

most successful general, Francis's brother the Archduke Karl, already minister of war, was empowered, as Generalissimo, to carry out military reform. Count Johann Philipp Stadion, an anti-French Rhinelandeer from a family with a tradition of service to the Holy Roman Empire, became foreign minister, ironically in the year when Francis, under French pressure, declared this Empire at an end (1806); this act and his prior assumption of the title of Emperor of Austria were, however, also designed to deprive Napoleon of a possible weapon for his German ambitions and to safeguard Vienna's position. A censorship relaxed at Stadion's request brought out a stream of publications appealing to the 'public spirit' which had made revolutionary France so formidable and which Stein was seeking to mobilise in Prussia. Joseph Hormayr's *Patriotic Journal for the Austrian Empire* (1806-10) gave intellectual underpinning to the new patriotism. The government itself commissioned a volume of patriotic poems in honour of the *Landwehr*, the militia called into being for the Hereditary Lands by the Archduke Karl's reforms. Meanwhile, German-speaking intellectuals flocked to the Austrian capital. The Catholic converts Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel headed the religious and Adam and Johannes Müller (unrelated) the political champions of a revalued medievalism, affirming the virtues of an organic society based on hierarchy and faith. The Prussian Friedrich Gentz, a one-man conservative think-tank and advocate of the need to remove the French threat to the European balance of power, wrote the official proclamation of war on France of April 1809, calling on Austrians to fight for 'all those sweet, holy and eternal things bound up with the concept of a particular fatherland'.<sup>2</sup> Crowds fought for copies of the order of military command with which Austria began the war.

For once, enthusiasm appeared little different in the Monarchy's non-German lands. French emissaries had differed as to whether Hungarian noble dissatisfaction with Vienna could be turned to French advantage, one of them claiming that the generals, ministers and orators of revolutionary France were household names to the Hungarian gentry, reactionary though they were! In the event, Napoleon's appeal to the Hungarians to rise, issued in French, Latin and Hungarian, fell on deaf ears. The Hungarian noble radical Batsányi, resident in Paris, who appears to have corrected its Hungarian style, proved isolated among his peers. The Hungarian Diet, which had protested in 1807 against the Crown's refusal to heed its

grievances, in 1808 had empowered the king in advance to summon the feudal levy if needs be, and the call-up was duly successful the next year. Bohemia was also quiet. The ever loyal peasant Vavák, whose earlier attempt at a *Landwehr* song - 'we still have our Czech blood ... we have our crown and our King sits on the throne' ... was thought by his betters to be too warlike for the Czech 'national character', promptly obliged with a second version: 'How could we have things better? Among us is no want, no misery, no constitution, only peace. There is also plenty to drink ... Our masters treat us in a regular manner ... Brothers, no moaning! Let us say joyfully: Up with Bohemia's monarch, long live all social orders!'<sup>3</sup>

All this was to no avail. Austria went to war in April 1809 before the Archduke Karl's preparations were complete and he became, even after his success at Aspern, the protagonist of peace. The issue was decided by Napoleon's occupation of Vienna and victory at Wagram and lack of effective support from coalition partners Britain and Prussia. In the subsequent peace of Schönbrunn Austria lost much of her Slovene and Croatian territory to new, French-ruled, Illyrian Provinces, forfeited Salzburg and the Innviertel to Bavaria and yielded her gains from the third partition of Poland to the equally new 'Duchy of Warsaw'. Into the bargain, Francis's own daughter, Marie Louise, was to marry the Corsican upstart, a humiliation as embarrassing as his abandonment to execution of Andreas Hofer, loyalist leader of the 1809 Tyrolean revolt against the new Bavarian masters. The patriotic propaganda was banned and Hormayr imprisoned in 1813 on suspicion of plotting a new Tyrolean rising. Indeed, the whole attempt to create a new monarchical patriotic defiance of France had an air of insubstantiality, since it was *German* national feeling to which the great majority of those concerned appealed. Had not the Archduke Johann, active in the Tyrol, exclaimed that he was German in heart and soul? Emperor Francis was sufficiently uncertain of the Czechs to order the closure of secret societies set up by Bohemian military and political leaders as a means of injecting patriotic values into the population. The ultimate effect of the long wars against revolutionary France was to fix definitively the conservative character of the Austrian state.

#### Metternich, Francis and Conservative Absolutism

Externally, too, concern to combat resistance to established authority came to overshadow older traditions of policy, like the