every war, which is not rendered necessary by a due attention to its defence, is essentially unjust, and of joining particularly in the wishes of His Majesty, for the tranquillity of Europe, which would never be disturbed, if France and England would unite in order to preserve it.

Such then, Sir, is the situation in which His Majesty stands with respect to France. During the transactions of the last summer, when France was engaged in a war against the Powers of Austria and Prussia, His Majesty departed in no shape from that neutrality. His Majesty did no one act from which it could be justly inferred that he was friendly to that system. But what, let me ask the House, has been the conduct of France as to those express reiterated assurances, applied to the public concerns which I have now detailed?

These assurances went to three points: to a determination to abstain from views of aggrandizement; not to interfere with the government of neutral nations, which they admitted to be a violation of the law of nations; and to observe the rights of His Majesty and his allies. What has been the conduct of France on

these three points, under the new system? She has, both by her words and actions, manifested a determination, if not checked by force, to act on principles of aggrandizement. She has completely disclaimed that maxim, "that whatever was the fate of their arms in war, France rejected all ideas of aggrandizement." She has made use of the first moment of success to publish a contradiction to that declaration. She has made use of the first instance of success in Savoy, without even attempting the ceremony of disguise (after having professed a determination to confine herself within her ancient limits), to annex it for ever as an eighty-fourth department to the present sovereignty of France. They have by their decree announced a determination to carry on a similar operation in every country into which their arms can be carried, with a view, in substance, if not in name, to do the same thing in every country where they can with success.

Their decree of the 15th of December contains a fair illustration and confirmation of their principles and designs. They have by that decree expressly stated the plan on which they mean to act. Whenever they obtain a temporary success, whatever be the situation of the country into which they come, whatever may have been its antecedent conduct, whatever may be its political connexions [sic], they have determined not to abandon the possession of it, till they have effected the utter and absolute subversion of its form of government, of every ancient, every established usage, however long they may have existed and however much they may have been revered. They will not accept, under the name of liberty, any model of government, but that which is conformable to their own opinions and ideas; and all men must learn from the mouth of their cannon the propagation of their system in every part of the world. They have regularly and boldly avowed these instructions, which they sent to the commissioners who were to carry these orders into execution. They have stated to them what this House could not believe, they have stated to them a revolutionary principle and order, for the purpose of being applied in every country in which the French arms are crowned with success. They have stated, that they would organize every country by a disorganizing principle; and afterwards, they tell you all this is done by the will of the people. Wherever our arms come, revolutions must take place, dictated by the will of the people. And then comes this plain question, what is this will of the people? It is the power of the French. They have explained what that liberty is which they wish to give to every nation; and if they will not accept of it voluntarily, they compel them. They take every opportunity to destroy every institution that is most sacred and most valuable in every nation where their armies have made their appearance; and under the name of liberty, they have resolved to make every country in substance, if not in form, a province dependent on themselves, through the despotism of Jacobin societies. This has given a more fatal blow to the liberties of mankind than any they have suffered, even from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch. We see, therefore, that France has trampled under foot all laws, human and divine. She has at last avowed the most insatiable ambition and greatest contempt for the law of nations, which all independent States have hitherto professed most religiously to observe; and unless she is stopped in her career, all Europe must soon learn their ideas of

justice—law of nations—models of government—and principles of liberty from the mouth of the French cannon.

I gave the first instance of their success in Savoy as a proof of their ambition and aggrandizement. I wish the House to attend to the practical effect of their system, in the situation of the Netherlands. You will find, in some of the correspondence between France and this country, this declaration on the part of France:

“She has renounced, and again renounces every conquest, and her occupation of the Low Countries shall only continue during the war and the time which may be necessary to the Belgians to ensure and consolidate their liberty; after which they will be independent and happy. France will find her recompense in their felicity.”

I ask whether this can mean anything else, than that they hope to add the Netherlands, as an eighty-fourth or eighty-fifth department, to the French Republic; whether it does not mean a subjugation of the [Austrian] Netherlands [i.e., Belgium] to the absolute power of France, to a total and unequalled dependence on her? If any man entertains doubts upon the subject, let him look at the allegations of [General Charles] Dumouriez, enforced by martial law. What was the conduct of this general, when he arrived at Brussels? Did he not assemble the inhabitants in the most public part of their city to elect the primary assemblies? How agreeable must have been his arrival in the [Austrian] Netherlands, by his employing threats to procure a general illumination of his entrance into Brussels! A hollow square of the French troops was drawn round the tree of liberty, to prevent the natives from pulling down the emblem of French freedom. This shows how well disposed the people were to receive the French system of liberty! This is the manner in which their principles are carried into effect in the different countries of Europe.

I may here mention the conduct of the Convention [the French government], on the occasion of an address from the people of Mons, in which they desire that the province of Hainault might be added as an eighty-fifth department of France. The Convention referred the address to a committee, to report the form in which countries, wishing to unite with France, were to be admitted into the union. The Convention could not decide upon it, and therefore they sent it to a committee to point out the manner in which they were to make their application for that purpose, so that the receiving of them was to be a fixed and standing principle, which in its consequences, if not timely prevented, must destroy the liberties and independence of England, as well as of all Europe.

I would next proceed to their confirmed pledge, not to interfere in the government of other neutral countries. What they have done here is in countries which, under some pretence or other, they have made their enemies. I need not remind the House of the decree of the 19th of November, which is a direct attack on every Government in Europe, by encouraging the seditious of all nations to rise up against their lawful rulers, and by promising them their support and assistance. By this decree, they hold out an encouragement to insurrection and rebellion in every country in the world. They show you they mean no exception, by ordering

this decree to be printed in all languages. And therefore I might ask any man of common sense, whether any nation upon earth could be out of their contemplation at the time they passed it? And whether it was not meant to extend to England, whatever might be their pretences to the contrary? It is most manifest they mean to carry their principles into every nation, without exception, subvert and destroy every government, and to plant on their ruins their sacred tree of liberty.

Some observations, to which they have affected to give the name of explanations, have been applied to this decree, and are these: “Now to come to the three points which can alone make an object of difficulty at the Court of London, the executive council observe respecting the first, which is the decree of the 19th of November, that we have not been properly understood by the Ministry of His Britannic Majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation *which announces to the seditious of all nations, what are the cases in which they may previously count on the support and assistance of France*. Nothing could be more foreign than this reproach to the sentiments of the National Convention, and to the explanation we have given of them; and we did not think it was possible we should be charged with the open design of favouring the *seditious*, at the very moment when we declare that it would be *wronging the National Convention, if they were charged with the project of protecting insurrections, and with the commotions that may break out in any corner of a State, of joining the ringleaders, and of thus making the cause of a few private individuals that of the French nation*.

“We have said, and we desire to repeat it, that the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application, unless to the single case in which the GENERAL WILL of a nation clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call the French nation to its assistance and fraternity. Sedition can certainly never be construed into the GENERAL WILL. These two ideas mutually repel each other, since a sedition is not and cannot be any other than the movement of a small number against the nation at large. And this movement would cease to be seditious, provided all the members of a society should at once rise, either to reform its Government, or to change its form *in toto*, or for any other object.

“The Dutch were assuredly not seditious when they formed the general resolution of shaking off the yoke of Spain; and when the general will of that nation called for the assistance of France, it was not reputed a crime in Henry IV, or in Elizabeth of England, to have listened to them. The knowledge of the *general will* is the only basis of the transactions of nations with each other; and we can only treat with any Government whatever on this principle, that such a Government is deemed *the organ of the general will of the nation governed*.

“Thus when by this natural interpretation, the decree of the 19th of November is reduced to what it truly implies, it will be found, that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will, and that beyond any doubt so effectually founded in right, that it was scarcely worth the trouble to express it. On this account, the executive council think that



the evidence of this right might, perhaps, have been dispensed with, by the National Convention, and did not deserve to be made the object of a particular decree; but, with the interpretation that precedes it, it cannot give uneasiness to any nation whatever."

To all this I shall only observe, that in the whole context of their language, on every occasion, they show the clearest intention to propagate their principles all over the world. Their explanations contain only an avowal and repetition of the offence. They have proscribed royalty as a crime, and will not be satisfied but with its total destruction. The dreadful sentence which they have executed on their own unfortunate monarch applies to every sovereign now existing. And lest you should not be satisfied that they mean to extend their system to this country, the conduct of the National Convention has applied itself, by repeated acts, to yourselves by name, which make any explanation on their part unsatisfactory and unavailing. There is no society in England, however, contemptible in their numbers, however desperate in their principles and questionable in their existence, who possessed treason and disloyalty, who were not cherished, justified, and applauded, and treated even with a degree of theatrical extravagance at the bar of the National Convention. You have also a list of the answers given to them at the bar. And, after all this, am I to ask you, whether England is one of the countries into which they wish to introduce a spirit of proselytism, which, exercised in the dominions of friendly Powers, they themselves admit, would be a violation of the law of nations?

On the third point it is unnecessary for me to expatiate—I mean on the violation of the rights of His Majesty, or of his allies.

To insist upon the opening of the River Scheldt, is an act of itself, in which the French nation had no right to interfere at all, unless she was the sovereign of the Low Countries, or boldly professed herself the general arbitress of Europe. This singular circumstance was an aggravation of their case, because they were bound by the faith of solemn and recent treaties to secure to the Dutch the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, and to have opposed the opening of that river if any other Power had attempted it. If France were the sovereign of the Low Countries, she would only succeed to the rights which were enjoyed by the House of Austria: and if she possessed the sovereignty, with all its advantage, she must also take it with all its encumbrances, of which the shutting up of the Scheldt was one. France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she has also the right to set aside, equally, all the other treaties between all the Powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a natural right of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers. Such a violation of rights as France has been guilty of, it would be difficult to find in the history of the world. The conduct of that nation is in the highest degree arbitrary, capricious, and founded upon no one principle of reason or justice. They declare this treaty was antiquated, and extorted by despotism, or procured by corruption. But what hap-

pened recently in the last year? This new and enlightened nation renewed her assurances of respecting all the rights of all His Majesty's allies, without any exception, without any reservation, so that the advancement of this claim is directly contrary to their recent professions. From the Treaty of Munster down to the year 1785, the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt has been one of the established rights of Holland.

We are told it is to be said, no formal requisition has been made by Holland for the support of this country. I beg gentlemen to consider, whether ships going up the Scheldt, after a protest of the States-General [the Dutch Government], was not such an act as to have justified them in calling upon this country for a contingent of men. If this House means substantial good faith to its engagements, if it retains a just sense of the solemn faith of treaties, it must show a determination to support them. Without entering too far upon this subject, let me call to their attention, for a moment, one circumstance—I mean the sudden effect and progress of French ambition and of French arms. If from that circumstance Holland had just reason to be afraid to make a formal requisition; if she had seen just reason not to do what she might have been well justified in doing, that was no reason why we should not observe our treaty. Are we to stand by as indifferent spectators, and look at France trampling upon the ancient treaties of the allies of this country? Are we to view with indifference the progress of French ambition and of French arms, by which our allies are exposed to the greatest danger? This is surely no reason for England to be inactive and slothful. If Holland has not immediately called upon us for our support and assistance, she may have been influenced by motives of policy, and her forbearance ought not to be supposed to arise from her indifference about the River Scheldt. If Holland had not applied to England when Antwerp was taken, the French might have overrun her territory. And unless we wish to stand by, and to suffer State after State to be subverted under the power of France, we must now declare our firm resolution effectually to oppose those principles of ambition and aggrandizement, which have for their object the destruction of England, of Europe, and of the world.

The next thing is, whether we see anything in these papers which furnishes an answer to the past, or gives any security for the future? What does the explanation amount to on the subject of the treaty of our allies? It refers to the possibility of negotiation at an indefinite period. She says, "she (France) has renounced, and again renounces every conquest, and her occupation of the Low Countries shall only continue during the war, and the time which may be necessary to the Belgians to ensure and consolidate their liberty; after which, they will be independent and happy, and France will find her recompense in their felicity." What is this but an avowal of their former declarations?

On the subject of interference with neutral nations, there are one or two explanations of the decree of the 19th of November, which has been so often discussed. We are, indeed, told it is injurious to suppose the National Convention could have intended to apply this decree to any country by where, by the public will, they have been called to give assistance and fraternity. This is in fact to advertise for treason and rebellion. Is there any man who could give credit to the reception which the English societies received in

France? Though their numbers are too contemptible for the animadversion of the law, or the notice of our own Executive Government, they were considerable enough for the National Convention. They tell you they are the clear, undisputed, constituted organ of the will of the people at large. What reliance can be placed on all their explanations, after the avowal of principles to the last degree dangerous to the liberty, the constitution, the independence, and the very existence of this country?

My time and my strength would fail me, if I were to attempt to go through all those various circumstances which are connected with this subject. I shall take the liberty of reading a passage from a publication which came into my hands this morning, and I am extremely glad to have seen collected together so many instances in which the conduct of France is detected. In a Note from M. Chauvelin, dated December 27, 1792, he complains of the harsh construction which the British Ministry had put on the conduct of France, and professes the strongest friendship for Great Britain. And yet, on the 31st of December, 1792, that is in four days after, one of the members of the Executive Council, who had given these assurances to England, wrote this letter to the friends of liberty and equality in all the seaports of France:

“The Government of England is arming, and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical Powers, after persecuting the patriots in their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgement to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us. But no! a people who has made itself free; a people who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians; the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant.

“The King and his Parliament mean to make war against us! Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their discontent and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French. Well! We will fly to their succour; we will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren; *the tyranny of their Government will soon be destroyed*. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea!—MONGE.”

Such is the declaration of the sentiments of the Minister of the Marine [Navy]; a declaration which separates not only the King, but the King and Parliament of Great Britain from the people, who are called republicans. What faith can be put in assurances given on the part of France by M. Chauvelin, on the 27th of December, when, in four days after, we find the Minister of the Marine writing such a letter? It was to be hoped we might have seen reasons, perhaps, in consequence of friendly explanations, for not going to war. But such explanations as this communication contains have been justly rejected. I shall not detain the House longer on this subject.

I shall state now what appears to be the state of the negotiations. I take the conduct of France to be inconsistent with the peace and liberty of Europe. They have not given us satisfaction with respect to the question in issue. It is true, what they call explanations have taken place; but their principles, and the whole manner of their conduct, are such, that no faith can be put in their declarations. Their conduct gives the lie to their public professions; and, instead of giving satisfaction on the distinct articles, on which you have a right to claim a clear and precise explanation, and showing any desire to abandon those views of conquest and aggrandizement, to return within their ancient limits, and to set barriers to the progress of their destructive arms, and to their principles still more destructive; instead of doing so, they have given—explanations I cannot call them, but an avowal of those very things you complain of. And in the last paper from M. Chauvelin, which may therefore be considered as the *ultimatum*, are these words:

“After so frank a declaration, which manifests such a sincere desire of peace, His Britannic Majesty’s Ministers ought not to have any doubts with regard to the intentions of France. If her explanations appear insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear a haughty language; if hostile preparations are continued in the English ports, after having exhausted every means to preserve peace, we will prepare for war with the sense of the justice of our cause, and of our efforts to avoid this extremity. We will fight the English, whom we esteem, with regret—but we will fight them without fear.”

This is an *ultimatum* to which you cannot accede. They have neither withdrawn their armies from the neighbouring nations, nor shown the least disposition to withdraw them. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights. And unless she consents to these terms, whatever may be our wishes for peace, the final issue must be war. As to the time, as to the moment when war is to commence, if there is yet any possibility of satisfactory explanation and security for the future, it is not to the last moment precluded. But I should disguise my sentiments to the House, if I stated, that I thought it in any degree probable. This country has always been desirous of peace. We desire it still, but such as may be real and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of Britain, and with the general security of Europe. War, whenever it comes, will be preferable to peace without honour, without security, and which is incompatible either with the external safety or the internal happiness of this country.

I have endeavoured to comprehend as much as possible, though I am sensible I have left a great deal untouched. If any topic should afterwards arise, I trust I shall meet with the indulgence of the House in stating it. I shall now move,

“That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious

message and the communication of the papers, which, by His Majesty's command, have been laid before us.

“To offer His Majesty our heartfelt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which must be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, and humanity, and as a striking and dreadful example of the effects of principles which lead to the violation of the peace and order of all civil society.

“To represent to His Majesty, that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition which, in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been openly manifested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government; that under the present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to those views as essential to the security of everything that is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries.

“That impressed with these sentiments, we shall, with the utmost zeal and alacrity, afford His Majesty the most effectual assistance, to enable His Majesty to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, and to act as circumstances may require in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and honour of his crown, for supporting the just rights of his allies, and for preserving to his people the undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings, which, under the Divine Providence, they receive from the British Constitution!”

## 2. Battle of the Glorious First of June, 1 June 1794

Dillon, Sir William Henry. 1953. *Dillon's Narrative*: Vol. 1, 1790–1802. London: Navy Records Society, vol. 93.

*At the age of fourteen Dillon served as a midshipman aboard the British 74-gun Defence, which fought in the first fleet engagement of the French Revolutionary Wars.*

On the morning of the 30th we had foggy weather. Our fleet not being in very good order, the signals were made from [Admiral] Lord Howe's ship to form in line of battle. The *Caesar* happened at that moment to be close to us, pumping out quantities of water, the effect of the shot she had received below. We heard that one of her guns had burst on the previous day, by which 18 men were killed and wounded. The fog partially clearing away, the enemy was seen to leeward. The admiral instantly made the signal to prepare for action, upon which the *Caesar* threw out the signal of inability to do so. Our fleet formed in line of battle as well as circumstances would allow, but the hazy weather rendered our evolutions uncertain, and there did not appear any probability, that day, of any more fighting. Finally, the fog becoming thicker, we lost sight of the French, so that we could not close upon the enemy.

The morning of the 31st was still misty, with favourable symptoms of its clearing away, the wind in the S.W. quarter. In the afternoon, the fog disappearing, we beheld the enemy some

distance to leeward. We prepared for action, and made sail to close upon him. By 7 o'clock we had reached within five miles of the French fleet. The weather became fine, and we enjoyed one of the most splendid sights ever witnessed—the two fleets close to each other in line of battle, only waiting for the signal to commence the work of destruction, the repeating frigates [signal ships] of the two nations within gunshot. However, all passed off in quietness. Lord Howe, having placed his fleet in exact line with that of the enemy, he drew off for the night, which we passed in extreme anxiety. We could not reckon on more than six hours of darkness, and therefore concluded that we should commence operations with the dawn. Very few of the *Defences* took off any clothing, and the hammocks were not piped down [opened]. Our whole thoughts hung upon the approaching event. As to your humble servant, being rather fatigued, I preferred, it being a beautiful starlight night, to remain on deck. I selected one of the topsail halyard tubs in the forecabin, and coiled myself as well as I could inside it, where I took a snooze which I enjoyed, and felt more refreshed when awoke by the tars than I should have done had I gone to bed: at least I thought so. I felt an elasticity beyond expression.

Rising then from my tub, I beheld the enemy about 10 miles off to leeward, on the starboard tack. There was a fine breeze and lovely weather. It was Sunday, and I thought the Captain would not have much time for prayers, as the work in hand would be of a very different nature. Lord Howe drew up the fleet in capital order. He made several changes in the disposition of the ships, to render every part of his line equal. The *Defence* was the seventh ship in the van. When his Lordship had completed his arrangements for attacking the enemy, he made the signal for the different divisions, that is the van, centre and rear, to engage the opposite divisions of the French: then for each ship in the English line to pass through the enemy and attack his opponent to leeward. Next, the fleet was hove to, that the crews might have their breakfasts. This was going to work in a regular methodical manner. His Lordship knew that John Bull did not like fighting with an empty stomach; but it was a sorry meal, scarcely deserving the name. We had not had much time for a fire in the range for cooking since the 28th of last month. All the tables and conveniences were stowed below; all the partitions taken down; nothing to be seen on the decks but powder, shot, ramrods and instruments of destruction. Whilst the ship's Company were making the best of the time allowed for refreshment, the Captain collected most of his officers in the cabin, where a short prayer suitable to the occasion was offered to the Almighty for protection against the impending event. The half hour having elapsed, up went the signal for the fleet to bear down and bring the enemy to action, it being then near 9 o'clock. What an awful moment! How shall I describe it? A scene of magnificence and importance, not of common occurrence, and not often equalled on the ocean—upwards of 50 sail of the line viewing each other, and preparing to pour out their thunder destructive of the human species, which would decide the fate of either fleet, and probably that of the nation.

Our Captain went round the ship and spoke to all the men at their guns in terms of encouragement, to fight for their country. The replies he received were gratifying in the highest degree.

The noblest feelings of patriotism were proclaimed, with expressions of the warmest enthusiasm: in short, a determination to conquer prevailed throughout the ship—and, I may as well say, throughout the British fleet. As we neared the French up went our colours. . . .

The *Defence*, being a good sailer, made rapid speed through the waves, going under double reefed topsails with a commanding breeze. Twysden, noticing that we had advanced too far beyond our line, hastened on to the quarter deck to point out to his Captain, with becoming respect, that he was exposing his ship to the utmost danger by going on singlehanded without support, and that he ran the risk of being either sunk or totally disabled. The maintopgallant sail had been set by us, the only ship in the line to have done so. In fact, when the signal had been made to bear down, the ship came before the wind, and the Captain, anxious to obey orders, was striving to commence the action as soon as he could. Lord Howe had observed this action of Capt. [James] Gambier's, and mentioned it to the officers near him, saying, "Look at the *Defence*. See how nobly she is going into action!" His Lordship then turning round and casting his eyes over the fleet, said, "I believe I cannot make any more signals. Every ship has had instructions what to do"; then, shutting his signal book, left the poop to take his chance on the quarter deck. Lieut. Twysden prevailed on his Captain to take in the maintopgallant sail, but the ship still proceeded, and extended her distance beyond the British line. Then the mizen topsail was braced aback, by which more wind filled the maintopsail. Therefore, instead of retarding her motion, it was accelerated. The lieutenant mentioned this, but the Captain would not make any more reduction of sail. He said, "I am acting in obedience to the admiral's signal. Fill the mizen topsail again. It may probably be thought that I have no wish to do so if I shorten sail." This last reply quieted Twysden. As I happened to be present at that particular moment, I heard every word that passed. The mizen topsail was braced round to receive the wind, and our whole attention was then directed to the ship in the enemy's line—the 7th—that we were to engage.

The French fleet had their maintopsails to the mast, and were waiting for our attack. Shortly after 9 o'clock we were getting very near to our opponents. Up went their lower deck ports, out came the guns, and the fire on us commenced from several of the enemy's van ships. Twysden then went to his quarters on the main deck, and your humble servant went below to his station. We retained our fire till in the act of passing under the Frenchman's stern, then, throwing all our topsails aback, luffed up and poured in a most destructive broadside. We heard most distinctly our shot striking the hull of the enemy. The carved work over his stern was shattered to pieces. Then, ranging up alongside of him within half pistol shot distance, our fire was kept up with the most determined spirit. When we had measured our length with that of our adversary, we backed the maintopsail. In that position the action was maintained for some time. We had instructions below to lower the ports whilst loading the guns, that the enemy's musketry might not tell upon our men, and also to fire with a slight elevation, as the upper deck guns would be depressed a few degrees, thus making a cross fire upon the Frenchman. After the two or three first broadsides, I became anxious to have a good

view of the ship we were engaging. To effect this object, I requested the men at the foremost gun to allow me a few seconds, when the port was hauled up, to look out from it. They complied with my wishes. The gun being loaded, I took my station in the centre of the port; which being held up, I beheld our antagonist firing away at us in quick succession. The ship was painted a dark red, as most of the enemy's fleet were, to denote (as previously mentioned) their sanguinary feelings against their adversaries. I had not enjoyed the sight long—only a few seconds—when a rolling sea came in and completely covered me. The tars, noticing this, instantly let down the port, but I got a regular soaking for my curiosity. The men cheered me, and laughingly said, "We hope, Sir, you will not receive further injury. It is rather warm work here below: the salt water will keep you cool."

One of these, John Polly, of very short stature, remarked that he was so small the shot would all pass over him. The words had not been long out of his mouth when a shot cut his head right in two, leaving the tip of each ear remaining on the lower part of the cheek. His sudden death created a sensation among his comrades, but the excitement of the moment soon changed those impressions to others of exertion. There was no withdrawing from our situation, and the only alternative was to face the danger with becoming firmness. The head of this unfortunate seaman was cut so horizontally that anyone looking at it would have supposed it had been done by the blow of an axe. The body was committed to the deep.

The action was kept up with the utmost determination. At 1/2 past 10 our mizen mast was shot away, and our ship drifted to leeward. Several of my men were wounded. Holmes, the Captain of one of the guns, a powerful fine fellow, had his arm carried away close to the shoulder. By this time it was evident that the French were getting the worst of it, as we were obliged to go over to the starboard side to defend ourselves against an enemy's ship. At 1/2 past 11 the main mast came down on the starboard side of the poop with a terrible crash. This information was conveyed to us below by some of the seamen who had been in the tops. As they could no longer be useful in consequence of two of the masts being shot away, they were ordered down to the guns. They reported the upper end of the quarter deck to be dreadfully shattered. The lower deck was at times so completely filled with smoke that we could scarcely distinguish each other, and the guns were so heated that, when fired, they nearly kicked the upper deck beams. The metal became so hot that, fearing some accident, we reduced the quantity of powder, allowing also more time to elapse between the loading and firing of them.

One of the Captains of my guns was a Swede, by name John West. I noticed his backwardness, but before I could take any steps in his behalf, we had to change sides, a ship engaging us on our left. We had not been long occupied with her when we were called over to the right. After firing a broadside, John Lee, second captain of West's gun, told me that he had deserted his quarters. "Why didn't you knock him down?" I asked. "I did, Sir," was the reply, "with this handspike," showing it to me. However, West had absconded, and I was too much taken up with the pressing events of the moment to look after him. The ship we were engaging was very close, and the shot from him did us considerable injury. One

of my guns was dismantled. This disaster created some confusion, more especially as the ship, from the loss of her masts, was rolling deeply; and we had considerable difficulty in securing the gun. Whilst we were occupied about this job, Lieut. Beecher thought that he observed a disinclination on the part of the seamen to exert themselves. All of a sudden he drew his sword from the scabbard, and began flourishing it about with threats that he would cut the first man down that did not do his duty. The tars were rather astonished at this proceeding of their officer as, hitherto, he had approved of their conduct. They had been fighting hard for upwards of two hours, and naturally were fatigued. They explained their anxiety to do their best. This pacified the heroic lieutenant. He sheathed his sword, and the men went on at the guns as before.

Just as this scene terminated, two of the men were blown down from the wind of a shot from the ship we were engaging, and I was carried away with them by the shock. I thought myself killed, as I became senseless, being jammed between these men. So soon as the smoke cleared away, our companions noticed my situation. They came, lugged me out, and began rubbing my limbs. This brought me to my senses. They lifted me up, enquiring if I felt myself hurt. I called out for water to drink. They handed to me a bowl with water. When I drank of it, it was quite salt. There were some salt bags hanging up close by, belonging to the men of that particular mess. These had been shot down, and had impregnated the water placed there to be used as required by those that were thirsty. Recovering myself, I felt considerable pain in my head and shoulders. My left cheek was cut by a splinter and bled profusely. I then examined the two men with whom I had been knocked down. In outward appearance they were dead; but as I did not consider myself a sufficient judge of these matters, I desired a couple of seamen to take them below to the surgeon. Whilst I was giving these directions, we were called over to the larboard side to repel the attack of an enemy. After a few broadsides he passed us. From him we received no injury at my quarters. Not long after, another Frenchman ranged up on the starboard side. Away we turned to, and pelted him as hard as we could. In crossing over I beheld the two wounded men still lying in the same position I had left them. Then, calling upon those to whom I had given orders to take the disabled men below, I insisted upon their immediately complying with my directions. They were then conveyed to the cockpit. After a few broadsides exchanged with our opponent, he made sail to leeward, and we had a few minutes' rest. This gave me an opportunity of looking out of the ports, but there was not much to be seen from that low situation. All that we could make out, in our conjectures, led us to believe that the action was nearly over. We could plainly at times distinguish the French ships sailing off and forming to leeward, engaging our ships as they passed by.

We had not long been quiet, when we received orders from the quarter deck for all hands to lie down, as an enemy three decker was coming to rake us. This ship closed gradually upon us with only her foremast standing, the sail of which enabled him to make way at a very slow pace. This was, to me, the most awful part of the battle. We could not defend ourselves from the stern, and here was an immense overpowering ship of upwards of 100

guns going to pour in her broadside into the weakest and most exposed part of our ship. It was a moment of extreme anxiety, as there was a chance of our being sunk. As he neared us there was an appearance of intending to board, and the boarders were called to repulse the attempt. But when he altered his course to rake, we were again ordered to lie down. We waited the coming event with a silent suspense not easily described. At length the enemy in passing across our stern, to our astonishment, only fired a few random shot, which brought down our disabled foremast. We were now completely dismayed and quite unmanageable. The three decker, ranging up on our larboard side, gave us an opportunity of sending some well directed shot into him. In watching the motions of this ship, I noticed that the Frenchmen, in many instances, loaded their guns from the outside. One man I distinctly saw riding upon a lower deck gun, loading it. He was stripped from the waist upwards, and had we been sufficiently near, our marines could have picked him off with their muskets. This three decker soon got out of range, leaving us free of further molestation.

It was past 12 o'clock, and I concluded the fighting part of our duty to be at an end. My clothes were still damp: my shoes, to which I had small buckles, were covered with blood; my face and hand smutched [sic] with powder and blood. At my quarters I had 14 men killed and wounded (if I included myself I should say 15); and a gun. I now ascertained that no part of the lower deck had suffered so much as mine. On my way aft I shook hands with other mid[s]hipmen] who had escaped. Of these I shall never forget Ritchie. He was in his shirt upwards, with a bandage round his head. These were all bloody, and I thought he had been hurt. On my inquiring of him if it were the case, he gave me a hearty shake by the hand, telling me he was strong and hearty, and ready to continue the action when required. The bloody spots on his linen were occasioned by his having assisted some wounded men below. He gave the strongest symptoms of a bold and daring spirit, and had it not been for the bloody marks upon him, one might have supposed he had been at a merry and jovial party instead of a destructive battle. The next person I came in contact with was one of my mess-mates, Consitt. He also had taken off his coat and waistcoat, and his linen too was all bloody, which led me to suppose that he had been injured. However, upon enquiry, I found that he was safe and sound. In a few words he gave me an interesting account of what had been going on upon the quarter deck, as he was one of the Captain's aide-de-camps. He had been sent down to the lower deck to ascertain its state and condition. Among the informations received from him, he stated that the Royal Sovereign, one of our three deckers, had fired into us and wounded some of our men. Upon further inquiry his assertion turned out to be true.

I now hastened up to the quarter deck. In attempting to do so I was prevented by the splinter netting which, from its lying across the quarter deck under the mainmast, had turned the place into a sort of cage. There was no getting on it until the netting had been cut away. Whilst on the ladder, Mr. Hawtayne, the clergyman, came to me. From my appearance he thought that I had been seriously injured, but I soon set his mind at rest on that subject. Leaving him, I at length reached the poop, where I met my

Captain. He noticed me very kindly, and in replying to his questions I related to him what had happened at my quarters. Whilst in conversation with him, the second lieutenant, Mr. Dickson, began firing some of the starboard main deck guns. He was drunk. By this rash act he set the ship on fire, as the foretopsail was lying over the side. But in due time the fire was extinguished, and our alarms at an end.

The cannonade of the hostile fleets had lulled the wind, but the swell of the sea was still paramount, and our ship, without sails or masts to balance her motion, laboured in a most annoying manner. The first object that attracted my notice of the quarter deck was the immense quantity of the enemy's musket shot lying there. On the starboard side, which had at the commencement of the action been the lee one, they were at least three or four tier deep, and the rest of the deck completely covered with them. How could it be possible, thought I, for anyone to escape being hit where so many thousand instruments of death had fallen? But so it was; and the Captain, with many of those around him, came off without injury. The only officers of the ship that were killed were the master, Webster, and the boatswain, Mr. Fitzpatrick. Lieut. Boycott of the 2nd Regiment, Queen's, was severely wounded. He was a remarkably fine young man. The effect of his wounds obliged him to quit the ship upon our arrival at Spithead, to the regret of all who knew him. Looking around me, I saw the *Queen*, 98, some distance to leeward of us, still engaged with the enemy's ships which had formed a line on the starboard tack. That ship had lost her main mast, but it soon became evident that she would rejoin us, and there was no apprehension on her account. But the *Brunswick*, 74, was to leeward of the French, and we were uneasy about her fate. She had lost her mizen mast. By one o'clock all firing was at an end.

The next thing to be done was to attend to the disabled ships. We made the signal for assistance from the stump of our mizen mast. In clearing away the lumber on the poop, a marine was found stowed away under the hen coops. Those who lugged him out thought him dead. However, he soon came to life. This was the Fugleman of that Corps, one of the finest limbed men I ever beheld, and the most perfect in his exercise. All hands laughed at him when they saw he had not been hurt. He was also, like my friend West, a foreigner.

There was no walking the quarter deck till the small shot had been cleared away. The next object of consequence was to get rid of the main mast, which with some difficulty was finally rolled overboard. The quantity of damaged spars, with rigging, that was floating about gave proofs of the severity of the contest in which we had been engaged. The *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Howe's flagship, passed close to leeward of us. She had lost all her topmasts, which prevented his following the French admiral. We gave his Lordship three hearty cheers, at which moment, we were afterwards told, Lord Howe observed, "If every ship of the fleet had followed Capt. Gambier's example, the result of this action would have been very different from what it is." The flagship having stood on a little while longer, signals were made to form on the starboard tack. While these things were passing, an opinion existed on board of us that action would be renewed, as it became clear that the French were fairly beaten.

But that signal was not made. There were 14 sail of the line dismasted, 12 French and two English—ourselves and the *Marlborough*, 74, Capt. The Hon. George Berkeley. Capt. Gambier, giving me his spy glass (which had been hit by a shot) desired me to let him know the number of ships in the British fleet with topgallant yards across; and as Mr. Twysden overheard that order, he said he would assist me in the counting. We accordingly set to work, and after a strict examination, twice repeated, we made out 18 sail of the line in our fleet with topgallant yards across, and in appearance fit to go into battle. We had 7 disabled ships; the French more than 12. What astonished us most at his critical moment was the want of instructions. No signal had as yet been made to take possession of the enemy's disabled ships. Capt. [Thomas] Troubridge, who had been captured in the *Castor*, already mentioned, was a prisoner of war on board the *Sanspareil*, 80. He was quite lost at this apparent inactivity. Had that signal been made at the close of the action, we might with ease have captured their 12 disabled ships; instead of which upwards of an hour was allowed to elapse before such a signal was thrown out. In that hour 5 French ships contrived to slip through our line under their spritsails, and join their own to leeward, leaving 7 with us, which were then taken possession of. I hardly know how to restrain my feelings on this subject even now, 26 years after the event. Had Lord Howe been a younger man, there is every probability—I ought to say *no* doubt—but the action would have been renewed. We were 200 miles away from the land, with plenty of sea room for evolutions. His Lordship was clever at naval tactics: therefore, had the French been brought to action that afternoon, the result would have been the most splendid victory every achieved on the ocean over our enemy. On our way into port, the many officers that visited the *Defence* expressed the same opinions as I have herewith written down.

Many years afterwards, I heard from the best authority that the Captain of the fleet, Sir Roger Curtis, who had been selected by Lord Howe to assist him in his naval duties, when consulted by his Lordship after the action, replied, "You have gained a victory. Now make sure of it. If you renew the action, who knows what may be the result? Make sure of what you have got. Your Lordship is tired. You had better take some rest, and I will manage the other matters for you." Lord Howe accordingly went below, to bed I believe, leaving the Captain of the fleet to make signals as he thought necessary.

To return to the *Defence*: whilst we were hard at work in clearing the wreck, the *Invincible*, 74, the Hon. Capt. Thomas Pakenham, came up and hailed us. These two Captains were very intimate. "Jemmy," said Capt. Pakenham, "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth"—in allusion to the shattered condition we were in. Our Captain made a suitable reply, then asked if he had lost many men: to which question he answered, "Damn[ed] me if I know. They won't tell me, for fear I should stop their grog." A few more words passed, when Capt. Pakenham sent an officer on board to inquire if any help was required. I shall never forget that gentleman. When he came alongside he was dressed in a Guernsey jacket with a welch wig, and had not the slightest appearance of an officer, as all the boat's crew were similarly attired. When he reached the quarter deck, we ascertained by the buttons

on his smalls that he was a lieutenant—McGuire. He was presented to the Captain, to whom he said he had been sent to offer us assistance. Capt. Gambier naturally put many questions to him relating to the action. His replies were delivered with many oaths, which so disgusted our chief that he turned his back and left him. The lieutenant then, very quietly folding his arms, seated himself on the stump of the main mast; but as none of the *Defences* seemed inclined to take further notice of him after his rudeness, he left the ship. Capt. Pakenham, it seems, had given directions that his officers and Ship's Company, all Irish, should all be dressed alike: of which Mr. McGuire was a specimen. The Hon. Thos. Pakenham, brother to Lord Longford, was a regular character, and established a discipline on board the *Invincible* in direct opposition to the established rules of the Navy. But as I shall have to bring him again into notice, I take my leave of the Honourable Captain for the present.

We had scarcely done with the *Invincible* when the *Phaeton* Frigate, Capt. George Bentinck, came to take us in tow. This ship had been commanded by Sir Andrew Douglas. Several of my messmates of the *Alcide* were on board her, from whom I received many hearty congratulations at having escaped with my life. I little thought then that I should command that frigate. It is not many months since I paid her off. She was, without exception, one of the best sea boats I have ever had my foot on board. Whilst the frigate was taking us in tow, up came another line of battle ship, the *Valiant* (I believe Capt. [Thomas] Pringle). Her Captain overloaded ours with compliments upon the noble example he had shown to the whole fleet: and among other sayings he insisted that we had sunk an enemy's ship. This we could not make out. However, it was for a long time the general opinion that we had sent a French 74 [-gun ship] to the bottom. But time set this matter at rest. The ship we engaged in breaking the line was called *l'Eole*. She arrived safe at Brest: consequently, she could not have been sunk by us.

So soon as the Surgeon could make his report, it appeared that we had 91 men killed and wounded on this day: altogether, in the two actions of May 29 and June 1, twenty killed and eighty wounded. One of our Mates, Mr. Elliot, was severely wounded in the thigh by a grape shot. He was in the first instance moved into the Captain's cabin, where I saw him resting on a sofa in great agony, until he could be taken below to the doctor. He had served in the American [Revolutionary] War, and was a very superior young man. The havoc on board us was terrific. Two of the ports on the larboard side of the main deck were knocked into one by a shot. Only one shot penetrated between wind and water. It came into the bread room on the larboard side and smashed some of the lanterns there, without any serious injury to the ship. The spars upon our brooms were sadly cut up. One of our boats, smashed to atoms, was thrown overboard, and, I am sorry to say, many other things were cast into the sea that might have been turned to good account. My duty, I thought, was to obey orders, and not to point out the acts of wastefulness I witnessed. No doubt there were many similar ones on board of the other ships. The expense in refitting the fleet must have been immense.

The number of men thrown overboard that were killed, without ceremony, and the sad wrecks around us taught those

who, like myself, had not before witnessed similar scenes that war was the greatest scourge of mankind. The first leisure I had, I went to see the Captain of my gun, who had lost his arm. He was in good spirits, and when I told him we had gained the victory, he replied, "Then I don't mind the loss of my arm. I am satisfied." Leaving him, I met a young man who had lost a part of his arm. When I spoke to him he was quite cheerful, not seeming to mind his misfortune. He was eating a piece of buttered biscuit as if nothing had happened. It was a very gratifying circumstance to witness so many acts of heroic bravery that were displayed on board our ship. Patriotic sentences were uttered that would have done honour to the noblest minds: yet these were expressed by the humblest class of men.

Many of our ships that had slightly suffered in their yards, sails and rigging were all to rights in the afternoon. But the ship that astonished us all by her extraordinary exertions was the *Queen*. She had lost her main mast. This was replaced in a most able manner before the evening of this day: all her sides were scrubbed, her paintwork looking as clean as if nothing had happened—a good proof of what can be done with good discipline and management. In the evening, boats were sent to remove the crew from the French prize *le Vengeur*, 74. She was in a sinking state, and went to the bottom about 10 o'clock. 259 of her men were saved.

So soon as I could get hold of the surgeon, I enquired the fate of the two men I had sent him from my quarters. He told me they were both killed! One of them was without the slightest mark of a wound on any part of his body: the other had a bruise across his loins, supposed to have been occasioned by his having come in contact with the bitts [timbers] in his fall. It is therefore clear that they were killed by the wind of a shot. Few persons will believe that the wind of a shot can take away life. But here was proof that it could, and the surgeon was a witness to its having happened. My next question to the doctor was whether he recollected anything of West: if such a person had been to him. He replied that he had; and, upon examining him, he noticed a bruise on the neck. "Yes," said I, "that was a blow he received from the second captain of his gun with a handspike, for deserting his quarters." So the Swede told a good story to the surgeon, and remained snug in the cockpit for the remainder of the action.

### 3. Battle of St. Vincent, 14 February 1797

Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris, ed. 1846. *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. London: Henry Colburn, 2: 340–343.

*Although not in command of the British squadron at St. Vincent, Commodore Horatio Nelson attained widespread public recognition for his intrepidity in not only cutting the Spanish line, but in boarding and capturing two enemy ships. The following is his account of the action.*

At one P.M., the *Captain* having passed the sternmost of the Enemy's Ships which formed their van and part of their centre, consisting of seventeen Sail of the Line, they on the larboard, we on the starboard tack, the Admiral made the signal

to “tack in succession;” but I, perceiving the Spanish Ships all to bear up before the wind, or nearly so, evidently with an intention of forming their line going large, joining their separated Division, at that time engaged with some of our centre Ships, or flying from us—to prevent either of their schemes from taking effect, I ordered the ship to be wore, and passing between the *Diadem* and *Excellent*, at a quarter past one o’clock, was engaged with the headmost, and of course leeward-most of the Spanish division. The Ships which I know were, the *Santissima Trinidad*, 126 [guns]; *San Josef*, 112; *Salvador del Mundo*, 112; *San Nicolas*, 80; another First-rate, and [a] Seventy-four, names not known. I was immediately joined and most nobly supported by the *Culloden*, Captain [Thomas] Troubridge. The Spanish Fleet, from not wishing (I suppose) to have a decisive battle, hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, which brought the Ships afore-mentioned to be the leeward-most and sternmost Ships in their Fleet. For near an hour, I believe, (but do not pretend to be correct as to time,) did the *Culloden* and *Captain* support this apparently, but not really, unequal contest; when the *Blenheim*, passing between us and the Enemy, gave us a respite, and sickened the Dons [Spanish]. At this time, the *Salvador del Mundo* and *San Isidro* dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the *Excellent*, Captain Collingwood, who compelled the *San Isidro* to hoist English colours, and I thought the large Ship *Salvador del Mundo* had also struck; but Captain Collingwood, disdainful of the parade and taking possession of beaten enemies, most gallantly pushed up, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a critical state. The *Blenheim* being ahead, and the *Culloden* crippled and astern, the *Excellent* ranged up within ten feet of the *San Nicolas*, giving a most tremendous fire, The *San Nicolas* luffing up, the *San Josef* fell on board her, and the *Excellent* passing on for the *Santissima Trinidad*, the *Captain* resumed her situation abreast of them, and close alongside. At this time the *Captain* having lost her foretop-mast, not a sail, shroud, or rope left, her wheel shot away, and incapable of further service in the line, or in chase, I directed Captain [Ralph] Miller to put the helm a-starboard, and calling for the Boarders, ordered them to board.

The Soldiers of the 69th Regiment, with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pierson of the same Regiment, were amongst the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the Enemy’s mizzen-chains was Captain [Edward] Berry, late my First Lieutenant; (Captain Miller was in the very act of going also, but I directed him to remain;) he was supported from our spritsail-yard, which hooked in the mizzen-rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broke[n] the upper quarter-gallery window, jumped in, followed by myself and others as fast as possible. I found the cabin-doors fastened, and some Spanish Officers fired their pistols; but having broken open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish Brigadier (Commodore with a Distinguishing Pendant) fell, as retreating to the quarter deck, on the larboard side, near the wheel. Having pushed on [to] the quarter-deck, I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pierson on the larboard gangway to the

forecastle, where I met two or three Spanish Officers prisoners to my seamen, and they delivered me their swords.

At this moment, a fire of pistols or muskets opened from the Admiral’s stern gallery of the *San Josef*, I directed the soldiers to fire into her stern; and, calling to Captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the *San Nicolas*, and directed my people to board the First-rate, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main chains. At this moment a Spanish Officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said—“they surrendered;” from this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, when the Spanish Captain, with a bow, presented me his Sword, and said the Admiral was dying of his wounds below. I asked him, on his honour, if the Ship were surrendered? he declared she was; on which I have him my hand, and desired him to call to his Officers and Ship’s company, and tell them of it—which he did; and on the quarter-deck of a Spanish First-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the Swords of vanquished Spaniards; which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them with the greatest sangfroid under his arm. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pierson, 69th Regiment, John Sykes, John Thomson, Francis Cook, all old *Agamemnon*s, and several other brave men, seamen and soldiers: thus fell these Ships.

#### 4. Battle of the Nile, 1 August 1798

Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris, ed. 1846. *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. London: Henry Colburn, 3: 48–53.

*The destruction of the French fleet in Aboukir Bay left Napoleon’s army stranded, without hope of either reinforcement or evacuation. For Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, the Nile marked the beginning of official recognition of his brilliance as an independent naval commander. The following account was written by Edward Berry, captain of the 74-gun Vanguard, aboard which Nelson directed the battle.*

From Syracuse the Squadron proceeded with all expedition to the Morea [the contemporary name for the southern Greek peninsula now known as the Peloponnese], and nothing particular occurred on the passage except that, on the 28th of July, being near the Morea, the *Culloden* was sent into the Gulf of Coron for intelligence, and on her return, the next day, she brought with her a French brig, a prize, and information that the Enemy’s Fleet had been seen steering to the S. E. from Candia [Crete] about four weeks before. The *Alexander*, Captain [Alexander] Ball, on the same day obtained similar intelligence from a Vessel passing close to the Fleet, and Nelson immediately bore up, under all sail, for Alexandria. At seven in the evening, of the 31st of July, the Admiral made the signal for the Fleet to close, and early in the morning of the 1st of August, the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* were sent ahead to look out. . . .

The utmost joy seemed to animate every breast on board the Squadron, at sight of the Enemy; and the pleasure which the Admiral himself felt, was perhaps more heightened than that of any other man, as he had now a certainty by which he could regulate

his future operations. The Admiral had, and it appeared most justly, the highest opinion of, and placed the firmest reliance on, the valour and conduct of every Captain in his Squadron. It had been his practice during the whole of the cruise, whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his Captains on board the *Vanguard*, where he would fully develop to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute upon falling in with the Enemy, whatever their position or situation might be, by day or by night. There was no possible position in which they could be found, that he did not take into his calculation, and for the most advantageous attack of which he had not digested and arranged the best possible disposition of the force which he commanded. With the masterly ideas of their Admiral, therefore, on the subject of Naval tactics, every one of the Captains of his Squadron was most thoroughly acquainted; and upon surveying the situation of the Enemy, they could ascertain with precision what were the ideas and intentions of their Commander, without the aid of any further instructions; by which means signals became almost unnecessary, much time was saved, and the attention of every Captain could almost undistractedly be paid to the conduct of his own particular Ship, a circumstance from which, upon this occasion, the advantages to the general service were almost incalculable. It cannot here be thought irrelevant, to give some idea of what were the plans which Admiral Nelson had formed, and which he explained to his Captains with such perspicuity, as to render his ideas completely their own. To the Naval service, at least, they must prove not only interesting, but useful. Had he fallen in with the French Fleet at sea, that he might make the best impression upon any part of it that should appear the most vulnerable, or the most eligible for attack, he divided his force into three Sub-squadrons, viz.

<i>Vanguard,</i>	<i>Orion,</i>	<i>Culloden,</i>
<i>Minotaur,</i>	<i>Goliath,</i>	<i>Theseus,</i>
<i>Leander,</i>	<i>Majestic,</i>	<i>Alexander,</i>
<i>Audacious,</i>	<i>Bellerophon,</i>	<i>Swiftsure.</i>
<i>Defence,</i>		
<i>Zealous,</i>		

Two of these Sub-squadrons were to attack the Ships of War, while the third was to pursue the Transports, and to sink and destroy as many as it could. The destination of the French armament was involved in doubt and uncertainty; but it forcibly struck the Admiral, that, as it was commanded by the man whom the French had dignified with the title of the Conqueror of the Italy [General Napoleon Bonaparte], and as he had with him a very large body of troops, an expedition had been planned which the land force might execute without the aid of their Fleet, should the Transports be permitted to make their escape, and reach in safety their place of rendezvous; it therefore became a material consideration with the Admiral so to arrange his force as at once to engage the whole attention of their Ships of War, and at the same time materially to annoy and injure their convoy. It will be fully admitted, from the subsequent information which has been received upon the subject, that the ideas of the Admiral upon this

occasion were perfectly just, and that the plan which he had arranged was the most likely to frustrate the designs of the Enemy. It is almost unnecessary to explain his projected mode of attack at anchor, as that was minutely and precisely executed in the Action which we now come to describe. These plans, however, were formed two months before an opportunity presented itself of executing any of them, and the advantage now was, that they were familiar to the understanding of every Captain in the Fleet.

We saw the Pharos of Alexandria at noon on the first of August. The *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* had been detached a-head on the preceding evening, to reconnoitre the Ports of Alexandria, while the main body of the Squadron kept in the offing. The Enemy's Fleet was first discovered by the *Zealous*, Captain [Samuel] Hood, who immediately communicated, by signal, the number of Ships, sixteen, laying at anchor in Line of Battle, in a Bay upon the larboard bow, which we afterwards found to be Aboukir Bay. The Admiral hauled his wind that instant, a movement which was immediately observed and followed by the whole Squadron; and at the same time he recalled the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*. The wind was at this time N.N.W., and blew what seamen call a top-gallant breeze. It was necessary to take in the royals when we hauled upon a wind. The Admiral made to signal to prepare for battle, and that it was his intention to attack the Enemy's van and centre, as they lay at anchor, and according to the plan before developed. His idea, in this disposition of his force was, first to secure the victory, and then to make the most of it according to future circumstances. A bower cable of each Ship was immediately got out abaft, and bent forward. We continued carrying sail, and standing in for the Enemy's Fleet in a close Line of Battle. As all the officers of our Squadron were totally unacquainted with Aboukir Bay, each Ship kept sounding as she stood in. The Enemy appeared to be moored in a strong and compact Line of Battle, close in with the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form, flanked by numerous Gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars, on an Island in their Van. This situation of the Enemy seemed to secure to them the most decided advantages, as they had nothing to attend to but their artillery, in their superior skill in the use of which the French so much pride themselves, and to which indeed their splendid series of land victories are in a great measure to be imputed.

The position of the Enemy presented the most formidable obstacles; but the Admiral viewed these with the eye of a seaman determined on attack, and it instantly struck his eager and penetrating mind, *that where there was room for an Enemy's Ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor*. No further signal was necessary, than those which had already been made. The Admiral's designs were as fully known to his whole Squadron, as was his determination to conquer, or perish in the attempt. The *Goliath* and *Zealous* had the honour to lead inside, and to receive the first fire from the Van ships of the Enemy, as well as from the Batteries and Gun-boats with which their van was strengthened. These two Ships, with the *Orion*, *Audacious*, and *Theseus*, took their stations inside of the Enemy's Line, and were immediately in close action. The *Vanguard* anchored the first on the outer side of the Enemy, and was opposed within half pistol-

shot of *Le Spartiate*, the third in the Enemy's Line. In standing in, our leading Ships were unavoidably obliged to receive into their bows the whole fire of the broadsides of the French line, until they could take their respective stations; and it is but justice to observe, that the Enemy received us with great firmness and deliberation, no colours having been hoisted on either side, nor a gun fired, till our Van ships were within half gun shot. At this time the necessary number of our men were employed aloft in furling sails, and on deck, in hauling the braces, &c. preparatory to our casting anchor. As soon as this took place, a most animated fire was opened from the *Vanguard*, which Ship covered the approach of those in the rear, which were following in a close line. The *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Swiftsure*, and *Alexander*, came up in succession, and passing within hail of the *Vanguard*, took their respective stations opposed to the Enemy's line. All our Ships anchored by the stern, by which means the British line became inverted from van to rear. Captain [Thomas] Thompson, of the *Leander*, of 50 guns, with a degree of skill and intrepidity highly honourable to his professional character, advanced towards the Enemy's line on the outside, and most judiciously dropped his anchor athwart hause of the *Le Franklin*, raking her with great success, the shot from the *Leander's* broadside which passed that Ship all striking *L'Orient*, the Flag Ship of the French Commander in Chief [Vice Admiral François Paul Brueys d'Aigalliers].

The action commenced at sun-set, which was at thirty-one minutes past six P.M., with an ardour and vigour which it is impossible to describe. At about seven o'clock total darkness had come on, but the whole hemisphere was, with intervals, illuminated by the fire of the hostile Fleets. Our Ships, when darkness came on, had all hoisted their distinguishing lights, by a signal from the Admiral. The Van ship of the Enemy, *Le Guerrier*, was dismasted in less than twelve minutes, and, in ten minutes after, the second ship, *Le Conquérant*, and the third, *Le Spartiate*, very nearly at the same moment were almost dismasted, *L'Aquilon* and *Le Souverain Peuple*, the fourth and fifth Ships of the Enemy's line, were taken possession of by the British at half-past eight in the evening. Captain Berry, at that hour, sent Lieutenant Galwey, of the *Vanguard*, with a party of marines, to take possession of *Le Spartiate*, and that officer returned by the boat, the French Captain's sword, which Captain Berry immediately delivered to the Admiral, who was then below, in consequence of the severe wound which he had received in the head during the heat of the attack. At this time it appeared that victory had already declared itself in our favour, for although *L'Orient*, *L'Heureux*, and *Tonnant* were not taken possession of, they were considered as completely in our power, which pleasing intelligence Captain Berry had likewise the satisfaction of communicating in person to the Admiral. At ten minutes after nine, a fire was observed on board *L'Orient*, the French Admiral's Ship, which seemed to proceed from the after part of the cabin, and which increased with great rapidity, presently involving the whole of the after part of the Ship in flames. This circumstance Captain Berry immediately communicated to the Admiral, who, though suffering severely from his wound, came up upon deck, where the first consideration that struck his mind was concern for the danger of so many

lives, to save as many as possible of whom he ordered Captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly dispatched from the *Vanguard*, and other Ships that were in a condition to do so, immediately followed the example; by which means, from the best possible information, the lives of about seventy Frenchmen were saved. The light thrown by the fire of *L'Orient* upon the surrounding objects, enabled us to perceive with more certainty the situation of the two Fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonading was partially kept up to leeward of the Centre till about ten o'clock, when *L'Orient* blew up with a most tremendous explosion. An awful pause and death-like silence for about three minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts, yards, &c. which had been carried to a vast height, fell down into the water, and on board the surrounding Ships. A port fire from *L'Orient* fell into the main royal of the *Alexander*, the fire occasioned by which was, however, extinguished in about two minutes, by the active exertions of Captain Ball.

After this awful scene, the firing was recommenced with the Ships to leeward of the Centre, till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes; after which it was revived till about three in the morning, when it again ceased. After the victory had been secured in the Van, such British ships as were in a condition to move, had gone down upon the fresh Ships of the Enemy, which occasioned these renewals of the fight, all of which terminated with the same happy success in favour of our Flag. At five minutes past five in the morning, the two Rear ships of the Enemy, *Le Guillaume Tell* and *Le Généreux*, were the only French ships of the Line that had their colours flying. At fifty-four minutes past five, a French frigate, *L'Artemise*, fired a broadside and struck her colours; but such was the unwarrantable and infamous conduct of the French Captain [Pierre Standelet], that after having thus surrendered, he set fire to his Ship, and with part of his crew, made his escape on shore. Another of the French frigates, *La Sérieuse*, had been sunk by the fire from some of our Ships; but as her poop remained above water, her men were saved upon it, and were taken off by our boats in the morning. The *Bellerophon*, whose masts and cables had been entirely shot away, could not retain her situation abreast of *L'Orient*, but had drifted out of the line to the lee side of the Bay, a little before that Ship blew up. The *Audacious* was in the morning detached to her assistance. At eleven o'clock, *Le Généreux* and *Guillaume Tell*, with the two Frigates, *La Justice* and *La Diane*, cut their cables and stood out to sea, pursued by the *Zealous*, Captain [Samuel] Hood, who, as the Admiral himself has stated, handsomely endeavoured to prevent their escape: but as there was no other Ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, she was recalled. The whole day of the 2nd was employed in securing the French ships that had struck, and which were now all completely in our possession, *Le Tonnant* and *Timoléon* excepted; as these were both dismasted, and consequently could not escape, they were naturally the last of which we thought of taking possession. On the morning of the third, the *Timoléon* was set fire to, and *Le Tonnant* had cut her cable and drifted on shore, but that active officer, Captain Miller, of the *Theseus*, soon got her off again, and secured her in the

British line. The British force engaged consisted of twelve Ships of 74 guns, and the *Leander*, of 50.

From the over anxiety and zeal of Captain [Thomas] Troubridge to get into action, his Ship, the *Culloden*, in standing in for the Van of the Enemy's line, unfortunately grounded upon the tail of a shoal running off from the Island, on which were the mortar and gun batteries of the Enemy; and notwithstanding all the exertions of that able officer and his Ship's company, she could not be got off. This unfortunate circumstance was severely felt at the moment by the Admiral and all the officers of the Squadron, but their feelings were nothing compared to the anxiety and even anguish of mind which the Captain of the *Culloden* himself experienced, for so many eventful hours. There was but one consolation that could offer itself to him in the midst of the distresses of his situation, a feeble one it is true—that his ship served as a beacon for three other Ships, viz., the *Alexander*, *Theseus*, and *Leander*, which were advancing with all possible sail set close to his rear, and which otherwise might have experienced a similar misfortune, and thus in greater proportion still have weakened our force. It was not till the morning of the second, that the *Culloden* could be got off, and it was found she had suffered very considerable damage in her bottom, that her rudder was beat off, and the crew could scarcely keep her afloat with all pumps going. The resources of Captain Troubridge's mind availed him much, and were admirably exerted upon this trying occasion. In four days he had a new rudder made upon his own deck, which was immediately shipped; and the *Culloden* was again in a state for actual service, though still very leaky.

The Admiral, knowing that the wounded of his own Ships had been well taken care of, bent his first attention to those of the Enemy. He established a truce with the Commandant of Aboukir, and through him made a communication to the Commandant of Alexandria, that it was his intention to allow all the wounded Frenchmen to be taken ashore to proper hospitals, with their own surgeons to attend them—a proposal which was assented to by the French, and which was carried into effect on the following day. The activity and generous consideration of Captain Troubridge were again exerted at this time for the general good. He communicated with the shore, and had the address to procure a supply of fresh provisions, onions, &c. which were served out to the sick and wounded, and which proved of essential utility. On the 2nd [of August], the Arabs and Mamelukes, who during the Battle had lined the shores of the Bay, saw with transport that the victory was decisively ours, an event in which they participated with an exultation almost equal to our own; and on that and the two following nights, the whole coast and country were illuminated as far as we could see, in celebration of our victory. This had a great effect upon the minds of our prisoners, as they conceived that this illumination was the consequence, not entirely of our success, but of some signal advantage obtained by the Arabs and Mamelukes over Buonaparte. Although it is natural to suppose that the time and attention of the Admiral, and all the officers of his Squadron, were very fully employed in repairing the damages sustained by their own Ships, and in securing those of the Enemy, which their valour had subdued, yet the mind of that great and good man felt the strongest emotions of the most pious

gratitude to the Supreme Being for the signal success, which, by his Divine favour, had crowned his endeavours in the cause of his Country. . . . At two o'clock accordingly on that day, public service was performed on the quarter-deck of the *Vanguard* by the Rev. Mr. Comyn, the other Ships following the example of the Admiral, though perhaps not all at the same time. This solemn act of gratitude to Heaven seemed to make a very deep impression upon several of the prisoners, both officers and men, some of the former of whom remarked, that it was no wonder we could preserve such order and discipline, when we could impress the minds of our men with such sentiments after a victory so great, and at a moment of such seeming confusion.

## 5. Treaty of Lunéville, 9 February 1801

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*With Austria knocked out the War of the Second Coalition, Britain remained the only major power opposing France. Lunéville reaffirmed French possession of the Austrian Netherlands as agreed at Campo Formio in 1797, extended the territory of the French satellite, the Cisalpine Republic, restored the King of Naples to his mainland possessions, and confirmed the pope's rule over the Papal States. Lunéville signified the end of further Habsburg resistance to French political and territorial ambitions during the Revolutionary Wars.*

### *Treaty of Peace concluded at Lunéville, 9 February 1801, between the French Republic, and the Emperor and the Germanic Body [Holy Roman Empire].*

His majesty, the emperor and the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to put an end to the miseries of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace and amity.

His said imperial and royal majesty, not less anxiously desirous of making the Germanic [Holy Roman] empire participate in the blessings of peace, and the present conjecture not allowing the time necessary for the empire to be consulted, and to take part by its deputies in the negotiation; his said majesty having, besides, regard to what has been agreed upon by the deputation of the empire at the preceding congress at Rastadt [Rastatt], has resolved, in conformity with the precedent of what has taken place in familiar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic body.

In consequence of which the contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to it,

His imperial and royal majesty, the sieur Louis Cobentzel [Cobenzl], count of the holy Roman empire, knight of the golden fleece, grand cross of the royal order of St Stephen and of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, chamberlain, and privy counsellor of his imperial and royal majesty, his minister for the conference, and vice-chancellor of the court of state;

And the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has appointed citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

**Art. I.** There shall be henceforth and forever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, stipulating, as well in his own name as that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, is said majesty engaging to cause the empire to give ratification in good and due form to the present treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to preventing all hostilities by land and by sea, for whatever cause, or on whatever pretence, and to carefully endeavouring to maintain the union happily established. No assistance or protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties.

**II.** The cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces to the French republic, stipulated by the 3rd article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed there in the most formal manner, so that his imperial and royal majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as that of the Germanic empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as its sovereign right and property by the French republic, with the territorial property dependent on it. There shall also be given up to the French republic by his imperial and royal majesty, and with the formal consent of the empire:

1st, The comté of Falkenstein, with its dependencies.

2d, The Frickthall, and all belonging to the house of Austria in the left bank of the Rhine, between Zarsach and Basle; the French republic reserving to themselves the right of ceding the latter country to the Helvetic republic [Switzerland].

**III.** In the same manner, in renewal and confirmation of the 6th article of the treaty of Campo Formio [1797], his majesty the emperor and the king shall possess in sovereignty, and as his right, the countries below enumerated, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles in the Adriatic dependant upon those countries, the Bocca de Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals and the country included between the hereditary state of his majesty the emperor and king; the Adriatic sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said sea; the towing path of the Adige serving as the line of limitation. And as by this line the cities of Verona and of Porto Legnano will be divided, there shall be established, on the middle bridges of the said cities, drawbridges to mark the separation.

**IV.** The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed thus far, that his majesty the emperor and king binds himself to yield to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries which this prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brigau, which he shall hold on the same terms as those by virtue of which he possesses the Modenese.

**V.** It is moreover agreed, that his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany shall renounce, for himself and his successors, having any right to it, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and that part of the isle of Elba which is dependent upon it, as well as all right and title resulting from his rights on the said states, which shall be henceforth possessed in complete sovereignty, and as his own

property, by his royal highness the infant duke of Parma. The grand duke shall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian states. The grand duke shall dispose at pleasure of the goods and property which he possesses in Tuscany, either by personal acquisition, or by descent from his late father, the emperor Leopold II, or from his grandfather the emperor Francis I. It is also agreed, that other property of the grand duchy, as well as the debts secured on the country, shall pass to the new grand duke.

**VI.** His majesty the emperor and king, as well as in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, consents that the French republic shall possess henceforth in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and which formed part of the Germanic empire: so that, in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the congress of Rastadt, by the deputation of the empire, and approved by the emperor, the towing path of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French republic and the Germanic empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic territory, to that where it enters the Batavian [Dutch] territory.

In consequence of this, the French republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those whom it may belong, the fortresses of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz, on the right bank, the fort of Kehl, and Old Brisach, on the express condition that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the state in which they were at the time of their evacuation.

**VII.** And as, in consequence of the cession which the empire makes to the French republic, several princes and states of the empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is incumbent upon the Germanic empire collectively to support, the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty, it is agreed between his majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, that in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress of Rastadt, the empire shall be bound to give to the hereditary princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the empire, according to arrangements which on these bases shall be ultimately determined upon.

**VIII.** In all the ceded countries, acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall take them, subject to the debts charged on the said countries; but considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French republic will not take upon itself any thing more than the debts resulting from the loans formally agreed to by the state so the ceded countries, or by the actual administrations of such countries.

**IX.** Immediately after the change of the ratifications of the present treaty, the sequestration imposed on the property, effects, and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off.

The contracting parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries and to pay and reimburse all annuities created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this, it is expressly admitted, that the holders of stock in the bank of Vienna, become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued, or to accrue, notwithstanding the infringement which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the 30 and 100 percent demanded by his imperial and royal majesty, of all creditors of the bank of Vienna.

X. The contracting parties shall also cause all the sequestrations to be taken off, which have been imposed on account of the war, on the property, the rights, and revenues of the emperor, or of the empire, in the territory of the French republic, and of the French citizens in the states of the said majesty or the empire.

XI. The present treaty of peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th and 15th articles, are declared to extend to, and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine and Ligurian republics [the latter two situated in northern Italy]. The contracting parties mutually guaranty the independence of the said republics, and the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they please.

XII. His imperial and royal majesty renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all rights and titles arising from those rights, which his majesty might claim on the countries of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Cisalpine republic, which shall possess them as their sovereignty and property, with all the territorial property dependent upon it.

XIII. His imperial and royal majesty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of ci-devant imperial fiefs to the Ligurian republic, and renounces all rights and titles arising from these rights on the said fiefs.

XIV. In conformity with the 2d article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, which serves as the limits between his majesty the emperor and king, and the navigation of the rivers in the Cisalpine republic, shall be free, nor shall any toll be imposed, nor any ship of war kept there.

XV. All prisoners of war on both sides, as well as hostages given or taken during the war, who shall not be yet restored, shall be so within forty days from the time of the signing of the present treaty.

XVI. The real and personal property unalienated to this royal highness the archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her royal highness the archduchess Christina, deceased, situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them on condition of their selling them within three years. The same shall be the case also with the landed and personal property of their royal highnesses the archduke Ferdinand and the archduchess Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th 17th, and 23d articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, are particularly renewed, and are to be

executed according to their form and effect, as if they were here repeated verbatim.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impositions, of whatever kind, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty on the one hand, by his imperial majesty and the Germanic empire, and on the other by the French republic.

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor and king, by the empire, and by the French republic, in the space of thirty days or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers shall remain in the present positions, both in Germany and in Italy, until the ratification shall be respectively, and at the same moment, exchanged at Lunéville.

It is also agreed, that ten days after the exchange of ratifications, the armies of his imperial and royal majesty shall enter the hereditary possessions, which shall, within the same space of time, be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the said ratifications shall be exchanged, the French armies shall evacuate the whole of the territory of the said empire.

*Executed at Lunéville, Feb. 9, 1801*

Louis Count Cobentzel.

Joseph Bonaparte.

## 6. Treaty of Amiens, 25 March 1802

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*The terms of Amiens, which heavily favored France, brought a formal end to the French Revolutionary Wars. Britain agreed to restore virtually all the colonial possessions seized from France and her allies, in return for the French evacuation of Naples, the Papal States, and the British evacuation of Egypt. Observers on both sides of the Channel recognized that the agreement was at best tenuous, and indeed hostilities between Britain and France were to resume little more than a year later over the questions of French expansion on the Continent and Britain's refusal to evacuate its troops from Malta.*

### *Definitive Treaty of Peace between the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic (on the one Part); and his Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (on the other Part).*

The First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, by the preliminary articles, which were signed in London the 9th Vendemiaire, (or the first of October 1801).

And as by the 15th article of the preliminaries it has been agreed on, "that plenipotentiaries should named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers."

The First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has named as plenipotentiary the citizen Joseph Buonaparte, counsellor of state:

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named the marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, one of his majesty's privy council, general in his majesty's army, &c. &c.

His majesty the king of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic [Holland], have appointed the following plenipotentiaries, to wit, his catholic majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his counsellor of state, grand cross of the order of Charles III, ambassador extraordinary of his majesty to the French republic &c. &c.:

And the government of the Batavian republic, Jean Schimmelpennick its ambassador extraordinary to the French republic, &c.:

Which said plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective Powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present treaty, have agreed the following articles:

**Article I.** There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French republic, his majesty the king of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian republic, on the one part, and his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the other part.

The contracting parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve a perfect harmony between their respective countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future disturb the happy union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who wish to injure any of them.

**II.** All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off, or delivered up during the war, and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom in six weeks at the latest, to be reckoned from the day when the ratifications of the present treaty are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties shall respectively discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the contracting parties, for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. There shall be appointed by mutual consent for this purpose a commission, especially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due to any one of the contracting parties. . . . The time and the place shall likewise be fixed, by mutual consent, for the meeting of the commissioners, who shall be entrusted with the execution of this article, and who shall take into account, not only the expenses incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but likewise on account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken, were in the pay, and at the disposal of one of the contracting parties.

**III.** His Britannic majesty restores to the French republic and its allies, viz. his Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic,

all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces, during the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and of the Dutch possessions on the island of Ceylon.

**IV.** His Catholic majesty cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, the island of Trinidad to his Britannic majesty.

**V.** The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, to his Britannic majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which previous to the war belonged to the republic of the united provinces, or to the Dutch East India company.

**VI.** The port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other contracting parties, shall be allowed to enter the said ports, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

**VII.** The territories and possessions of his most Faithful majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war. However the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the river Arrowary, which empties itself into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of north latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arrowary, from its mouth, the most distant from Cape North, to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio Brunco, towards the west.

In consequence, the northern bank of the river Arrowary, from its said mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the north of the line of boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French republic.

The southern bank of the said river, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the south of the said line, shall belong to her most Faithful majesty.

The navigation of the river Arrowary, along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe, shall nevertheless be adhered to conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Badajos.

**VIII.** The territories, possessions, and rights of the sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war.

**IX.** The republic of the Seven [Ionian] Islands is recognised.

**X.** The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem to be held on the same conditions, on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations.

The knights of the order whose Langues shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter,

and proceed to the election of a grand master, chosen from among the natives of those nations which are to preserve their Langues, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

The governments of the French republic, and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to themselves, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or an English Langue; and that no individual belonging to either the one or to the other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

There shall be established a Maltese Langue, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island. This Langue shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment and a mansion-house. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of the Langue; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges, in the same manner as the knights of the other Langues. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the grand master, or commissaries, fully authorized according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

One half of the garrison at least shall always be composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the Langues. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commandship in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the grand master, and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

The independence of the isles Malta, of Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

The ports of Malta shall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties: these duties shall be applied to the maintenance of the Maltese Langue, as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaret, open to all colours.

The states of Barbary [Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli] are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities, which subsists between

the states of Barbary, and the order of St. John, or the powers possessing the Langue, or concurring in the composition of the order, shall have ceased.

The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the isle, as far as the present treaty does not abrogate them.

The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws, and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner; and the grand master, or, if he shall not be in the island, at the time of its restoration to the order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his states, to serve as a garrison in the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgement of the guarantying powers to garrison the island and its dependencies, as is specified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman states; the English forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo [on Corsica], and generally all the ports and islands, that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated by the present treaty, shall be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and seas of America and Africa in three months; on the continent and seas of Asia in six months, which shall follow the ratification of the present definitive treaty, except in case of a special reservation.

XIII. In all cases of restitution, agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were in at the time of signing the preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation shall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides that in all the stipulated cases of cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired by them before or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years, they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes. The same power is granted in the countries that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishments there, during the time that those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the contracting parties, on any account whatever except

for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present treaty.

XIV. All the sequestrations laid on either side on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature soever they may be, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their citizens or subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should, according to received usages, and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace shall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and in the gulf of St. Laurence [St. Lawrence], are placed on the same footing as they were before the war.

The French fishermen of Newfoundland, and the inhabitants of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have liberty, to cut such wood as may be necessary for them in the bays of Fortune and Despair during the first year, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of captures which may have been made at sea subsequent to the signing of the preliminaries [1 October 1801], it is reciprocally agreed that the ships and property which may have been taken in the channel, and in the north seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; that the term shall be one month for the space, from the channel and the north seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary islands to the equator; and, finally five months in all other parts of the world, without any further exceptions or distinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy respectively in the states of the said powers the same rank, privileges, prerogative, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war by agents of the same class.

XVIII. The branch of the house of Nassau, which was established in the ci-devant republic of the united provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in those countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured for the losses which it shall be proved to have sustained.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of Peace is declared common to the sublime Ottoman Porte [the government of the Ottoman Empire], the ally, of his Britannic majesty; and the sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed that the contracting parties, upon requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers, or officers duly authorized for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party,

provided that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused persons shall be discovered, would have authorized the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expenses of the arrest and prosecution shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and faithfully all the articles contained in the present treaty, and will not suffer any sort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens, or respective subjects; and the contracting parties guaranty, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties, as soon as possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form in Paris.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, causing it to be sealed with our respective seals.

*Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10 (March 25, 1802)*

(Signed) Bonaparte.

Cornwallis.

Azara, and

Schimmelpennick.

(A correct copy) J. Bonaparte

## 7. Pitt's State Paper, 19 January 1805

Webster, C. K., ed. 1921. *British Diplomacy, 1813–1815: Select documents dealing with the reconstruction of Europe*. London: Bell, 389–394.

*Pitt's State Paper, in which he outlined the political reconstruction of postwar Europe, stands as one of the key documents of nineteenth-century British foreign policy. The collapse of the Third Coalition prevented its implementation, but it served as the basis for Lord Castlereagh's negotiating position during the critical years of 1813–1815 and contributed many of the ideas that saw practical expression in the Vienna settlement.*

*Official Communication made to the Russian Ambassador at London [Count Simon Vorontsov], on the 19th January 1805, explanatory of the views which His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia formed for the deliverance and security of Europe.*

The result of the communications which have been made by Prince Czartoryski [the Russian foreign minister] to [Britannic] His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg [Lord Granville Leveson Gower], and of the confidential explanations which have been received from your Excellency, has been laid before the King [George III]; and His Majesty has seen with inexpressible satisfaction, the

wide, dignified, and generous policy, which the Emperor of Russia [Alexander I] is disposed to adopt, under the present calamitous situation of Europe. His Majesty is also happy to perceive, that the views and sentiments of the Emperor respecting the deliverance of Europe, and providing for its future tranquillity and safety, correspond so entirely with his own. He is therefore desirous of entering into this great object, and of forming the closest union of councils, and concert of measures, with his Imperial Majesty, in order, by their joint influence and exertions, to insure the co-operation and assistance of other Powers of the Continent, on a scale adequate to the magnitude and importance of an undertaking, on the success of which the future safety of Europe must depend.

For this purpose, the first step must be, to fix as precisely as possible, the distinct objects to which such a concert is to be directed.

These, according to the explanation given of the sentiments of the Emperor, in which His Majesty entirely concurs, appear to be three:—

1. To rescue from the dominion of France those countries which it has subjugated since the beginning of the Revolution, and to reduce France within its former limits, as they stood before that time.
2. To make such an arrangement with respect to the territories recovered from France, as may provide for their security and happiness, and may at the same time constitute a more effectual barrier in future against encroachments on the part of France.
3. To form, at the restoration of peace, a general agreement and Guarantee for the mutual protection and security of different Powers, and for re-establishing a general system of public law in Europe.

The first and second objects are stated generally, and in their broadest extent; but neither of them can be properly considered in detail without reference to the nature and extent of the means by which they may be accomplished. The first is certainly that to which, without any modification or exception, his Majesty's wishes, as well as those of the Emperor, would be preferably directed, and nothing short of it can completely satisfy the views which both Sovereigns form for the deliverance and security of Europe. Should it be possible to unite in concert with Great Britain and Russia, the two other great military Powers of the Continent [Austria and Prussia], there seems little doubt that such a union of force would enable them to accomplish all that is proposed. But if (as there is too much reason to imagine may be the case) it should be found impossible to engage Prussia in the Confederacy, it may be doubted whether such operations could be carried on in all the quarters of Europe, as would be necessary for the success of the whole of this project.

The chief points, however, to which His Majesty considers this doubt as applicable, relate to the question of the entire recovery of the [former Austrian] Netherlands [i.e., Belgium] and the countries occupied by France on the left bank of the Rhine. His Majesty considers it essential even on this supposition to include nothing less than the evacuation of the North of Germany and

Italy, the re-establishment of the independence of the United Provinces [Holland] and of Switzerland, the Restoration of the dominions of the King of Sardinia and security of Naples; but on the side of the Netherlands it might perhaps be more prudent in this case to confine the views of the Allies to obtaining some moderate acquisitions for the United Provinces calculated (according to the principle specified under the second head) to form an additional barrier for that country. His Majesty, however, by no means intends to imply if very brilliant and decisive success should be obtained, and the power of France broken and overcome by operations in other quarters, the Allies might not in such a case, extend their views to the recovery of the whole or the greater part of these territories, but, as in the first instance it does not appear possible that they can be reconquered by the operations of the war without the aid of Prussia, His Majesty is inclined to think that this object ought in any Treaty of Concert to be described in such terms as would admit of the modifications here stated.

The second point of itself involves in it many important considerations. The views and sentiments by which His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia are equally animated in endeavouring to establish this concert, are pure and disinterested.

The insular situation and extensive resources of Great Britain, aided by its military exertions and naval superiority, and the immense power, the established Continental ascendancy and remote distance of Russia already give to the territories of the two Sovereigns a security against the attacks of France—even after all her acquisitions of influence, a power and dominion—which cannot be the lot of any other country. They have therefore no separate objects of their own in the arrangements which are in question, no personal interest to consult in this Concert but that which grows out of the general interest and security of Europe, and is inseparably connected with it. Their first view, therefore, with respect to any of the countries which may be recovered from France, must be to restore, as far as possible, their ancient rights, and provide for the internal happiness of their inhabitants; but in looking at this object, they must not lose sight of the general security of Europe, on which even that separate object must principally depend.

Pursuant to this principle, there can be no question that, whenever any of these countries are capable of being restored to their former independence, and of being placed in a situation in which they can protect it, such an arrangement must be most congenial to the policy and the feelings on which this system is founded: but there will be found to be other countries among those now under the dominion of France, to which these considerations cannot apply, where either the ancient relations of the country are so completely destroyed that they cannot be restored, or where independence would be merely nominal and alike inconsistent with the security for the country itself, or for Europe; happily, the larger number is of the first description. Should the arms of the Allies be successful to the full extent of expelling France from all the dominions she has acquired since the Revolution, it would certainly be the first object, as has already been stated, to re-establish the republics of the United Provinces and Switzerland, the territories of the King of Sardinia, Tuscany,

Modena, of the Italian Republic, including the three Legations, Parma, and Placentia; and on the other side of Europe, the Austrian Netherlands, and the States which have been detached from the German [Holy Roman] Empire on the left bank of the Rhine, evidently belong to the second class. With respect to the territories enumerated in Italy, experience has shown how little disposition existed in some, and how little means in any, to resist the aggression or influence of France. The King of Spain was certainly too much a party to the system of which so large a part of Europe has been a victim, to entitle the former interests of his family in Italy to any consideration; nor does the past conduct of Genoa, or any of the other States, give them any claim, either of justice or liberality. It is also obvious that these separate petty sovereignties would never again have any solid existence in themselves, and would only serve to weaken and impair the force which ought to be, as much as possible, concentrated in the hands of the chief Powers of Italy.

It is needless to dwell particularly on the state of the Netherlands. Events have put out of the question the restoration of them to the House of Austria; they are therefore necessarily open to new arrangements, and evidently can never exist separate and independent. Nearly the same considerations apply to the Ecclesiastical Electorates, and the other territories on the left bank of the Rhine, after their being once detached from the Empire, and the former possessors of them indemnified. There appears, therefore, to be no possible objection, on the strictest principles of justice and public morality, to making such a disposition with respect to any of these territories as may be most conducive to the general interests; and there is evidently no other mode of accomplishing the great and beneficent object of re-establishing (after so much misery and bloodshed) the safety and repose of Europe on a solid and permanent basis. It is fortunate too that such a plan of arrangement as in itself essential to the end proposed, is also likely to contribute, in the greatest degree, to secure the means by which that great end can best be promoted.

It is evidently of the utmost importance, if not absolutely indispensable for this purpose, to secure the vigorous and effectual co-operation both of Austria and Prussia; but there is little reason to hope that either of these Powers will be brought to embark in the common cause, without the prospect of obtaining some important acquisition to compensate for its exertions. On the grounds which have been already stated, his Majesty conceives that nothing fresh remains of resisting the views of France on the side of Italy, and placing Prussia in a similar situation with respect to the Low Countries; and the relative situations of the two Powers would naturally make those the quarters to which their views would respectively be directed.

In Italy, sound policy would require, that the power and influence of the King of Sardinia should be augmented, and that Austria should be replaced in a situation which may enable her to afford an immediate and effectual support to his dominions, in case of their being attacked. His Majesty sees with satisfaction, from the secret and confidential communications recently received through your Excellency, that the views of the Court of Vienna are perfectly conformable to this general principle, and that the extension at which she aims, might not only safely be

admitted, but might even be increased, with advantage to the general interest. In other respects His Majesty entirely concurs in the outline of the arrangement which he understands the Emperor of Russia to be desirous of seeing effected in this quarter. His Majesty considers it as absolutely necessary for the general security, that Italy should be completely rescued both from the occupation and influence of France, and that no Powers should be left within it, who are not likely to enter into a general system of defence for maintaining its independence. For this purpose, it is essential that the countries now composing what is called the Italian Republic, should be transferred to other Powers. In distributing these territories, an increase of wealth and power should undoubtedly be given to the King of Sardinia; and it seems material that his possessions, as well as the Duchy of Tuscany (which it is proposed to restore to the Grand Duke), should be brought into immediate contact, or ready communication with those of Austria. On this principle the part of the Milanese to the South West of the Adda, and the whole of the territories which no compose the Ligurian Republic, as well as perhaps Parma and Placentia, might, it is conceived, be annexed to Piedmont.

The Three Legations might in His Majesty's opinion be annexed to the territories of Austria, and the addition which may be made to the acquisitions proposed for that Power, with advantage to the common cause. And the Duchy of Modena, placed as it would be between the new acquisitions of Sardinia and the Duchy of Tuscany (which may be considered under this arrangement as virtually Austrian) might safely be restored to its former possessors.

The observations which have been stated respecting the situation of Sardinia in Italy seem, in a great measure, to apply to that of Holland and Prussia, in relation to the Low Countries; with this difference, however, that the Piedmontese dominions, affording in themselves considerable means of defence, they may be perhaps sufficiently secure in the possession of the King of Sardinia, supported by Austria, whereas the Netherlands being more open and exposed seem scarcely capable of being secured unless by annexing a considerable part of them to Prussia, and placing Holland in a second line of defence. With this view (supposing France to be reduced within its ancient [pre-1792] limits) it might be proposed to annex to the United Provinces, as an additional Barrier, the part of Flanders lying within a military line to be drawn from Antwerp to the Meuse at Maestricht, and the remainder of the [former Austrian] Netherlands, together with the Duchies of Luxembourg and Juliers, and the other territories between the Meuse and the Moselle to Prussia.

His Majesty indeed feels so strongly the importance both of augmenting the inducements to Prussia to take part and of rendering it a powerful and effectual Barrier for the defence not only of Holland but of the North of Germany against France, that he should even consider it as advisable in addition to what has been already proposed, to put into possession of that Power the territories which may be recovered from France on the left bank of the Rhine, eastward of the Moselle, and His Majesty entertains a strong conviction that this arrangement (if it not in other respects be thought liable to insuperable objections) would be infi-

nately more effective for the protection of the North of Europe than any other than can be devised.

His Majesty is, however, aware that great difficulties may arise in regulating the proportionate acquisitions of Austria and Prussia, in such a way as to prevent their being the source of mutual jealousy, and this consideration it is which, amongst others, has operated as a great additional inducement of acquisition for Austria on the side of Italy.

He thinks it also important to remark that the acquisition to be held to Prussia ought not to be measured merely by what would be in itself desirable but by the consideration of what may be necessary to outweigh the temptations which France will not fail to offer to that Power, to secure its co-operation. These will probably be on an extensive scale, and in a quarter much more calculated to produce effects injurious to the interests of Austria and of Russia herself while, on the other hand, if the ambition of Prussia can be gratified in the manner proposed at the expense of France, it will be diverted from the views which it will otherwise form towards the North, the accomplishment of which would tend to increase, to an alarming degree, its influence both in Germany and over the secondary Powers of the Baltic. But, if notwithstanding these powerful considerations, it should still be thought by His Imperial Majesty that the augmentation here proposed to the territories of Prussia is greater than ought to be admitted, His Majesty will, (though not without reluctance) concur in any other arrangement that may be thought preferable by which a larger portion of the [former Austrian] Netherlands may be allotted to the United Provinces [Holland], and the acquisitions of Prussia confined within narrower limits; but he trusts that at any rate, it will not be necessary to reduce them to anything less than the territories on the left bank of the Rhine between the Meuse and the Moselle, and it will in this case, require much consideration, in what hands the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, east of the Moselle can best be placed or whether they may be safely left in the possession of France.

In the event of Prussia not being prevailed upon to enter into the concert, I have already stated His Majesty's conviction, that the views of the Allies on this side of Europe must be more limited; and in that case probably nothing more can be expected than to obtain the complete evacuation of the North of Germany, and the re-establishment of the independence of Holland, together with the Barrier here stated within the line drawn from Antwerp to Maestricht, leaving the other territories on the left bank of the Rhine in the possession of France. . . .

Supposing the efforts of the Allies to have been completely successful, and the two objects already discussed to have been fully obtained, His Majesty would nevertheless consider this salutary work as still imperfect, if the restoration of peace were not accompanied by the most effectual measures for giving solidity and permanence to the system which shall thus have been established. Much will undoubtedly be effected for the future repose of Europe by these territorial arrangements, which will furnish a more effectual barrier than has before existed against the ambition of France. But in order to render this security as complete as possible, it seems necessary, at the period of a general pacification, to form a Treaty to which all the principal Powers of Europe

should be parties, by which their respective rights and possessions, as they then have been established, shall be fixed and recognized; and they should all bind themselves mutually to protect and support each other, against any attempt to infringe them:—It should re-establish a general and comprehensive system of public law in Europe, and provide, as far as possible, for repressing the future attempts to disturb the general tranquillity; and above all, for restraining any projects of aggrandizement and ambition similar to those which have produced all the calamities inflicted on Europe since the disastrous era of the French Revolution.

This Treaty should be put under the special Guarantee of Great Britain and Russia, and the two Powers should by a separate engagement, bind themselves to each other jointly to take an active part in preventing its being infringed. Such a Treaty might also be accompanied by more particular and specific provisions, by which the several Powers of Italy might be united in a closer alliance for their own defence. How far any similar system could be adopted for giving additional security for the Germanic Body is well deserving of consideration. Their present state is certainly very unsatisfactory with a view either to their own immediate interests, or to the safety of Europe. At the same time it appears to His Majesty very doubtful whether from local circumstances and other causes, it would ever be possible to consolidate them into any effectual system. Should this be found to be the case, the evils to be apprehended from their weak and exposed state might (as far as relates to the danger from France) perhaps be remedied by adopting a system (but on a larger scale) similar to that formerly established by the Barrier Treaty for the protection of the Netherlands. It might not be difficult to settle some general plan for maintaining at the joint expense of the different Powers of the Empire, fortresses of sufficient strength, and properly garrisoned, along the course of the Rhine from Basle to Ehrenbreiten, commanding the principal approaches from France to the most exposed parts of Germany, and the military custody of these fortresses (without infringing in other respects on the territorial rights of the Power in whose dominions they might be placed) might be confided to the two great Powers of Germany [Austria and Prussia], according to their respective means of occupying them.

It seems also desirable, in order to give further security to the United Provinces (under any of the arrangements which have already been discussed) that they should be called upon to enter into an engagement jointly with Great Britain and Russia to maintain at all times their army on such a footing as may be thought necessary to provide for their defence against sudden attacks. In addition to this stipulation His Majesty in his Electoral capacity, might perhaps be induced to keep a considerable force (in consequence of arrangements with the British Government) ready to be employed on the first alarm for the defence of the United Provinces; and His Majesty would also be ready to enter into a Concert with other Powers for defraying the expense of maintaining at all times an adequate and effective garrison to consist of German troops for garrisoning any fortresses now existing, or hereafter to be established, on whatever may be the line ultimately fixed as the Dutch frontier.

Having thus stated what more immediately relates to the specific objects of the Concert and of the means to be employed to give effect, there still remains one great and important ques-

tion for consideration, and that is how far, either now or hereafter, the views of the Allies ought to be directed towards the re-establishment of monarchy in France, and the restoration of the Bourbon Family on the throne. His Majesty agrees entirely with the Emperor of Russia in thinking that such a settlement is in itself highly desirable for the future both of France and Europe, and that no fair occasion ought to be neglected of promoting it. But he at the same time thinks, that it ought to be considered only a secondary object in the Concert now to be established and one which could in no case justify the prolongation of the war if a Peace could be obtained on the principles which have been stated. It is one with a view to which no active or decided measures can be taken, unless a series of great and signal successes shall previously have been obtained by the Allies, and a strong and prevailing disposition for the return of the Monarch, shall then manifest itself in the interior of France. In the meantime in order to afford every reasonable chance for the attainment of this object, His Majesty entirely agrees with the Emperor of Russia, that it is highly important that in the conduct of the war, and in the public declarations and language of the Allied Courts, the greatest care should be taken to prevent any apprehension in the minds of any part of the French nation of any design either to dictate to them by force any particular form of government, or to attempt to dismember the ancient territories of France.

Such are the sentiments and observations which His Majesty is desirous of offering to the consideration of the Emperor on the great outlines of the important system which they are equally anxious to establish.

His Majesty will receive with the utmost attention and satisfaction, every fresh communication of the opinion of His Imperial Majesty on all the details connected with so extensive a subject. In the meanwhile from an anxiety to lose no time in laying the foundation of this great work, His Majesty has directed a project to be prepared of a Provisional treaty conformable to the sentiments which appear to be entertained both by the Emperor and himself; and which, if it should meet with His Imperial Majesty's concurrence, he is ready immediately to conclude.

## 8. Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October 1805

Robinson, William. 2002. *Jack Nastyface: Memoirs of an English Seaman*. London: Chatham, 42–63. (Orig. pub. 1836.)

*Trafalgar rightly holds its place amongst the most decisive battles in history. It not only saved Britain from the prospect of Napoleonic invasion, but in leaving the French Navy impotent for many years to come, it set the stage for the long, virtually unchallenged, period of imperial and commercial hegemony that Britain would enjoy during the Victorian era. The following account was written by William Robinson, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Jack Nastyface," and served aboard the 74-gun Revenge.*

During this time each ship was making the usual preparations, such as breaking away the captain and officers' cabins, and sending all the lumber below—the doctors, parson, purser and loblolly men [surgeon's assistants], were also busy, getting the

medicine chests and bandages out; and sails prepared for the wounded to be placed on, that they might be dressed in rotation, as they were taken down to the after cock-pit. In such a bustling, and it may be said, trying as well as serious time, it is curious to notice the different dispositions of the British sailor. Some would be offering a guinea for a glass of grog, whilst others were making a sort of mutual verbal will, such as, if one of Johnny Crapeau's shots (a term given to the French,) knocks my head off, you will take all my effects; and if you are killed, and I am not, why, I will have yours, and this is generally agreed to. During this momentous preparation, the human mind had ample time for meditation and conjecture, for it was evident that the fate of England rested on this battle; therefore well might Lord Nelson make the signal, "England expects each man will do his duty."

Here, if I may be indulged the observation, I will say that, could England but have seen her sons about to attack the enemy on his own coast, within sight of the inhabitants of Spain, with an inferior force, our number of men being not quite twenty thousand, whilst theirs was upwards of thirty thousand; from the zeal which animated every man in the fleet, the bosom of every inhabitant of England would have glowed with an indescribable patriotic pride; for such a number of line-of-battle ships have never met together and engaged, either before or since. As we drew near, we discovered the enemy's line was formed with a Spanish ship between two French ones, nearly all through their line; as I suppose, to make them fight better; and it must be admitted that the Dons [Spanish] fought as well as the French in that battle; and, if praise was due for seamanship and valour, they were well entitled to an equal share. We now began to hear the enemy's cannon opening on the *Royal Sovereign*, commanded by Lord Collingwood, who commenced the action; and, a signal being made by the admiral to some of our senior captains to break the enemy's line at different points, it fell to our lot to cut off the five stern-most ships; and, while we were running down to them, of course we were favoured with several shots, and some of our men were wounded. Upon being thus pressed, many of our men thought it hard that the firing should be all on one side, and became impatient to return the compliment: but our captain had given orders not to fire until we got close in with them, so that all our shots might tell;—indeed, these were his words: "We shall want all our shot when we get close in: never mind their firing: when I fire a carronade from the quarter-deck, that will be a signal for you to begin, and I know you will do your duty as Englishmen." In a few minutes the gun was fired, and our ship bore in and broke the line, but we paid dead for our temerity, as those ships we had thrown into disorder turned round, and made an attempt to board. A Spanish three-decker ran her bowsprit over our poop, with a number of her crew on it, and, in her fore rigging, two or three hundred men were ready to follow; but they caught a Tartar, for their design was discovered, and our marines with their small arms, and the carronades on the poop, loaded with canister shot, swept them off so fast, some into the water, and some on the decks, that they were glad to sheer off. While this was going on aft, we were engaged with a French two-deck ship on our starboard side, and on our larboard bow another, so that many of their shots must have struck their own ships, and done

severe execution. After being engaged about an hour, two other ships fortunately came up, received some of the fire intended for us, and we were now enabled to get at some of the shot-holes between wind and water, and plug them up:—this is the duty performed by the carpenter and his crew. We were now unable to work the ship, our yards, sails, and masts being disabled, and the braces completely shot away. In this condition we lay by the side of the enemy, firing away, and now and then we received a good raking from them, passing under our stern. This was a busy time with us, for we had not only to endeavour to repair our damage, but to keep to our duty. Often during the battle we could not see for the smoke, whether we were firing at a foe or friend, and as to hearing, the noise of the guns had so completely made us deaf, that we were obliged to look only to the motions that were made. In this manner we continued the battle till nearly five o'clock, when it ceased.

It was shortly after made known by one of our boat's crew, that Lord Nelson had received a fatal shot: had this news been communicated through the fleet before the conflict was over, what effect it might have had on the hearts of our seamen I know not, for he was adored, and in fighting under him, every man thought himself sure of success; a momentary but naturally melancholy pause among the survivors of our brave crew ensued.

We were now called to clear the decks, and here might be witnessed an awful and interesting scene, for as each officer and seaman would meet, (oh! what an opportunity for the Christian and man of feeling to meditate on the casualty of fate in this life,) they were inquiring for their mess-mates. Orders were now given to fetch the dead bodies from the after cock-pit, and throw them over-board; these were the bodies of men who were taken down to the doctor during the battle, badly wounded, and who by the time of the engagement was ended were dead. Some of these, perhaps, could not have recovered, while others might, had timely assistance been rendered, which was impossible; for the rule is, as order is requisite, that every person shall be dressed in rotation as they are brought down wounded, and in many instances some have bled to death.

The next call was, "all hands to splice the main brace," which is the giving out a gill of rum to each man, and indeed they much needed it, for they had not ate or drank from breakfast time: we had now a good night's work before us; all our yards, masts, and sails were sadly cut, indeed the whole of the sails were obliged to be unbent, being rendered completely useless, and by the next morning we were partly jury-rigged: we now began to look for our prizes, as it was coming on to blow hard on the land, and Admiral Collingwood made signals for each ship that was able, to take a prize in tow, to prevent them drifting into their own harbour, as they were complete wrecks and unmanageable.

We took an eighty gun Spanish ship in tow for a day and night, but were obliged to cast her off, it blew so hard, and our ship being so very much disabled, indeed we were obliged to scuttle a few of them; some we contrived to take into Gibraltar; some we contrived to take into Gibraltar; some were wrecked near Cadiz harbour; and others drifted into the harbour from whence they had only come out two days before. It was a mortifying sight to witness the ships we had fought so hard for, and had taken as

prizes, driven by the elements from our possession, with some of our own men on board as prize masters, and it was a great blight to our victorious success; but, in justice to the enemy, it may with truth be recorded, that, however contrary to the Spanish character as an enemy generally, yet, upon this occasion, they used our men well.

In order to shew the crippled state in which our ships must have been, it will be requisite to mention that, in preparing to engage the enemy closely, and protect ourselves as much as possible, the seamen's hammocks with the bedding and blankets were lashed to the shrouds, which served much to save our rigging, as was very evident from examination on the second night after the battle; for when our men got their hammocks down, many were found to have received a great deal of damage, being very much cut with the large shot, and some were found to have had grape or canister shot lodged in them. The most destructive shot to us appeared to be the thirty-two pounds double-headed; two of these deafeners we observed to be sticking in our main-mast, which miraculously and fortunately for us, was not carried away,

I will now call the reader's attention to some occurrences during and after the battle, which, although they may not regularly belong to a seaman's log, yet they may be found interesting.

*The advantage of learning to dance*

As we were closely engaged throughout the battle, and the shots were playing their pranks pretty freely, grape as well as canister, with single and double headed thunderers all joining in the frolic; what was termed a *slaughtering one*, came in at one of the lower deck ports, which killed and wounded nearly all at the gun, and amongst them, a very merry little fellow, who was the very life of the ship's company, for he was ever the mirth of his mess, and on whatever duty he might be ordered, his spirits made light the labour. He was the ship's cobbler, and withall a very good dancer; so that when any of his messmates would *sarve* us out a tune, he was sure to trip it on light fantastic toe, and find a step to it. He happened to be stationed at the gun where this messenger of death and destruction entered, and the poor fellow was so completely stunned by the head of another man being knocked against his, that no one doubted but that he was dead. As it is customary to throw overboard those, who, in an engagement are killed outright, the poor cobbler, amongst the rest, was taken to the port-hole to be committed to the deep, without any other ceremony than showing him through the port: but, just as they were about to let him slip from their hands into the water, the blood began to circulate, and he commenced kicking. Upon this sign of returning life, his shipmates soon hauled the poor snob in again, and, though wonderful to relate, he recovered so speedily, that he actually fought the battle out; and, when he was afterwards joked about it, he would say, "it was well that I learned to dance; for if I had not shown you some of my steps, when you were about to throw me overboard, I should not be here now, but safe enough in Davy Jones's Locker."

*The danger of giving too much power into the hands of young officer*

If an officer is of a tyrannical disposition on board a ship, whatever accident may happen to him, he will never receive pity or commiseration from any of the ship's crew;—as, for in-

stance.—We had a mid-shipman on board our ship of a wickedly mischievous disposition, whose sole delight was to insult the feelings of the seamen, and furnish pretexts to get them punished. His conduct made every man's life miserable that happened to be under his orders. He was a youth not more than twelve or thirteen years of age; but I have often seen him get on the carriage of a gun, call a man to him, and kick him about the thighs and body, and with his fist would beat him about the head; and these, although prime seamen, at the same time dared not murmur. It was ordained, however, by Providence, that this reign of terror and severity should not last; for during the engagement, he was killed on the quarter-deck by a grape-shot, his body greatly mutilated, his entrails being driven and scattered against the larboard side; nor were there any lamentation for his fate!—No! for when it was known that he was killed, the general exclamation was, "Thank God, we are rid of the young tyrant!" His death was hailed as the triumph over an enemy. . . .

*The Day after the Battle*

Some of our men were sent on board of the Spanish ship before alluded to, in order to assist at the pumps, for she was much shattered in the hull, between wind and water. The slaughter and havoc our guns had made, rendered the scene of carnage horrid to behold: there were a number of their dead bodies piled up in the hold; many, in a wounded or mutilated state, were found lying amongst them; and those who were so fortunate as to escape our shot, were so dejected and crest-fallen, that they could not, or would not, work at the pumps, and of course the ship was in a sinking state.

The gale at this time was increasing so rapidly, that manning the pumps was of no use, and we were obliged to abandon our prize, taking away with us all our men, and as many of the prisoners as we could. On the last boat's load leaving the ship, the Spaniards who were left on board, appeared on the gangway and ship's side, displaying their bags of dollars and doubloons, and eagerly offering them as reward for saving them from the expected and unavoidable wreck; but, however well inclined we were, it was not in our power to rescue them, or it would have been effected without the proffered bride.

Here a very distressing and affecting scene took place; it was a struggle between inclination and duty. On quitting the ship, our boats were overloaded in endeavouring to save all the lives we could, that it is a miracle they were not upset. A father and his son came down the ship's side to get on board one of our boats; the father had seated himself, but the men in the boat, thinking, from the load and the boisterous weather, that all their lives would be in peril, could not think of taking the boy; as the boat put off, the lad, as though determined not to quit his father, sprung from the ship into the water, and caught hold of the gunwale of the boat; but his attempt was resisted, as it risked all their lives, and some of the men resorted to their cutlasses to cut his fingers off, in order to disentangle the boat from his grasp; at the same time the feelings of the father were so worked upon, that he was about to leap overboard, and perish with his son: Britons could face an enemy, but could not witness such a scene of self-devotion; as it were, a simultaneous thought burst forth from the crew, which said "let us save both father and son, or die in the attempt." The Almighty

aided them in their design; they succeeded, and brought both father and son safe on board of our ship, where they remained, until, with other prisoners, they were exchanged at Gibraltar.

### 9. Admiral Collingwood's Dispatch, 22 October 1805

Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris, ed. 1846. *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. London: Henry Colburn, 7: 212–214.

*With Nelson's death at Trafalgar, command devolved upon Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, who took the opportunity not only to provide a brief account of the action, but also to produce a moving tribute to his fallen superior. Within hours of receiving the dispatch in Whitehall, the Admiralty supplied the text to the press.*

*To William Marsden, Esq. Admiralty.*

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22nd, 1805

Sir,

The ever to be lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the Enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the Commander in Chief from the Ships watching the motions of the Enemy in Cadiz, that the Combined Fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Streights' [of Gibraltar] entrance with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven Ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed by Capt. [Henry] Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching, and giving notice of the enemy's movements, has been highly meritorious,) that they had not yet passed the Streights.

On Monday the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E[ast]. by S[outh]. about seven leagues, the Enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light; the Commander in Chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The Enemy's line consisted of thirty-three Ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral [Pierre de] Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of [Admiral Don Federico] Gravina, wore, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new;—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward – so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate Ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them; and this without crowding their Ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucen-taure* in the centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore Gravina's flag

in the rear; but the French and Spanish Ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of National squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the Flag-officers and Captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

The Commander in Chief in the *Victory* led the weather column; and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee.

The Action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading Ships of the columns breaking through the Enemy's line, the Commander in Chief [Nelson] about the tenth Ship from the van, the Second in Command [Collingwood] about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the Enemy unoccupied; the succeeding Ships breaking through in all parts, a-stern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the muzzles of their guns, the conflict was severe. The Enemy's Ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their Officers, but the attack on them was irresistible; and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant His Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P.M. many of the Enemy's Ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten Ships, joining their Frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost Ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to His Majesty's squadron nineteen Ships of the line, (of which two are first-rates, the *Santissima Trinidad* and the *Santa Anna*.) with three Flag Officers; viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander in Chief; Don Ignatio Maria d'Alava. Vice-Admiral, and the Spanish Rear-Admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several Commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

The *Achille* (a French 74), after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen took fire, and blew up; two hundred of her men were saved by the Tenders.

A circumstance occurred during the Action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their Lordships. The *Temeraire* was boarded by accident, or design, by a French Ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the other: the contest was vigorous; but in the end the Combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a Battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British Navy and the British Nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-Chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his Country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common

race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection;—a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his Lordship received a musket ball in his left breast about the middle of the Action, and sent an Officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired.

I have also to lament the loss of those excellent Officers, Captains Duff of the *Mars* and Cooke of the *Bellerophon*: I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the Action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the Ships.

The *Royal Sovereign* having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the *Euryalus* to me, while the Action continued, which Ship lying within hail, made my signals, a service Captain Blackwood performed with great attention. After the Action I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the Ships, and towed the *Royal Sovereign* out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted; all shattered; in thirteen fathoms of water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the Ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot; but the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the Ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted Ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of His Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.

## 10. Documents concerning the Continental System, 1806–1810

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*The first five (A–E) of these documents demonstrate methods employed to destroy neutral maritime trade during the Anglo-French conflict that formed just one aspect of the Napoleonic Wars. Document F reveals a subsequent adjustment in British policy. Document G illustrates the methods employed by Napoleon in the application of his Continental System. The idea of conquering Britain by destroying her commerce was an old French conception that the Directory had begun to apply. Napoleon resumed the policy on the renewal of the war in 1803, and his measures led to Document A.*

- A. British Note to the Neutral Powers, 16 May 1806
- B. The Berlin Decree, 21 November 1806
- C. British Order in Council, 10 January 1807
- D. British Order in Council, 11 November 1807
- E. The Milan Decree, 17 December 1807
- F. British Order in Council, 26 April 1809
- G. The Rambouillet Decree, 23 March 1810

*A. British Note to the Neutral Powers,  
16 May 1806*

Downing Street [location of the Foreign Office in London]

The undersigned, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [Charles James Fox], has received His Majesty's commands to acquaint Mr. Monroe [the American minister plenipotentiary to Britain], that the King, taking into consideration the new and extraordinary means resorted to by the enemy for the purpose of distressing the commerce of his subjects, has thought fit to direct that the necessary measures should be taken for the blockade of the coast, rivers and ports, from the river Elbe to the port of Brest, both inclusive; and the said coast, rivers and ports are and must be considered as blockaded; but that His Majesty is pleased to declare that such blockade shall not extend to prevent neutral ships and vessels laden with goods not being the property of His Majesty's enemies, and not being contraband of war, from approaching the said coast, and entering into and sailing from the said rivers and ports (save and except the coast, rivers and ports from Ostend to the river Seine, already in a state of strict and rigorous blockade, and which are to be considered as so continued), provided the said ships and vessels so approaching and entering (except as aforesaid), shall not have been laden at any port belonging to or in the possession of any of His Majesty's enemies; and that the said ships and vessels so sailing from said rivers and ports (except as aforesaid) shall not be destined to any port belonging to or in possession of any of His Majesty's enemies, nor have previously broken the blockade.

Mr. Monroe is therefore requested to apprise the American consuls and merchants residing in England, that the coast, rivers and ports above mentioned, must be considered as being in a state of blockade, and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations and the respective treaties between His Majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to vessels attempting to violate the said blockade after this notice.

*The undersigned requests Mr. Monroe, etc.*

*C. J. FOX.*

*B. The Berlin Decree, 21 November 1806*

From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, November 21, 1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in consideration of the fact:

That England does not recognize the system of international law universally observed by all civilized nations.

That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen, and even of commercial agents and of merchants traveling on business.

That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares and to the property of individuals the right of conquest, which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.

That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbors and the mouths of rivers, the right of blockade, which,

in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilized nations, is applicable only to strong places. That she declares places in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place may not be blockaded except it be so completely guarded that no attempt to approach it can be made without imminent danger. That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the continent.

That, since this is the obvious aim of England, whoever deals on the continent in English goods, thereby favors and renders himself an accomplice of her designs.

That this policy of England, worthy of the earliest stages of barbarism, has profited that power to the detriment of every other nation.

That it is a natural right to oppose such arms against an enemy as he makes use of, and to fight in the same way that he fights. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment, due to the civilization among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the Empire until England shall recognize that the law of war is one and the same on land and sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession of arms, and that the right of blockade should be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows:

The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

All commerce and all correspondence with the British Isles are forbidden. Consequently letters or packages directed to England or to an Englishman or written in the English language shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

All warehouses, merchandise or property of whatever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared lawful prize.

Half of the product resulting from the confiscation of the goods and possessions declared a lawful prize by the preceding articles shall be applied to indemnify the merchants for the losses they have experienced by the capture of merchant vessels taken by English cruisers.

No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree shall be received in any port.

Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property.

Our Court of Prizes at Paris shall pronounce final judgment in all cases arising in our Empire or in the countries occupied by the French Army relating to the execution of the present decree. Our Court of Prizes at Milan shall pronounce final judgment in the said cases which may arise within our Kingdom of Italy.

The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the King of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects, like ours, are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of the navy, of finance and of the police and our Directors-General of the port are charged with the execution of the present decree so far as it affects them.

NAPOLÉON.

### *C. British Order in Council, 10 January 1807*

Note communicated by Lord Howick [the Foreign Secretary] to Mr. Monroe [the American minister plenipotentiary to Britain], dated Downing Street, January 10, 1807.

The undersigned, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, has received His Majesty's commands to acquaint Mr. Monroe that the French Government having issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with His Majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of His Majesty's dominions. And the said Government having also taken upon itself to declare all His Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superior valor and discipline of the British navy.

Such attempts, on the part of the enemy, giving to His Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and warranting His Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that Power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of His Majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of His Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous.

His Majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps, on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice. Mr. Monroe is, therefore, requested to apprise the American consuls and merchants residing in England, that His Majesty has, therefore, judged it expe-

dent to order that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of, France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat [sic]; and that the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers have been instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and every vessel after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this His Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. And that, from this time, all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between His Majesty and the different neutral Powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to vessels attempting to violate the said order after this notice.

HOWICK.

### *D. British Order in Council, 11 November 1807*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807: Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas certain orders establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were some time since issued by the Government of France, by which "the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade," thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with His Majesty's dominions:

And, whereas, by the same order, "all trading in English merchandise is prohibited, and every article of merchandise belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:"

And, whereas, the nations in alliance with France, and under her control, were required to give, and have given, and do give, effect to such orders:

And, whereas, His Majesty's order of the 7th of January last has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recall those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose, with effect, to obtain their revocation, but on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased rigor:

And, whereas, His Majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and valor of his people have, under the blessings of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of His Majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such states as still retain their independence, and to the general intercourse and happiness of mankind:

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe,

from which, although not at war with His Majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to His Majesty's enemies, shall, from henceforth, be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereinafter mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandise on board and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured and condemned as a prize to the captors.

But, although His Majesty would be fully justified by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification, yet His Majesty being, nevertheless, desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect His Majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be possible (consistently with that object) still to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply, and even to leave open, for the present, such trade with His Majesty's enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of His Majesty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:

His Majesty is, therefore, pleased further to order and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subjected to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in His Majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade, from such free ports, is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of His Majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in His Majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be lawful to import into such free port; nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall have cleared out under such regulations as His Majesty may think fit to prescribe, and shall be proceeding direct from some port or place in this kingdom, or from Gibraltar, or Malta, or from any port belonging to His Majesty's allies, to the port specified in her clearance; nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to His Majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto; but these exceptions are not to be understood

as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect to having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by His Majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemy's property, or for any other cause than the contravention of his present order.

And the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under His Majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby, instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France or of her allies or of any other country at war with His Majesty or any port or place from which the British flag, as aforesaid, is excluded, or to any colony belonging to His Majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is herein before allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar, or Malta; and any vessel which, after having been so warned or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this His Majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.

And, whereas, countries not engaged in the war have acquiesced in these orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of His Majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those countries have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions by accepting from persons, styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed "certificates of origin," being certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of His Majesty's dominions, or to that effect.

And, whereas, this expedient has been directed by France, and submitted to by such merchants, as part of the new system of warfare directed against the trade of this kingdom, and as the most effectual instrument of accomplishing the same, and it is therefore essentially necessary to resist it.

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that if any vessel, after reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this His Majesty's order, at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the person or persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board.

And the right honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

*E. The Milan Decree, 17 December 1807*

At Our Royal Palace at Milan, December 17, 1807.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. In view of the measures adopted by the British government on the 11th of November last by which vessels belonging to powers which are neutral or are friendly and even allied with England are rendered liable to be searched by British cruisers, detained at certain stations in England, and subject to an arbitrary tax of a certain per cent upon their cargo to be regulated by English legislation.

Considering that by these acts the English government has denationalized the vessels of all the nations of Europe, and that no government may compromise in any degree its independence or its rights—all the rulers of Europe being jointly responsible for the sovereignty and independence of their flags,—and that, if through unpardonable weakness which would be regarded by posterity as an indelible stain, such tyranny should be admitted and become consecrated by custom, the English would take steps to give it the force of law, as they have already taken advantage of the toleration of the governments to establish the infamous principle that the flag does not cover the goods and to give the right of blockade an arbitrary extension which threatens the sovereignty of every state: We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Every vessel of whatever nationality which shall submit to be searched by an English vessel or shall consent to a voyage to England, or shall pay any tax whatever to the English government is *ipso facto* declared denationalized, loses the protection afforded by its flag and becomes English property.

Should such vessels which are thus denationalized through the arbitrary measures of the English government enter our ports or those of our allies or fall into the hands of our ships of war or of our privateers they shall be regarded as good and lawful prizes.

The British Isles are proclaimed to be in a state of blockade both by land and by sea. Every vessel of whatever nation or whatever may be its cargo, that sails from the ports of England or from those of the English colonies or of countries occupied by English troops, or is bound for England or for any of the English colonies or any country occupied by English troops, becomes, by violating the present decree, a lawful prize, and may be captured by our ships of war and adjudged to the captor.

These measures, which are only a just retaliation against the barbarous system adopted by the English government, which models its legislation upon that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect in the case of those nations which shall force the English to respect their flags. They shall continue in force so long as that government shall refuse to accept the principles of international law which regulate the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be *ipso facto* abrogated and void so soon as the English government shall abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are at the same time those of justice and honor.

All our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be printed in the *Bulletin des lois*.

*F. British Order in Council, 26 April 1809*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 26th of April, 1809; Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in council.

Whereas, His Majesty, by his order in council of the 11th of November, 1807, was pleased, for the reasons assigned therein, to order that “all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with His Majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to His Majesty's enemies, should from henceforth be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade or navigation as if the same were actually blockaded in the most strict and vigorous manner; and also to prohibit “all trade in articles which are the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies; “and whereas, His Majesty, having been nevertheless desirous not to subject those countries which were in alliance or amity with His Majesty to any greater inconvenience than was absolutely inseparable from carrying into effect His Majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, did make certain exceptions and modifications expressed in the said order of the 11th of November, and in certain subsequent orders of the 25th of November, declaratory of the aforesaid order of the 11th of November and of the 18th of December, 1807, and of the 30th of March, 1808;

And whereas, in consequence of diverse events which have taken place since the date of the first-mentioned order, affecting the relations between Great Britain and the territories of other Powers, it is expedient that sundry parts and provisions of the said orders should be ordered or revoked;

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to revoke and annul the said several orders, except as hereinafter expressed; and so much of the said orders, except as aforesaid, is hereby revoked accordingly. And His Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places as far north as the river Ems, inclusively, under the government styling itself the Kingdom of Holland, and all ports and places under the Government of France, together with the colonies, plantations, and settlements in the possession of those Governments, respectively, and all ports and places in the northern parts of Italy, to be reckoned from the ports of Orbitello and Pesaro, inclusively, shall continue, and be subject to the same restrictions, in point of trade and navigation, without any exception, as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces in the most strict and rigorous manner; and that every vessel trading from and to the said countries or colonies, plantations or settlements, together with all goods and merchandise on board, shall be condemned as prize to the captors.

And His Majesty is further pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that this order shall have effect from the day of the date thereof with respect to any ship, together with its cargo, which may be captured subsequent to such day, on any voyage which is and shall be rendered legal by this order, although such voyage, at the time of the commencement of the same, was unlawful, and prohibited under the said former orders; and such ships, upon

being brought in, shall be released accordingly; and with respect to all ships, together with their cargoes, which may be captured in any voyage which was permitted under the exceptions of the orders above mentioned, but which is not permitted according to the provisions of this order, His Majesty is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered that such ships and their cargoes shall not be liable to condemnation, unless they shall have received actual notice of the present order, as were allowed for constructive notice in the orders of the 25th of November, 1807, and the 18th of May, 1808, at the several places and latitudes therein specified.

And the right honorable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Judges of the Courts of Vice-admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

*Stephen Cottrell.*

### *G. The Rambouillet Decree, 23 March 1810*

[The Emperor] Napoleon . . . considering that the Government of the United States, by an act dated March 1, 1809, which forbids the entrance of the ports, harbors and rivers of the said States to all French vessels, orders:

1st. That, dating from the 20th of May following, the vessels under the French flag which shall arrive in the United States shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes;

2d. That, after the same date no merchandise and productions coming from the soil or manufactures of France or of its colonies can be imported into the said United States, from any port or foreign place whatsoever, under penalty of seizure, confiscation and fine of three times the value of the merchandise;

3d. That American vessels cannot repair to any port of France, its colonies or dependencies;

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

That all vessels navigating under the flag of the United States, or possessed in whole or in part by any citizen or subject of that Power, which, dating from May 20, 1809, may have entered or shall enter into the ports of our Empire, our colonies or the countries occupied by our armies, shall be seized, and the products of the sales shall be deposited in the surplus fund.

Vessels which may be charged with despatches or commissions of Government of the said States and which have not cargo or merchandise on board are excepted from this provision.

Our grand judge, minister of justice, and our minister of finance, are charged with the execution of the present decree.

## **11. Documents concerning the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806**

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*The destruction of the Holy Roman Empire, begun by the terms of the treaties of Basle (1795) and Campo Formio (1797), was finally*

*completed by the organization of the Confederation of the Rhine (1806), which survived until the Allies defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813.*

- A. Treaty for Establishing the Confederation, 12 July 1806
- B. Note of Napoleon to the Diet, 1 August 1806
- C. Declaration of the Confederated States, 1 August 1806
- D. Abdication of Francis II, 7 August 1806; in *Le Moniteur*, 14 August 1806

### *A. Treaty for Establishing the Confederation, 12 July 1806*

His Majesty the Emperor of the French [Napoleon I], King of Italy, on the one part, and on the other part their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and of Württemberg and Their Serene Highnesses the Electors, the Archchancellor of Baden, the Duke of Berg and of Cleves, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau-Usingen and Nassau-Weilburg, the Princes of Hohenzollern-Heckingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the Princes of Salm-Salm and Salm-Kirburg, the Prince of Isneburg-Birstein, the Duke of Aremberg and the Prince of Lichenstein, and the Count of Leyen, wishing, by suitable stipulations, to assure the internal peace of the south of Germany, for which experience for a long time past and quite recently still more has shown that the Germanic Constitution can no longer offer any sort of guarantee. . . .

The States of . . . [names of the parties of the second part] shall be forever separated from the territory of the Germanic [Holy Roman] Empire and united among themselves by a separate Confederation, under the name of the Confederated States of the Rhine.

. . . .

Each of the Kings and Confederated Princes shall renounce those of his titles which express any relations with the Germanic Empire; and on the 1st of August next he shall cause the Diet to be notified of his separation from the Empire.

His Serene Highness the Archchancellor shall take the titles of Prince Primate and Most Eminent Highness. The title of Prince Primate does not carry with it any prerogative contrary to the plenitude of sovereignty which each of the Confederates shall enjoy.

. . . .

The common interests of the Confederated States shall be dealt with in a Diet, of which the seat shall be at Frankfort, and which shall be divided into two Colleges, to wit: the College of Kings and the College of Princes.

. . . .

His Majesty the Emperor of the French shall be proclaimed Protector of the Confederation, and in that capacity, upon the decease of each Prince Primate, he shall appoint the successor of that one.

. . . .

There shall be between the French Empire and the Confederated States of the Rhine, collectively and separately, an alliance

in virtue of which every continental war which one of the High Contracting Parties may have to carry on shall immediately become common to all the others.

....  
The contingent to be furnished by each of the Allies in case of war is as follows: France shall furnish 200,000 men of all arms; the Kingdom of Bavaria 30,000 men of all arms; the Kingdom of Württemberg 12,000; the Grand Duke of Baden 8,000; the Grand Duke of Berg 5,000; the Grand Duke of Darmstadt 4,000; Their Serene Highnesses the Dukes and the Prince of Nassau, together with the other Confederated Princes, shall furnish a contingent of 4,000 men.

The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the admission at a later time into the new Confederation of other Princes and States of Germany whom it shall be found for the common interest to admit thereto.

### *B. Note of Napoleon to the Diet, 1 August 1806*

The undersigned, *charge d'affaires* of His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy at the general Diet of the German Empire, has received orders from His Majesty to make the following declarations to the diet:

Their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and of Württemberg, the Sovereign Princes of Regensburg, Baden, Berg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau, as well as the other leading princes of the south and west of Germany have resolved to form a confederation between themselves which shall secure them against future emergencies, and have thus ceased to be states of the Empire.

The position in which the Treaty of Pressburg has explicitly placed the courts allied to France, and indirectly those princes whose territory they border or surround, being incompatible with the existence of an empire, it becomes a necessity for those rulers to reorganize their relations upon a new system and to remove a contradiction which could not fail to be a permanent source of agitation, disquiet and danger.

France on the other hand, is directly interested in the maintenance of peace in Southern Germany and yet must apprehend that, the moment she shall cause her troops to recross the Rhine, discord, the inevitable consequence of contradictory, uncertain and ill-defined conditions, will again disturb the peace of the people and reopen, possibly, the war on the continent. Feeling it incumbent upon her to advance the welfare of her allies and to assure them the enjoyment of all the advantages which the Treaty of Pressburg secures them and to which she is pledged, France cannot but regard the confederation that they have formed as a natural result and a necessary sequel to that treaty.

For a long period successive changes have, from century to century, reduced the German constitution to a shadow of its former self. Time has altered all the relations in respect to size and importance which originally existed among the various members of the confederation, both as regards each other and the whole of which they have formed a part.

The Diet has no longer a will of its own. The sentences of the superior courts can no longer be executed. Everything indicates such serious weakness that the federal bond no longer offers any

protection whatever and only constitutes a source of dissension and discord between the powers. The results of three coalitions have increased this weakness to the last degree. An electorate has been suppressed by the annexation of Hanover to Prussia. A king in the north has incorporated with his other lands a province of the Empire. The Treaty of Pressburg assures complete sovereignty to their majesties the Kings of Bavaria and of Württemberg and to His Highness the Elector of Baden. This is a prerogative which the other electors will doubtless demand, and which they are justified in demanding; but this is in harmony neither with the letter nor the spirit of the constitution of the Empire.

His Majesty the Emperor and King is, therefore, compelled to declare that he can no longer acknowledge the existence of the German Constitution, recognizing, however, the entire and absolute sovereignty of each of the princes whose states compose Germany today, maintaining with them the same relations as with the other independent powers of Europe.

His Majesty the Emperor and King has accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He has done this with a view only to peace, and in order that by his constant mediation between the weak and the powerful be may obviate every species of dissension and disorder.

Having thus provided for the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors, and having assured, so far as in him lay, the future peace of Europe and that of Germany in particular, heretofore constantly the theatre of war, by removing a contradiction which placed people and princes alike under the delusive protection of a system contrary both to their political interests and to their treaties, His Majesty the Emperor and King trusts that the nations of Europe will at last close their ears to the insinuations of those who would maintain an eternal war upon the continent. He trusts that the French armies which have crossed the Rhine have done so for the last time, and that the people of Germany will no longer witness, except in the annals of the past, the horrible pictures of disorder, devastation and slaughter which war invariably brings with it.

His Majesty declared that he would never extend the limits of France beyond the Rhine, and he has been faithful to his promise. At present his sole desire is so to employ the means which Providence has confided to him as to free the seas, restore the liberty of commerce and thus assure the peace and happiness of the world.

*[signed] BACHER. Regensburg, August 1, 1806*

### *C. Declaration of the Confederated States, 1 August 1806*

The undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary to the General Diet of the Germanic Empire, have received orders to communicate to Your Excellencies, in the name of their most high Principals, the following declaration:

The events of the last three wars which almost without interruption have disturbed the repose of Germany, and the political changes which have resulted therefrom, have put in broad daylight the sad truth that the bond which ought to unite the different Members of the Germanic Body is no longer sufficient for

that purpose, or rather that it is already broken in fact; the feeling of this truth has been already a long time in the hearts of all Germans; and however painful may have been the experience of latter years, it has in reality served only to put beyond doubt the senility of a constitution respectable in its origin, but become defective through the instability inherent in all human institutions; Doubtless it is to that instability alone that the scission which was effected in the Empire in 1795 [Prussia's separate peace with France by the Treaty of Basle, 5 April] must be attributed, and which had for result the separation of the interests of the North from those of the South of Germany. From that moment all idea of a fatherland and of common interests was of necessity bound to disappear; the words *war of the Empire* and *peace of the Empire* became devoid of meaning; one sought in vain for Germany in the midst of the Germanic Body; The Princes who bordered upon France; left to themselves and exposed to all the evils of a war to which they could not seek to put an end by constitutional means, saw themselves forced to free themselves from the common bond by separate peace arrangements.

The Treaty of Lunéville [8 February 1801], and still more the *Recez* of the Empire [Imperial Recess] of 1803, should no doubt have appeared sufficient to give new life to the Germanic Constitution, by causing the feeble parts of the system to disappear and by consolidating its principal supports. But the events which have occurred in the last six months; under the eyes of the entire Empire, have destroyed that hope also and have again put beyond doubt the complete insufficiency of the existing Constitution. The urgency of these important considerations has determined the Sovereigns and Princes of the South and West of Germany to form a new Confederation suited to the circumstances of the time. In freeing themselves, by this declaration, from the bonds which have united them up to the present with the Germanic Empire, they are only following the systems established by anterior facts, and even by the declarations of the leading States of the Empire. It is true, they might have preserved the empty shadow of an extinct constitution; but they have believed that it was more in conformity with their dignity and with the purity of their intentions to make frank and open declaration of their resolution and of the motives which have influenced them.

Moreover, they would flatter themselves in vain upon attaining the desired aim, if they were not at the same time assured of a powerful protection. The Monarch whose views are always found to be in conformity with the true interests of Germany charges himself with that protection. A guarantee so powerful is tranquilizing under a double aspect. It offers the assurance that His Majesty the Emperor of the French [Napoleon I] will have at heart, as well for the interest of his glory as for the advantage of his own French Empire, the maintenance of the new order of things and the consolidation of the internal and external tranquility. That precious tranquility is the principal object of the Confederation of the Rhine, of which the Co-States of the sovereigns in whose name the present declaration is made will see the proof in the opportunity which is left to each of them to accede to it, if his position makes it desirable for him to do so.

*In discharging this duty, we have the honor to be, . . .*  
[Signed by the representatives of thirteen sovereigns.]

*D. Abdication of Francis II, 7 August 1806; in  
Le Moniteur, 14 August 1806*

We, Francis the Second, by the Grace of God Roman Emperor Elect, Ever August, Hereditary Emperor of Austria; etc., King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Galizia, Lodomeria and Jerusalem; Archduke of Austria, etc.

Since the peace of Pressburg [26 December 1805] all our care and attention has been directed towards the scrupulous fulfillment of all engagements contracted by the said treaty, as well as the preservation of peace so essential to the happiness of our subjects, and the strengthening in every way of the friendly relations which have been happily reestablished. We could but await the outcome of events in order to determine whether the important changes in the German [Holy Roman] Empire resulting from the terms of the peace would allow us to fulfill the weighty duties which, in view of the conditions of our election, devolve upon us as the head of the Empire. But the results of certain articles of the Treaty of Pressburg, which showed themselves immediately after and since its publication, as well as the events which, as is generally known, have taken place in the German Empire, have convinced us that it would be impossible under these circumstances farther to fulfill the duties which we assumed by the conditions of our election. Even if the prompt readjustment of existing political complications might produce an alteration in the existing conditions, the convention signed at Paris, July 12th, and approved later by the contracting parties, providing for the complete separation of several important states of the Empire and their union into a separate confederation, would entirely destroy any such hope.

Thus, convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of our imperial office, we owe it to our principles and to our honor to renounce a crown which could only retain any value in our eyes so long as we were in a position to justify the confidence reposed in us by the electors, princes, estates and other members of the German Empire, and to fulfill the duties devolving upon us.

We proclaim, accordingly, that we consider the ties which have hitherto united us to the body politic of the German Empire as hereby dissolved; that we regard the office and dignity of the imperial headship as extinguished by the formation of a separate union of the Rhenish States, and regard ourselves as thereby freed from all our obligations toward the German Empire; herewith laying down the imperial crown which is associated with these obligations, and relinquishing the imperial government which we have hitherto conducted.

We free at the same time the electors, princes and estates and all others belonging to the Empire, particularly the members of the supreme imperial courts and other magistrates of the Empire, from the duties constitutionally due to us as the lawful head of the Empire. Conversely, we free all our German provinces and imperial lands from all their obligations of whatever kind, towards the German Empire.

In uniting these, as Emperor of Austria, with the whole body of the Austrian state we shall strive, with the restored and existing peaceful relations with all the powers and neighboring states, to raise them to the height of prosperity and happiness, which is our keenest desire, and the aim of our constant and sincerest efforts.

Done at our capital and royal residence, Vienna, August 6, 1806, in the fifteenth year of our reign as Emperor and hereditary ruler of the Austrian lands.

[signed] FRANCIS.

## 12. Documents concerning the Peace of Tilsit, 1807–1808

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*By the Peace of Tilsit—one of the fundamentally important treaties of the whole era—France broke up the Fourth Coalition, based principally around the cooperation of Russia and Prussia, leaving herself at peace save with Britain. The first three of these documents show the arrangements made at Tilsit as the basis for continental peace. Document D shows the manner in which certain of the provisions in document C were finally carried out. Among the numerous features that call for notice are: (1) the character of the alliance made between Russia and France; (2) the recent changes in Europe effected by Napoleon and sanctioned by these treaties; and (3) the humiliation of Prussia through the loss of territory, the payment of a heavy indemnity, and the reduction of its army, among other harsh terms.*

- A. Treaty of Peace between France and Russia, 7 July 1807
- B. Secret Treaty of Alliance between France and Russia, 7 July 1807
- C. Treaty of Peace between France and Prussia, 9 July 1807
- D. Treaty between France and Prussia, 8 September 1808

### A. Treaty of Peace between France and Russia, 7 July 1807

His Majesty the Emperor of the French [Napoleon I], King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias [Alexander I], being prompted by an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war. . . .

. . . .  
There shall be, dating from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, perfect peace and amity between His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

. . . .  
His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, out of regard for His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and wishing to give a proof of his sincere desire to unite the two nations by the bonds of an unalterable confidence and friendship, consents to restore to His Majesty the King of Prussia [Frederick William III], the ally of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, all the conquered countries, cities and territories denominated hereinafter, to wit: . . . [The omitted passage is practically identical with article 2 of document C.]

The provinces which on the 1st of January, 1772, made up part of the former Kingdom of Poland and which have since passed at different times under Prussian domination, with the ex-

ception of the countries that are named or designated in the preceding article and of those specified in Article 9 hereinafter, shall be possessed in complete ownership and sovereignty by His Majesty the King of Saxony [Frederick Augustus I], under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed by constitutions which, while assuring the liberties and privileges of the peoples of this Duchy, are consistent with the tranquility of the neighboring States.

The city of Danzig, with a territory of two leagues radius from its circumference, shall be re-established in its independence, under the protection of His Majesty the King of Prussia and His Majesty the King of Saxony and shall be governed by the laws which governed it at the time when it ceased to govern itself.

. . . .

Their Serene Highnesses the Dukes of Saxe-Coburg Oldenburg, and Mecklinburg [Mecklenburg]-Schwerin shall each be replaced in the complete and peaceable possession of his States; but the ports of the Duchies of Oldenburg and Mecklinburg shall continue to be occupied by French garrisons until the exchange of the ratifications of the future definitive treaty of peace between France and England.

His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon accepts the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, upon the supposition that this mediation will also be accepted by England, one month after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

On his side, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to prove how much he desires to establish the most intimate and enduring relations between the two Empires, recognizes His Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, and His Majesty the King of Holland, Louis Napoleon.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias likewise recognizes the Confederation of the Rhine, the actual state of possession of each of the Sovereigns who compose it, and the titles given to several of them, whether by the Act of Confederation or by the subsequent treaties of accession. His said Majesty promises to recognize, upon the notifications which shall be made to him on the part of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, the Sovereigns who shall subsequently become members of the Confederation, in the capacity which shall be given them in the documents which shall bring about their entrance to it.

. . . .

The present treaty of peace and amity is declared common to their Majesties the Kings of Naples and of Holland, and to the Confederated Sovereigns of the Rhine, Allies of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias also recognizes His Imperial Highness, Prince Jerome Bonaparte, as King of Westphalia.

The Kingdom of Westphalia shall be composed of the provinces on the left of the Elbe ceded by His Majesty the King of Prussia and of other States actually possessed by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias promises to recognize the arrangement which, in consequence of Article 19

above and of the cessions of His Majesty the King of Prussia, shall be made by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon (which shall be announced to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias) and the resulting state of possession for the Sovereigns for whose profit it shall have been made.

....

The Russian troops shall retire from the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia [now Romania], but the said provinces can be occupied by the troops of His Highness until the exchange of the ratifications of the future definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte [the Ottoman Empire].

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias accepts the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a peace advantageous and honorable to the two Empires. The respective Plenipotentiaries shall repair to the place which the interested parties shall have agreed upon in order to open and to pursue the negotiations.

...

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias mutually guarantee the integrity of their possessions and those of the Powers included in the present treaty of peace, such as they now are or shall be in consequence of the above stipulations.

....

The ceremonial of the two Courts of the Tuileries and of Saint Petersburg between themselves and with respect to the Ambassadors, Ministers and Envoys whom they shall accredit to each other shall be established upon the principle of a perfect reciprocity and equality.

SEPARATE AND SECRET ARTICLES.

....

The Seven [Ionian] Islands shall be possessed in complete proprietorship and sovereignty by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

....

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to recognize His Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, as King of Sicily as soon as King Ferdinand IV shall have an indemnity such as the Balearic islands or the island of Candia [Crete], or any other of like value.

If, at the time of the future peace with England, Hanover should come to be united with the Kingdom of Westphalia, a territory formed from the countries ceded by His Majesty the King of Prussia upon the left bank of the river Elbe, and having a population of from three to four hundred thousand souls, shall cease to make part of that Kingdom and shall be retroceded to Prussia.

*B. Secret Treaty of Alliance between France and Russia, 7 July 1807*

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine [Napoleon I], and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias [Alexander I], having particularly at heart to re-establish the general peace in Europe upon substantial

and, if it be possible, immovable foundations, have for that purpose resolved to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance. . . .

....

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, undertake to make common cause, whether by land or by sea, or indeed by land and by sea, in every war which France or Russia may be under the necessity of undertaking against any European Power.

The occasion for the alliance occurring, and each time that it shall occur, the High Contracting Parties shall regulate, by a special convention, the forces which each of them shall employ against the common enemy, and the points at which these forces shall act; but for the present they undertake to employ, if the circumstances require it, the totality of their land and sea forces.

All the operations of the common wars shall be carried on in concert, and neither of the Contracting Parties in any case can treat for peace without the concurrence and consent of the other.

If England does not accept the mediation of Russia or if having accepted it she does not by the first of November next consent to conclude peace, recognizing therein that the flags of all the Powers shall enjoy an equal and perfect independence upon the seas and restoring therein the conquests made by it from France and its Allies since the year eighteen hundred and five, when Russia made common cause with it, a note shall be sent to the cabinet of St. James [the British government] in the course of the said month of November by the Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. This note, expressing the interest that his said Imperial Majesty takes in the tranquility of the world and the purpose which he has of employing all the forces of his Empire to procure for humanity the blessing of peace, shall contain the positive and explicit declaration that, upon the refusal of England to conclude peace upon the aforesaid conditions, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias will make common cause with France, and, in case the Cabinet of St. James shall not have given upon the 1st of December next a categorical and satisfactory reply, the Ambassador of Russia shall receive the contingent order to demand his passports on the said day and to leave England at once.

If the case provided for by the preceding article occurs, the High Contracting Parties shall act in concert and at the same moment summon the three courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Lisbon to close their ports to the English, to recall their Ambassadors from London, and to declare war upon England. That one of the three Courts which refuses this shall be treated as an enemy by the two High Contracting Parties, and, if Sweden refuses it, Denmark shall be constrained to declare war upon it.

The two High Contracting Parties shall likewise act in concert and shall urge with force upon the Court of Vienna that it adopt the principles set forth in article four above, that it close its ports to the English, recall its Ambassador from London and declare war on England.

If, on the contrary, within the period specified above, England makes peace upon the aforesaid conditions [and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias shall employ all his influence to bring it about], Hanover shall be restored to the King of England [George III] in compensation for the French, Spanish and Dutch colonies.

Likewise, if in consequence of the changes which have just occurred at Constantinople, the Porte should not accept the mediation of France [to bring about peace between Russia and Turkey, at war since 1806], or if after it has been accepted it should happen that, within the period of three months after the opening of the negotiations, they have not led to a satisfactory result, France will make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, and the two High Contracting Parties shall come to an agreement to remove all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the city of Constantinople and the Province of Roumalia excepted, from the yoke and the vexations of the Turks.

The present treaty shall remain secret and shall not be made public nor communicated to any Cabinet by one of the two Contracting Parties without the consent of the other. It shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof exchanged at Tilsit within the space of four days.

*Done at Tilsit, July 7, 1807*

### *C. Treaty of Peace between France and Prussia, 9 July 1807*

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine [Napoleon I], and His Majesty the King of Prussia [Frederick William III], being prompted by an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war. . . .

There shall be, dating from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, perfect peace and amity between His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy; and His Majesty the King of Prussia.

The portion of the Duchy of Magdeburg situated to the right of the Elbe; the Mark of Prignitz, the Unker-Mark, the middle and the new Mark of Brandenburg, with the exception of the Cotbuser-Kreis or circle of Cotbus in lower Lusace; the duchy of Pomerania; upper, lower and middle Silesia, with the county of Glatz; the portion of the district of Netze situated to the north of the causeway running from Driesen to Schneidemühl and of a line running from Schneidemühl to the Vistula at Waldau, following the limits of the circle of Bromberg; Pomerellen; the island of Nogat; the countries to the right of Nogat and the Vistula, to the east of Old Prussia and to the north of the circle of Kuhl; Ermeland; and, lastly, the Kingdom of Prussia, such as it was on January 1, 1772, shall be restored to His Majesty the King of Prussia, with the places of Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin, Glogau, Braslan, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Brieg, Kosel, and Glatz, and generally all the places, citadels, chateaux, and strongholds of the countries denominated above in the condition in which the said places, citadels, chateaux and strongholds now are. The cities and citadels of Graudenz, with the villages of Neudorf, Parschken and Swirkorzy, shall also be restored to His Majesty the King of Prussia.

His Majesty the King of Prussia recognizes His Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon; and His Majesty the King of Holland, Louis Napoleon.

His Majesty the King of Prussia likewise recognizes the Confederation of the Rhine, the actual state of possession of each of the sovereigns who compose it, and the titles given to several of

them, whether by the Act of Confederation or by the subsequent treaties of accession. His Majesty promises to recognize the Sovereigns who shall subsequently become members of the said Confederation, in the capacity which shall be given them by the documents which shall bring about their entrance to it.

The present Treaty of peace and amity is declared common to His Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, to His Majesty the King of Holland, and the Confederated Sovereigns of the Rhine; allies of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

His Majesty the King of Prussia likewise recognizes His Imperial Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon as King of Westphalia.

His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes in complete ownership and sovereignty to the Kings, Grand Dukes, Dukes or Princes who shall be designated by His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, all the Duchies, Marquisdoms, Principalities, Counties, Lordships and generally all the territories or parts of any territories, as well as all the domains and landed estates of every nature which His Said Majesty the King of Prussia possessed by any title whatsoever between the Rhine and the Elbe at the commencement of the present war.

The Kingdom of Westphalia shall be composed of provinces ceded by His Majesty the King of Prussia and of other States actually possessed by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

The disposition which shall be made by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon of the countries designated in the two preceding articles and the state of possession resulting therefrom to the Sovereigns for whose profit it shall have been made, shall be recognized by His Majesty the King of Prussia, in the same manner as if it were already effected and were contained in the present Treaty.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, for himself, his heirs and successors, renounces all present or contingent right which he can have or lay claim to: 1st. Upon all the territories, without exception, situated between the Rhine and the Elbe other than those designated in article 7; 2d. Upon those of the possessions of His Majesty the King of Saxony [Frederick Augustus I] and of the House of Anhalt which are upon the right of the Elbe; reciprocally, every present or contingent right and every claim of the States included between the Elbe and the Rhine upon the possessions of His Majesty the King of Prussia, as they shall be in consequence of the present Treaty, are and shall remain forever extinguished.

All Agreements, Conventions or Treaties of Alliance, open or secret, which may have been concluded between Prussia and any of the states situated to the left of the Elbe, and which the present war shall not have dissolved, shall remain without effect and shall be regarded as null and void.

His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes in complete ownership and sovereignty to His Majesty the King of Saxony the Cotbuser-Kreis or Circle of Cotbus in lower Lusatia.

His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in perpetuity the possession of all the provinces which, having belonged to the Kingdom of Poland subsequent to the 1st of January, 1807, have passed at various times under the domination of Prussia, with the exception of Ermeland and the countries situated to the west of old Prussia, to the east of Pomerania and the new Mark, to the north of the circle of Kuhl and of a line running from the Vistula

to Schneidemühl through Waldau, following the limits of the circle of Bomberg and of the causeway running from Schneidemühl to Drisen, which, with the city and citadel of Graudenz and the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Swierkorzy, shall continue to be possessed in complete ownership and sovereignty by His Majesty the King of Prussia.

His Majesty the King of Prussia likewise renounces in perpetuity the possession of Dantzig.

The Provinces which His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces by Article 13 above (with the exception of the territory specified in Article 18 above) shall be possessed in complete ownership and sovereignty by His Majesty the King of Saxony, under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed by constitutions which, while assuring the liberties and privileges of the peoples of this duchy, are consistent with the tranquility of the neighboring States.

....

The city of Dantzig, with a territory of two leagues radius from its circumference, shall be re-established in its independence, under the protection of His Majesty the King of Prussia and of His Majesty the King of Saxony and shall be governed by the laws which governed it at the time when it ceased to govern itself.

....

The city, port and territory of Dantzig, shall be closed during the continuance of the present maritime war to the commerce and navigation of the English.

....

Until the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the future definitive Treaty of peace between France and England, all the countries under the domination of His Majesty the King of Prussia, without exception, shall be closed to the navigation and commerce of the English. No shipment can be made from Prussian ports for the British islands, nor can any vessel coming from England or its colonies be received in the said ports.

....

#### SECRET ARTICLES

....

His Majesty the King of Prussia engages to make common cause with France against England, if, on the 1st of December, England has not consented to conclude a peace upon conditions reciprocally honorable to the two nations and conformable to the true principles of maritime law; in such case, there shall be a special convention made to regulate the execution of the above stipulation.

#### *D. Treaty between France and Prussia, 8 September 1808*

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine [Napoleon I] and His Majesty the King of Prussia [Frederick William III], wishing to remove the difficulties which have occurred in the execution of the treaty of Tilsit, . . .

The amount of the sums due from the Prussian States to the French army, as well for extraordinary contribution as for arrears

of revenues, is fixed at 140 million francs; and by means of the payment of the said sum, every claim of France upon Prussia, on the ground of war contributions, shall be extinguished. This sum of 140 millions shall be deposited within twenty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty in the counting house of the Receiver General of the army, to wit: half in ready money or in good and acceptable bills of exchange, payable at the rate of 6 millions per month dating from the day of the exchange of the ratifications and the payment of which shall be guaranteed by the Prussian treasury. The other half [shall be] in land notes of privileged mortgage upon the royal domains, which shall be reimbursable within the space of from one year to eighteen months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

....

The places of Glogau, Stettin and Custrin shall remain in the power of the French army until the entire discharge of the hills of exchange and the land notes given in payment of the contribution mentioned in the first article. . . .

....

His Majesty the Emperor and King guarantees to His Majesty the King of Prussia the integrity of his territory, on condition that His Majesty the King of Prussia remains the faithful ally of France.

His Majesty the King of Prussia recognizes as King of Spain and of the Indies His Majesty Joseph—Napoleon [Joseph Bonaparte], and as King of the Two Sicilies His Majesty Joachim—Napoleon [Joachim Murat].

#### SEPARATE ARTICLES

His Majesty the King of Prussia, wishing to avoid everything which can give umbrage to France, makes engagement to maintain for ten years, dating from January 1, 1809, only the number of troops specified below, to wit:

10 Regiments of infantry, forming at most an effective [force] of	22,000 men
8 Regiments of cavalry or 32 squadrons forming at most an effective [force] of	8,000 men
A Corps of artillerymen, miners and sappers, at most of	6,000 men
Not included the Guard of the King estimated, infantry and cavalry, at most	6,000 men
TOTAL:	42,000 men

At the expiration of the ten years, His Majesty the King of Prussia shall re-enter into the common right and shall maintain the number of troops which shall seem to him suitable, according to circumstances.

During these ten years there shall not be any extraordinary levy of militia or of citizen guards, nor any mustering that tends to augment the forces above specified.

....

In return for the guarantee stipulated in the Treaty of this day, and as security of the alliance contracted with France, His Majesty the King of Prussia promises to make common cause

with His Majesty the Emperor of the French if war comes to be declared between him and Austria, and in that case, to place at his disposal a division of 16,000 men, infantry as well as cavalry and artillery.

The present engagement shall continue for ten years. Nevertheless, the King of Prussia, not having been able yet to form his military establishment, shall not be held for any contingent during the present year, and shall be bound to furnish in the year 1809, if war should break out, which the present amicable relations between France and Austria in no wise give occasion to fear, only a contingent of 12,000 men, infantry as well as cavalry.

### 13. Encounter between the frigates HMS *Macedonian* and USS *United States*, 25 October 1812

Leech, Samuel. 1999. *A Voice from the Main Deck: Being a Record of the Thirty Years Adventures of Samuel Leech*. London: Chatham Publishing, 69–77. (Orig. pub. 1857.)

*Very few firsthand accounts of the naval actions of this period exist, largely the consequence of the poor state of literacy among a ship's company. The reminiscences of Samuel Leech, a seaman aboard the British frigate Macedonian, stand as particularly insightful and entertaining.*

At Plymouth we heard some vague rumours of a declaration of war against America. More than this, we could not learn, since the utmost care was taken to prevent our being fully informed. The reason of this secrecy was, probably, because we had several Americans in our crew, most of whom were pressed men, as before stated. These men, had they been certain that war had broken out, would have given themselves up as prisoners of war, and claimed exemption from that unjust service, which compelled them to act with the enemies of their country. This was a privilege which the magnanimity of our officers ought to have offered them. They had already perpetrated a grievous wrong upon them in impressing them; it was adding cruelty to injustice, to compel their service in a war against their own nation. But the difficulty with naval officers is, that they do not treat with a sailor as with a man. They know what is fitting between each other as officers; but they treat their crews on another principle; they are apt to look at them as pieces of living mechanism, born to serve, to obey their orders, and administer to their wishes without complaint. This is alike a bad morality and a bad philosophy. There is often more real manhood in the forecastle [i.e., among the ordinary seamen] than in the ward-room [i.e., among the officers]; and until the common sailor is treated as a man, until every feeling of human nature is conceded to him in naval discipline – perfect, rational subordination will never be attained in ships of war, or in merchant vessels. It is needless to tell of an intellectual degradation of the mass of seamen. “A man’s man for a’ that;” and it is this very system of discipline, this treating them as automatons, which keeps them degraded. When will human nature put more confidence in itself?

Leaving Portsmouth, we next anchored, for a brief space, at Torbay, a small port in the British [English] Channel. We were or-

dered thence to convoy a huge East India merchant vessel, much larger than our frigate, and having five hundred troops on board, bound to the East Indies, with money to pay the troops stationed there. We set sail in a tremendous gale of wind. Both ships stopped two days at Madeira to take in wine and a few other articles. After leaving this island, we kept her company two days more; and then, according to orders, having wished her success, we left her to pursue her voyage, while we returned to finish our cruise.

Though without any positive information, we now felt pretty certain that our government was at war with America [declared 18 June 1812]. Among other things, our captain appeared more anxious than usual; he was on deck almost all the time; the “look-out” aloft was more rigidly observed; and every little while the cry of “Mast-head there!” arrested our attention.

It is customary in men of war to keep men at the fore and main mast-heads, whose duty it is to give notice of every new object that may appear. They are stationed in the royal yards, if there are up, but if not, on the top-gallant yards: at night a look-out is kept on the fore yard only.

Thus we passed several days; the captain running up and down, and constantly hailing the man at the mast-head: early in the morning he began his charge “to keep a good look-out,” and continued to repeat it until night. Indeed, he seemed almost crazy with some pressing anxiety. The men felt there was something anticipated, of which they were ignorant; and had the captain heard all their remarks upon his conduct, he would not have felt very highly flattered. Still, everything went on as usual; the day was spent in the ordinary duties of man-of-war life, and the evening in telling stories of things most rare and wonderful; for your genuine old tar is an adept in spinning yarns, and some of them, in respect to variety and length, might safely aspire to a place beside the great magician of the north, Sir Walter Scott, or any of those prolific heads that now bring forth such abundance of fiction to feed a greedy public, who read as eagerly as our men used to listen. To this yarn-spinning was added the most humorous singing, sometimes dashed with a streak of the pathetic, which I assure my readers was most touching; especially on very plaintive melody, with a chorus beginning with,

*Now if our ship should be cast away,  
It would be our lot to see old England no more,*

Which made rather a melancholy impression on my boyish mind, and gave rise to a sort of presentiment that the *Macedonian* would never return home again; a presentiment which had its fulfilment in a manner totally unexpected to us all. The presence of a shark for several days, with its attendant pilot fish, tended to strengthen this prevalent idea.

The Sabbath came, and it brought with it a stiff breeze. We usually made a sort of holiday of this sacred day. After breakfast it was common to muster the entire crew on the spar deck, dressed as the fancy of the captain might dictate; sometimes in blue jackets and white trowsers, or blue jackets and blue trowsers; at other times in blue jackets, scarlet vests, and blue or white trowsers; with our bright anchor buttons glancing in the sun, and our

black, glossy hats, ornamented with black ribbons, and with the name of our ship painted on them. After muster, we frequently had church service read by the captain; the rest of the day was devoted to idleness. But we were destined to spend the Sabbath, just introduced to the reader, in a very different manner.

We had scarcely finished breakfast, before the man at the mast-head shouted, "Sail ho!"

The captain rushed upon deck, exclaiming, "Mast-head there!"

"Sir!"

"Where away is the sail?"

The precise answer to this question I do not recollect, but the captain proceeded to ask, "What does she look like?"

"A square-rigged vessel, sir," was the reply of the look-out.

After a few minutes, the captain shouted again, "Mast-head there!"

"Sir!"

"What does she look like?"

"A large ship, sir, standing toward us!"

By this time, most of the crew were on deck, eagerly straining their eyes to obtain a glimpse of the approaching ship, and murmuring their opinions to each other on her probable character. Then came the voice of the captain, shouting, "Keep silence, fore and aft!" Silence being secured, he hailed the look-out, who, to his question of "What does she look like?" replied, "A large frigate, bearing down upon us, sir!"

A whisper ran along the crew that the stranger ship was a Yankee frigate. The thought was confirmed by the command of "All hands clear the ship for action, ahoy!" The drum and fife beat to quarters; bulk-heads were knocked away; the guns were released from their confinement; the whole dread paraphernalia of battle was produced; and after the lapse of a few minutes of hurry and confusion, every man and boy was at his post, ready to do his best service for his country, except the band, who, claiming exemption from the affray, safely stowed themselves away in the cable tier. We had only one sick man on the list, and he, at the cry of battle, hurried from his cot, feeble as he was, to take his post of danger. A few of the junior midshipmen were stationed below, on the berth deck, with orders, given in our hearing, to shoot any man who attempted to run from his quarters.

Our men were all in good spirits; though they did not scruple to express the wish that the coming foe was a Frenchman rather than a Yankee. We had been told, by the Americans on board, that frigates in the American service carried more and heavier metal [guns] than ours. This, together with our consciousness of superiority over the French at sea, led us to a preference for a French antagonist.

The Americans among our number felt quite disconcerted at the necessity which compelled them to fight against their own countrymen. One of them, named John Card, as brave a seaman as every trod a plank, ventured to present himself to the captain, as a prisoner, frankly declaring his objections to fight. That officer, very ungenerously, ordered him to his quarters, threatening to shoot him if he made the request again. Poor fellow! He obeyed the unjust command, and was killed by a shot from his own countrymen. This fact is more disgraceful to the captain of

the *Macedonian*, than even the loss of his ship. It was a gross and a palpable violation of the rights of man.

As the approaching ship showed American colours, all doubt of her character was at an end. "We must fight her," was the conviction of every breast. Every possible arrangement that could insure success was accordingly made. The guns were shotted; the matches lighted; for, although our guns were furnished with first-rate locks, they were also provided with matches, attached by lanyards, in case the lock should miss fire. A lieutenant then passed through the ship, directing the marines and boarders, who were furnished with pikes, cutlasses, and pistols, how to proceed if it should be necessary to board the enemy. He was followed by the captain, who exhorted the men to fidelity and courage, urging upon their consideration the well-known motto of the brave Nelson, "England expects every man to do his duty." In addition to all these preparations on deck, some men were stationed in the tops with small-arms, whose duty it was to attend to trimming the sails, and to use their muskets, provided we came to close action. There were others also below, called sail trimmers, to assist in working the ship, should it be necessary to shift her position during the battle.

My station was at the fifth gun on the main deck. It was my duty to supply my gun with powder, a boy being appointed to each gun in the ship on the side we engaged for this purpose. A wooden screen was placed before the entrance to the magazine, with a hole in it, through which the cartridges were passed to the boys; we received them there, and covering them with our jackets, hurried to our respective guns. These precautions are observed to prevent the powder taking fire before it reaches the gun.

Thus we all stood, awaiting orders, in motionless suspense. At last we fired three guns from the larboard side of the main deck; this was followed by the command, "Cease firing; you are throwing away your shot!"

Then came the order to "wear ship," and prepare to attack the enemy with our starboard guns. Soon after this I heard a firing from some other quarter, which I at first supposed to be a discharge from our quarter deck guns; though it proved to be the roar of the enemy's cannon.

A strange noise, such as I had never heard before, next arrested my attention; it sounded like the tearing of sails, just over our heads. This I soon ascertained to be the wind of the enemy's shot. The firing, after a few minutes' cessation, recommenced. The roaring of cannon could now be heard from all parts of our trembling ship, and, mingling as it did with that of our foes, it made a most hideous noise. By-and-by I heard the shot strike the sides of our ship; the whole scene grew indescribably confused and horrible; it was like some awfully tremendous thunderstorm, whose deafening roar is attended by incessant streaks of lightning, carrying death in every flash, and strewing the ground with the victims of its wrath; only, in our case, the scene was rendered more horrible than that, by the presence of torrents of blood which dyed our decks.

Though the recital may be painful, yet, as it will reveal the horrors of war, and show at what a fearful price a victory is won or lost, I will present the reader with things as they met my eye during the progress of this dreadful fight. I was busily supplying

my gun with powder, when I saw blood suddenly fly from the arm of a man stationed at our gun. I saw nothing strike him; the effect alone was visible; in an instant, the third lieutenant tied his handkerchief round the wounded arm, and sent the groaning wretch below to the surgeon.

The cries of the wounded now rang through all parts of the ship. These were carried to the cockpit as fast as they fell, while those more fortunate men, who were killed outright, were immediately thrown overboard. As I was stationed but a short distance from the main hatchway, I could catch a glimpse at all who were carried below. A glance was all I could indulge in, for the boys belonging to the guns next to mine were wounded in the early part of the action, and I had to spring with all my might to keep three or four guns supplied with cartridges. I saw two of these lads fall nearly together. One of them was struck in the leg by a large shot; he had to suffer amputation above the wound. The other had a grape or canister shot sent through his ankle [sic]. A stout Yorkshireman lifted him in his arms, and hurried him to the cockpit. He had his foot cut off, and was thus made lame for life. Two of the boys stationed on the quarter deck were killed. They were both Portuguese. A man, who saw one of them killed, afterwards told me that his powder caught fire and burnt the flesh almost off his face. In this pitiable situation, the agonized boy lifted up both hands, as if imploring relief, when a passing shot instantly cut him in two.

I was an eye-witness to a sight equally revolting. A man named Aldric had one of his hands cut off by a shot, and almost at the same moment he received another shot, which tore open his bowels in a terrible manner. As he fell, two or three men caught him in their arms, and, as he could not live, threw him overboard.

One of the officers in my division also fell in my sight. He was a noble-hearted fellow, named Nan Kivell. A grape or canister shot struck him near the heart: exclaiming, "Oh! My God!" he fell, and was carried below, where he shortly after died.

Mr Hope, our first lieutenant, was also slightly wounded by a grummet, or small iron ring, probably torn from a hammock clew by a shot. He went below, shouting to the men to fight on. Having had his wound dressed, he came up again, shouting to us at the top of his voice, and bidding us fight with all our might. There was not a man in the ship but would have rejoiced had he been in the place of our master's mate, the unfortunate Nan Kivell.

The battle went on. Our men kept cheering with all their might. I cheered with them, though I confess I scarcely knew for what. Certainly there was nothing very inspiring in the aspect of things where I was stationed. So terrible had been the work of destruction round us, it was termed the slaughter-house. Not only had we had several boys and men killed or wounded, but several of the guns were disabled. The one I belonged to had a piece of the muzzle knocked out; and when the ship rolled, it struck a beam of the upper deck with such force as to become jammed and fixed in that position. A twenty-four pound shot had also passed through the screen of the magazine, immediately over the orifice through which we passed our powder. The schoolmaster received a death wound. The brave boatswain, who came from

the sick bay to the din of battle, was fastening a stopper on a back-stay which had been shot away, when his head was smashed to pieces by a cannon-ball; another man, going to complete the unfinished task, was also struck down. Another of our midshipmen also received a severe wound. The unfortunate wardroom steward, who, the reader will recollect, attempted to cut his throat on a former occasion, was killed. A fellow named John, who, for some petty offence, had been sent on board as a punishment, was carried past me, wounded. I distinctly heard the large blood-drops fall pat, pat, pat, on the deck; his wounds were mortal. Even a poor goat, kept by the officers for her milk, did not escape the general carnage; her hind legs were shot off, and poor Nan was thrown overboard.

Such was the terrible scene, amid which we kept on our shouting and firing. Our men fought like tigers. Some of them pulled off their jackets, others their jackets and vests; while some, still more determined, had taken off their shirts, and, with nothing but a handkerchief tied round the waistbands of their trowsers, fought like heroes. Jack Sadler . . . was one of these. I also observed a boy, named Coop, stationed at a gun some distance from the magazine. He came to and fro on the full run, and appeared to be as "merry as a cricket." The third lieutenant cheered him along, occasionally, by saying, "Well done, my boy, you are worth your weight in gold!"

I have often been asked what were my feelings during this fight. I felt pretty much as I suppose every one does at such a time. That men are without thought when they stand amid the dying and the dead, is too absurd an idea to be entertained a moment. We all appeared cheerful, but I know that many a serious thought ran through my mind: still, what could we do but keep up a semblance, at least, of animation? To run from our quarters would have been certain death from the hands of our own officers; to give way to gloom, or to show fear, would do no good, and might brand us with the name of cowards, and ensure certain defeat. Our only true philosophy, therefore, was to make the best of our situation, by fighting bravely and cheerfully. I thought a great deal, however, of the other world; every groan, every falling man, told me that the next instant I might be before the Judge of all the earth. For this, I felt unprepared; but being without any particular knowledge of religious truth, I satisfied myself by repeating again and again the Lord's prayer, and promising that if spared I would be more attentive to religious duties than ever before. This promise I had no doubt, at the time, of keeping; but I have learned since that it is easier to make promises amidst the roar of the battle's thunder, or in the horrors of shipwreck, than to keep them when danger is absent, and safety smiles upon our path.

While these thoughts secretly agitated my bosom, the din of battle continued. Grape and canister shot were pouring through our portholes like leaden rain, carrying death in their trail. The large shot came against the ship's side like iron hail, shaking her to the very keel, or passing through her timbers, and scattering terrific splinters, which did a more appalling work than even their own death-giving blows. The reader may form an idea of the effect of grape and canister, when he is told that grape shot is formed by seven or eight balls confined to an iron and tied in a cloth. These balls are scattered by the explosion of the powder.

Canister shot is made by filling a powder canister with balls, each as large as two or three musket balls; these also scatter with direful effect when discharged. What then with splinters, cannon balls, grape and canister poured incessantly upon us, the reader may be assured that the work of death went on in a manner which must have been satisfactory even to the King of Terrors himself.

Suddenly, the rattling of the iron hail ceased. We were ordered to cease firing. A profound silence ensued, broken only by the stifled groans of the brave sufferers below. It was soon ascertained that the enemy had shot ahead to repair damages, for she was not so disabled but she could sail without difficulty; while we were so cut up that we lay utterly helpless. Our head braces were shot away; the fore and main top-masts were gone; the mizzen mast hung over the stern, having carried several men over in its fall: we were in the state of a complete wreck.

A council was now held among the officers on the quarter deck. Our condition was perilous in the extreme: victory or escape was alike hopeless. Our ship was disabled; many of our men were killed, and many more wounded. The enemy would without doubt bear down upon us in a few moments, and as she could now choose her own position, would without doubt rake us fore and aft. Any further resistance was therefore folly. So, in spite of the hot-brained lieutenant, Mr Hope, who advised them not to strike, but to sink alongside, it was determined to strike our bunting. This was done by the hands of a brave fellow named Watson, whose saddened brow told how severely it pained his lion heart to do it. To me it was a pleasing sight, for I had seen fighting enough for one Sabbath; more than I wished to see again on a week day. His Britannic Majesty's frigate *Macedonian* was now the prize of the American frigate *United States*.

#### 14. Treaty of Chaumont, 1 March 1814

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*Although dated 1 March the treaty was not actually signed until 9 March. The terms alluded to in Article 1 were those offered to Napoleon at the Congress of Châtillon. As the most comprehensive of the series of treaties that established the Sixth Coalition against France, the terms of Chaumont continued the pattern of alliance based on British subsidies, mutual war aims, and the principle of no separate peace with the enemy. It diverged from all previous treaties of alliance, however, in establishing the principle of defensive obligations between the signatories even after the conclusion of hostilities—in this case for a period of twenty years.*

His Imperial Majesty and Royal Highness the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and of Bohemia [Francis I], His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias [Alexander I], His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland [George III], His Majesty the King of Prussia [Frederick William III], having forwarded to the French Government proposals for the conclusion of a general peace, and desiring, in case France should refuse the conditions of that peace, to draw

closer the bonds which unite them for the vigorous prosecution of a war undertaken with the salutary purpose of putting an end to the misfortunes of Europe by assuring future repose through the re-establishment of a just equilibrium of the Powers, and wishing at the same time, if Providence blesses their pacific intentions, to settle the methods of maintaining against every attack the order of things which shall have been the happy result of their efforts, have agreed to sanction by a solemn Treaty, signed separately by each of the four Powers with the other three, this double engagement.

...

The High Contracting Parties above named solemnly engage by the present Treaty, and in the event of France refusing to accede to the Conditions of Peace now proposed, to apply all the means of their respective States to the vigorous prosecution of the War against that Power, and to employ them in perfect concert, in order to obtain for themselves and for Europe a General Peace, under the Protection of which the Rights and Liberties of all Nations may be established and secured.

This engagement shall in no respect affect the Stipulations which the several Powers have already contracted relative to the number of Troops to be kept against the Enemy; and it is understood that the Courts of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia engage by the present Treaty to keep in the field, each of them, 150,000 effective men, exclusive of garrisons, to be employed in active service against the common Enemy.

The High Contracting Parties reciprocally engage not to treat separately with the common Enemy, nor to sign Peace, Truce, nor Convention, but with common consent. They, moreover, engage not to lay down their Arms until the object of the War, mutually understood and agreed upon, shall have been attained.

In order to contribute in the most prompt and decisive manner to fulfill this great object, His Britannic Majesty engages to furnish a Subsidy of £5,000,000 for the service of the year 1814, to be divided in equal proportions amongst the three Powers; and His said Majesty promises, moreover, to arrange before the 1st of January in each year, with their imperial and Royal Majesties, the further succours to be furnished during the subsequent year, if (which God forbid) the War should so long continue.

...

The High Contracting Parties, reserving to themselves to concert together, on the conclusion of a peace with France, as to the means best adapted to guarantee to Europe, and to themselves reciprocally, the continuance of the Peace, have also determined to enter, without delay, into defensive engagements for the Protection of their respective States in Europe against every attempt which France might make to infringe the order of things resulting from such Pacification.

To effect this, they agree that in the event of one of the High Contracting Parties being threatened with an Attack on the part of France, the others shall employ their most strenuous efforts to prevent it, by friendly interposition.

In case of these endeavours proving ineffectual, the High Contracting Parties promise to come to the immediate assistance of the Power attacked, each with a body of 60,000 men.

As the situation of the Seat of War, or other circumstances, might render it difficult for Great Britain to furnish the stipulated succours in English troops within the term prescribed, and to maintain the same on a War establishment, His Britannic Majesty reserves the right of furnishing his contingent to the requiring Power in Foreign Troops in his pay, or to pay annually to that Power a sum of money, at the rate of £20 per man for infantry, and of £30 for cavalry, until the stipulated succour shall be complete.

....  
The High Contracting Parties mutually promise, that in case they shall be reciprocally engaged in hostilities, in consequence of furnishing the stipulated Succours, the party requiring and the parties called upon, and acting as Auxiliaries in the War, shall not make Peace but by common consent.

....  
In order to render more effectual the Defensive Engagements above stipulated, by uniting for their common defence the Powers the most exposed to a French invasion, the High Contracting Parties engage to invite those Powers to accede to the present Treaty of Defensive Alliance.

The present Treaty of Defensive Alliance having for its object to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, to secure the repose and Independence of its States, and to prevent the Invasions which during so many years have desolated the World, the High Contracting Parties have agreed to extend the duration of it to 20 years, to take date from the day of its signature; and they reserve to themselves to concert upon its ulterior prolongation three years before its expiration, should circumstances require it.

....

### *Secret Articles*

The re-establishment of an equilibrium of the powers and a just distribution of the forces among them being the aim of the present war, their Imperial and Royal Majesties obligate themselves to direct their efforts toward the actual establishment of the following system in Europe, to wit:

Germany composed of sovereign princes united by a federative bond which assures and guarantees the independence of Germany.

The Swiss Confederation in its former limits and in an independence placed under the guarantee of the great powers of Europe, France included.

Italy divided into independent states, intermediaries between the Austrian possessions in Italy and France.

Spain governed by King Ferdinand VII in its former limits.

Holland, [a] free and independent state, under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, with an increase of territory and the establishment of a suitable frontier.

The high confederated parties agree, in execution of Article 15 of the open treaty, to invite the accession to the present treaty of defensive alliance of the monarchies of Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, and to admit to it likewise other sovereigns and states according to the exigency of the case.

Considering the necessity which may exist after the conclusion of a defensive treaty of peace with France, to keep in the field during a certain time sufficient forces to protect the arrangements which the allies must make among themselves for the re-establishment of the situation of Europe, the high confederated powers have decided to concert among themselves, not only over the necessity, but over the sum and the distribution of the forces to be kept upon foot, according to the need of the circumstances. None of the high confederated powers shall be required to furnish forces, for the purpose set forth above, during more than one year, without its express and voluntary consent, and England shall be at liberty to furnish its contingent in the manner stipulated in article 9.

### 15. (First) Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814

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*By this agreement peace finally returned to Europe after—with the exception of the brief period of peace from March 1802 to May 1803—more than two decades of war. The terms were remarkably lenient, reflecting the Allies' desire that France return as a responsible member of the community of nations, a circumstance thought to be more likely with the restoration of the Bourbon line and a minimal call for territorial concessions.*

May 30, 1814.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland [George III], and his Allies on the one part, and His Majesty the King of France and Navarre [Louis XVIII] on the other part, animated by an equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of Mankind, by a permanent Peace, founded upon a just repartition of force between its States, and containing in its Stipulations the pledge of its durability, and His Britannic Majesty, together with his Allies, being unwilling to require of France, now that, replaced under the paternal Government of Her Kings, she offers the assurance of security and stability to Europe, the conditions and guarantees which they had with regret demanded from her former Government, Their said Majesties have named Plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign a Treaty of Peace and Amity; namely,

There shall be from this day forward perpetual Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty and his Allies on the one part, and His Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other, their Heirs and Successors, their Dominions and Subjects, respectively.

The High Contracting Parties shall devote their best attention to maintain, not only between themselves, but, inasmuch as depends upon them, between all the States of Europe, that harmony and good understanding which are so necessary for their tranquility.

The Kingdom of France retains its limits entire, as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792. It shall further receive the increase of Territory comprised within the line established by the following Article:

On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the Ancient Frontiers shall be re-established as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792, extending from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport to the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following modifications:

....

France on her part renounces all rights of Sovereignty, Suzerainty, etc., and of possession, over all the Countries, Districts, Towns, and places situated beyond the Frontier above described, the Principality of Monaco being replaced on the same footing on which it stood before the 1st of January, 1792.

The Allied Powers assure to France the possession of the Principality of Avignon, of the Comitat Venaissin, of the Comté of Montébliard, together with the several insulated Territories which formerly belonged to Germany, comprehended within the Frontier above described, whether they have been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.

....

To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with other parts of the Swiss territory situated on the Lake, France consents that the road by Versoy shall be common to the two countries.

The Navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable unto the sea, and vice versa, shall be free, so that it can be interdicted to no one:—and at the future Congress [opened in Vienna on 1 November 1814] attention shall be paid to the establishment of the principles according to which the duties to be raised by the States bordering on the Rhine may be regulated, in the mode the most impartial and the most favourable to the commerce of all Nations.

The future Congress, with a view to facilitate the communication between Nations and continually to render them less strangers to each other, shall likewise examine and determine in what manner the above provisions can be extended to other Rivers which, in their course, separate or traverse different States.

Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of Territory. The title and exercise of that Sovereignty shall not in any case belong to a Prince wearing, or destined to wear, a Foreign Crown.

The States of Germany shall be independent, and united by a Federative Bond.

Switzerland, Independent, shall continue to govern herself.

Italy, beyond the limits of the countries which are to revert to Austria, shall be composed of Sovereign States.

The Island of Malta and its Dependencies shall belong in full right and Sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.

His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries Factories, and Establishments of every kind which were possessed by France on the 1st of January, 1792, in the Seas and on the Continents of America, Africa, and Asia; with the exception, however, of the Islands of Tobago and St. Lucia, and of the Isle of France and its Dependencies [in the Indian Ocean], especially Rodrigues and Les Séchelles, which several Colonies and possessions His Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right and Sovereignty to His Bri-

tannic Majesty, and also the portion of St. Domingo [Santo Domingo, the eastern portion of the West Indian island of Hispaniola] ceded [by Spain] to France by the Treaty of Basle [12 July 1795], and which His Most Christian Majesty [Louis XVIII] restores in full right and Sovereignty to His Catholic Majesty [Ferdinand VII].

His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway [Charles XII], in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with the Allies, and in execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadeloupe be restored to His Most Christian Majesty, and gives up all the rights he may have acquired over that island.

Her Most Faithful Majesty [Maria I of Portugal], in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with her Allies, and in execution of the VIIIth Article, engages to restore French Guiana as it existed on the 1st of January 1792, to His Most Christian Majesty, within the term hereafter fixed.

The renewal of the dispute which existed at that period on the subject of the frontier, being the effect of this stipulation, it is agreed that that dispute shall be terminated by a friendly arrangement between the two Courts, under the mediation of His Britannic Majesty.

The places and forts in those colonies and settlements, which, by virtue of the VIIIth, IXth and Xth Articles, are to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty, shall be given up in the state in which they may be at the moment of the signature of the present Treaty.

His Britannic Majesty guarantees to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty the same facilities, privileges, and protection, with respect to commerce, and the security of their persons and property within the limits of the British Sovereignty on the Continent of India, as are now, or shall be granted to the most favoured nations.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his part, having nothing more at heart than the perpetual duration of peace between the two Crowns of England and of France, and wishing to do his utmost to avoid anything which might affect their mutual good understanding, engages not to erect any fortifications in the establishments which are to be restored to him within the limits of the British sovereignty upon the Continent of India, and only to place in those establishments the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

The French right of fishery upon the Great Bank of Newfoundland, upon the coasts of the island of that name, and of the adjacent islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be replaced upon the footing on which it stood in 1792.

Those colonies, factories [trading posts] and establishments which are to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty or his Allies in the Northern Seas, or in the Seas on the Continents of America and Africa, shall be given up within the 3 months, and those which are beyond the Cape of Good Hope within 6 months which follow the ratification of the present Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties having, by the IVth Article of the Convention of the 23rd of April last, reserved to themselves the right of disposing, in the present Definitive Treaty of Peace, of the arsenals and ships of war, armed and unarmed, which may be found in the maritime places restored by the IIInd Article of the

said Convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and unarmed, together with the naval ordnance and naval stores, and all materials for building and equipment shall be divided between France and the countries where the said places are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds for France and on-third for the Power to whom the said places shall belong.

Antwerp shall for the future be solely a Commercial Port.

The High Contracting Powers, desirous to bury in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise that no individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the countries restored and ceded by the present Treaty, shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in his person or property, under any pretext whatsoever, either on account of his conduct or political opinions, his attachment either to any of the Contracting Parties or to any Government which has ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for debts contracted towards individuals, or acts posterior to the date of the present Treaty.

The native inhabitants and aliens, of whatever nation and condition they may be, in those countries which are to change Sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present Treaty as of the subsequent arrangements to which it may give rise, shall be allowed a period of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the Ratifications, for the purpose of disposing of their property, if they think fit, whether acquired before or during the present War, and retiring to whatever country they may choose.

The Allied Powers, desiring to offer His Most Christian Majesty a new proof of their anxiety to arrest, as far as in them lies, the bad consequences of the disastrous epoch fortunately terminated by the present Peace, renounce all the sums which their Governments claim from France, whether on account of contracts, supplies, or any other advances whatsoever to the French Government, during the different Wars which have taken place since 1792.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his part, renounces every claim which he might bring forward against the Allied Powers on the same grounds.

The French Government engages to liquidate and pay all debts it may be found to owe in countries beyond its own territory, on account of contracts, or other formal engagements between individuals, or private establishments, and the French authorities, as well for supplies, as in satisfaction of legal engagements.

The High Contracting Parties, immediately after the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, shall name Commissioners to direct and superintend the execution of the whole of the stipulations contained in the XVIIIth and XIXth Articles. These Commissioners shall undertake the examination of the claims referred to in the preceding Article, the liquidation of the sums claimed, and the consideration of the manner in which the French Government may propose to pay them.

The debts which in their origin were specifically mortgaged upon the countries no longer belonging to France, or were contracted for the support of their internal administration, shall remain at the charge of the said countries.

The French Government shall remain charged with the reimbursement of all sums paid by the subjects of said countries

into French coffers, whether under the denomination of surety, deposit or consignment.

...

National domains acquired for valuable considerations by French subjects in the late departments of Belgium, and of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Alps, beyond the ancient limits of France, and which now cease to belong to her, shall be guaranteed to the purchasers.

...

All the Powers engaged on either side in the present War, shall, within the space of two months, send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating, in General Congress, the arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present Treaty.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged within the period of 15 days, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to it the seals of their arms.

[Lord] Castlereagh.

[Lord] Aberdeen.

[Lord] Cathcart.

Charles Stewart, Lieut.-Genl.

Le Prince de Benevent [Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand].

#### *Separate and Secret Articles between France and Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Paris, 30 May 1814*

The disposal of the territories given up by His Most Christian Majesty, under the IIIrd Article of the Public Treaty, and the relations from whence a system of real and permanent balance of power in Europe is to be derived, shall be regulated at the Congress upon the principles determined upon by the Allied Powers among themselves, and according to the general provisions contained in the following Articles.

The possessions of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty in Italy shall be bounded by the Po, the Tessino, and Lago Maggiore. The King of Sardinia shall return to the possession of his ancient dominions, with the exception of that part of Savoy secured to France by the IIIrd Article of the present Treaty. His Majesty shall receive an increase of territory from the State of Genoa. The Port of Genoa shall continue to be a Free Port; the Powers reserving to themselves the right of making arrangements upon this point with the King of Sardinia.

France shall acknowledge and guarantee, conjointly with the Allied Powers, and on the same footing, the political organisation which Switzerland shall adopt under the auspices of the said Allied Powers, and according to the basis already agreed upon with them.

The establishment of a just balance of power in Europe requiring that Holland should be so constituted as to be enabled to support her independence through her own resources, the countries comprised between the sea, the frontiers of France, such as they are defined by the present Treaty, and the Meuse, shall be given up for ever to Holland.

The frontiers upon the right bank of the Meuse shall be regulated according to the military convenience of Holland and her neighbours.

The freedom of the navigation of the Scheldt shall be established upon the same principle which has regulated the navigation of the Rhine, in the Vth Article of the present Treaty.

The German territories upon the left bank of the Rhine, which have been united to France since 1792, shall contribute to the aggrandisement of Holland, and shall be further applied to compensate Prussia and other German states.

*Additional Articles between France and Great Britain. Paris, 30 May 1814*

His Most Christian Majesty, concurring without reserve in the sentiments of His Britannic Majesty, with respect to a description of traffic repugnant to the principles of natural justice and of the enlightened age in which we live, engages to unite all his efforts to those of His Britannic Majesty, at the approaching Congress, to induce all the Powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said Trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitely, under any circumstances, on the part of the French Government, in the course of 5 years; and that, during the said period, no slave merchant shall import or sell slaves, except in the colonies of the State of which he is a subject.

**16. Declaration of the Powers against Napoleon, 13 March 1815**

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*No sooner had the delegates at the Congress of Vienna learned of Napoleon's arrival in France from Elba that they issued this declaration branding him an outlaw. The Allies were careful to express their personal hostility toward the former emperor, in distinction to France itself, which was the de jure domain of Louis XVIII.*

The Powers who have signed the [First] Treaty of Paris [30 May 1814] reassembled in Congress at Vienna, having been informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte and of his entrance into France [1 March] with an armed force, owe to their dignity and the interest of social order a solemn Declaration of the sentiments which that event has inspired in them.

In thus violating the convention which established him in the Island of Elba, Bonaparte destroyed the only legal title for his existence. By reappearing in France with projects of disorder and destruction, he has cut himself off from the protection of the law and has shown in the face of the world that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

Accordingly, the Powers declare that Napoleon Bonaparte is excluded from civil and social relations, and, as an Enemy and Disturber of the tranquility of the World, that he has incurred public vengeance.

At the same time, being firmly resolved to preserve intact the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the arrangements sanctioned

by that treaty, as well as those which have been or shall be arranged hereafter in order to complete and consolidate it, they declare that they will employ all their resources and will unite all their efforts in order that the General Peace, the object of the desires of Europe and the constant aim of their labors, may not be again disturbed, and in order to secure themselves from all attempts which may threaten to plunge the world once more into the disorders and misfortunes of revolutions.

And although fully persuaded that all France, rallying around its legitimate sovereign, will strive unceasingly to bring to naught this last attempt of a criminal and impotent madman, all the Sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same feeling and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all expectation, there shall result from that event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France and the French Nation or to any government which shall be attacked, as soon as shall be required, all the assistance necessary to re-establish the public tranquility, and to make common cause against all who may attempt to compromise it.

The present Declaration, inserted in the protocol of the Congress assembled at Vienna, March 13, 1815, shall be made public.

**17. Holy Alliance Treaty, 26 September 1815**

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*This treaty, drawn up by Tsar Alexander, reflects the return to conservative politics in Europe after the long struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. It was subsequently acceded to by all the monarchs of Europe except the British Prince Regent, who declined to sign it on constitutional grounds; Pope Pius VII, who refused to deal with Protestant monarchs; and the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, who refused to put his name to a document that expressly championed Christian principles. Both Castlereagh and Metternich dismissed the wording of the treaty as largely meaningless, and it had little influence on the policies of the signatories. Liberals and nationalists hated the alliance as a symbol of the reactionary Restoration.*

*TREATY between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Signed at Paris 26th September 1815.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.  
Holy Alliance of Sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

THEIR Majesties the Emperor of Austria [Francis I], the King of Prussia [Frederick William III], and the Emperor of Russia [Alexander I], having, in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those States which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of settling the steps to be observed by the Powers, in their reciprocal relations, upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches:

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL RELATIONS

They solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of Princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections. In consequence, their Majesties have agreed on the following Articles:

## PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

ART. I. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the Three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace, and Justice.

## FRATERNITY AND AFFECTION

ART. II. In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their Subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely designated by Providence to govern three branches of the One family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that Peace, which arise from a good conscience, and which alone is more durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

## ACCESSION OF FOREIGN POWERS

ART. III. All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance.

Done in triplicate, and signed at Paris, the year of Grace 1815, 26th September.

(L. S.) Francis (L. S.) Frederick William (L. S.) Alexander

**18. (Second) Treaty of Paris, 20 November 1815**

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*The Allied settlement after Waterloo imposed much harsher terms on France than had been the case with the first Treaty of Paris, concluded the previous year. This new, punitive, treaty imposed heavy indemnity payments and further territorial losses, as well as a period of occupations.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The Allied Powers having by their united efforts, and by the success of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were menaced by the late enterprise of Napoleon Bonaparte, and by the revolutionary system reproduced in France, to promote its success; participating at present with His Most Christian Majesty [Louis XVIII] in the desire to consolidate, by maintaining inviolate the Royal authority, and by restoring the operation of the Constitutional Charter, the order of things which had been happily re-established in France, as also in the object of restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and good will which the fatal effects of the Revolution and of the system of Conquest had for so long a time disturbed: persuaded, at the same time, that this last object can only be obtained by an arrangement framed to secure to the Allies proper indemnities for the past and solid guarantees for the future, they have, in concert with His Majesty the King of France, taken into consideration the means of giving effect to this arrangement; and being satisfied that the indemnity due to the Allied Powers cannot be either entirely territorial or entirely pecuniary, without prejudice to France in one or other of her essential interests, and that it would be more fit to combine both the modes, in order to avoid the inconvenience which would result, were either resorted to separately, their Imperial and Royal Majesties have adopted this basis for their present transactions; and agreeing alike as to the necessity of retaining for a fixed time in the Frontier Provinces of France, a certain number of allied troops, they have determined to combine their different arrangements, founded upon these bases, in a Definitive Treaty.

...

The frontiers of France shall be the same as they were in the year 1790, save and except the modifications on one side and on the other, which are detailed in the present Article.

...

The pecuniary part of the indemnity to be furnished by France to the Allied Powers is fixed at the sum of 700,000,000 Francs. . . .

The state of uneasiness and fermentation, which after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the last catastrophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of her King, and the advantages secured to every class of his subjects by the Constitutional Charter, requiring for the security of the neighbouring States, certain measures of precaution and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by a corps of Allied Troops, certain

military positions along the frontiers of France, under the express reserve, that such occupation shall in no way prejudice the Sovereignty of His Most Christian Majesty, nor the state of possession, such as it is recognized and confirmed by the present Treaty. The number of these troops shall not exceed 150,000 men. . . .

As the maintenance of the army destined for this service is to be provided by France, a Special Convention shall regulate everything which may relate to that object. . . .

The utmost extent of the duration of this military occupation is fixed at 5 years. It may terminate before that period if, at the end of 3 years, the Allied Sovereigns, after having, in concert with His Majesty the King of France, maturely examined their material situation and interests, and the progress which shall have

been made in France in the re-establishment of order and tranquility, shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the Fortresses and Positions occupied by the Allied troops shall, at the expiration of 5 years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to His Most Christian Majesty, or to his heirs and successors.

. . . .

The [First] Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the Articles of the present Treaty.



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