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Studia historica Brunensia. 2016, vol. 63, iss. 2, pp. 45-55

ISSN 1803-7429 (print); ISSN 2336-4513 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/SHB2016-2-3>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/136743>

Access Date: 16. 02. 2024

Version: 20220831

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„Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland!“. Newspaper „Väterlandische Blätter für Österreichischen Staat“ as propaganda organ of Austrian struggle against Napoleon (1808–1809)

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Abstract

This paper deals with the problem of mobilization of the society in favor of governmental foreign policy actions in Austria within 1808–1809. The Austrian government during the period of 1805–1809 had the aim to restore its influence in Germany and Austria. Under the leadership of foreign affairs minister Philipp von Stadion the discussion on state and social reforms, and on the new war against France becomes active. To get a positive reply from the public opinion, the mass media become an instrument of Stadion's administration and his supporters within the court in turning the public in favor of actions against France. One of the examples of such media was the newspaper Vaterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Staat. Historiography of the topic is limited and mostly presented in German language and published in Austria.

Keywords

Austria, Philipp von Stadion, power and society in Habsburg monarchy, public opinion mobilization

Mechanisms of state ideology and public opinion interaction went through a transformation during the French revolution and Napoleonic warfare epoch due to significant changes in the approaches towards the state, political culture and relations between state and society in general. In addition to it, the amplification and social representation of new state ideology and the use of mass media for its spread among the population of the country and forming a new public opinion. Newspaper as the mass media became not only a space for political discussion and informing the population, but also for broadcasting the official position, new state and national myths and public opinion mobilization in favor of different state policy aspects.

The French events led to a full-scale crisis in Austria and Prussia, two major opponents of new political regime and main centers of power in Germany. Both states recognized the changes occurred in Paris as the threat towards their status. Berlin and Vienna faced the negative tendencies in the representation and amplification of their state ideologies alongside with growing discontent against the current governance systems. It led to a growing crisis, which became obvious due to diplomatic and military failures of 1790's. By 1805 Austria faced several military defeats and territorial losses alongside with the collapse of its influence area. Furthermore, its formal leadership in Holy Roman empire became less valuable due to resignation of several major states after Mediatization.

The struggle against new ideology, which became hostile towards the “Old Empire” and Habsburg Universalism, included involving the secret police¹ into the action, and military struggle with revolutionary France. Moreover, the revolutionary ideas failed to become popular due to creation of their image as “connected with the foreign invasion”.² Holding the military operations required the preparedness of governmental institutions and the armed forces, and the presentation of a new position accompanied with ideological proofs of the official opinion.³ However, the situation became different from Prussia: despite of Vienna seizure by French troops and territorial losses, Austria avoided total military collapse. It meant that army remained capable for further operations, and governance structures continued working, and less harmful outcomes for social representation of state ideology. These factors have influenced on the development of Austria in 19th century.

The *Gesamtstaat* idea, which started to define the statehood practice in Austria, became completed ideology in 1804 with crowning a Holy Roman emperor Francis II as Austrian emperor Francis I. The Universalism of imperial power and Holy Roman Empire, on the contrary, became abandoned, and the dissolution of an “Old empire” made it a political

1 Vortrag vor Kaiser Leopold II. vom „Polizeimeister“ Johan Anton Graf von Pergen über die „wichtigsten Beschäftigungen der Geheimen Polizei“, 2. 3. 1790. URL: http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/deu/6_PoliceMeasures_Doc.1_German.pdf. (12. 2. 2017); Vocolka, Karl: *Österreichische Geschichte 1699–1815. Glanz und Untergang der Habsburger Welt. Representation, Reform und Reaktion im Habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*. Wien, 2001, p. 275.

2 Wilson, Peter H.: *Bolstering the Prestige of Habsburgs: the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806*. The International History Review. Vol. 28, p. 712.

3 Berenger, Jean A.: *History of the Habsburg Empire, 1700–1918*. New York – London 1997, p. 126–127.

reality.⁴ Since that moment new Austrian identity emerged, outside the rest of Germany. Austrian historiography does not pay much attention towards the other events of Napoleonic era, on the contrast with the other events, especially from the period until 1809.⁵ It is widely presented that the resignation of Francis II from “Old Empire” crown was formal act, even despite the fact, that it formally led to an end of Universalist ideology, “Kaiser und Reich” motto and their impact towards Germany alongside with turn to concentration of Vienna and Habsburg to its own possessions.⁶ However, the national character of Austrian state issue remained actual for the public and applied to the self-identification of Austrian Germans and their relations with non-Germanic peoples living in the new Empire.

Since it became impossible to act as a German power, Austria turned its efforts to the reform discussion in practical and ideological aspects. The official ideology kept its appliance towards the idea of Habsburg and Austrian leadership in Germany, but without active amplification. One of the main discussion actors was Johann Philipp, count von Stadion, previously an ambassador in Prussia and Russia, famous for advising Francis II to hold the Mediatization and further dissolution of the “Old Empire”. When becoming a minister of foreign affairs, Stadion claimed himself to be a leader of administrative and financial reforms.⁷

During his ministry and active work aimed for creation of new coalition against France, Stadion failed to present a complex programme of reforms. In contrast to Prussian officials after 1806, and had fewer mechanisms for holding the reforms: the only supporting actor of Austrian policy with such views was only Archduke Karl, applying for the resurrection of Austrian influence in Germany based on former status of Habsburgs as “guarantors of German freedom”.⁸ Stadion’s idea of new war against France was relatively popular in Austrian public opinion, what meant that the ideological work of the state in this aspect had enough bases in this direction within period from 1805 to 1809.

One of the newspapers, *Väterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, became a main actor in representing these ideas. Since its emergence and first issues in May 1808, it was presented average twice a week within warfare preparations, which influenced on contents and language of articles published there. The newspaper became a mobilization material, referring to loyalty of Austrian Germans and non-Germanic population of Empire having a proficiency in German language. The following content could be seen on its pages: laws of Austrian Empire, Imperial patents, acts and orders, essays on lands and territories of Austria, historical documents and information regarding stock exchange.⁹

4 Заявление императора Франца II об отречении от имперского трона, 6 августа 1806 года. URL: <http://www.documentarchiv.de/nzjh/1806/franz-II-niederlegung-kaiserkrone.html>. (12. 1. 2017).

5 Wilson, P. H.: *Bolstering the Prestige of Habsburgs*, p. 712.

6 Vocelka, K.: *Österreichische Geschichte 1699–1815*, p. 134.

7 Ingraio, Charles: *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815*. Cambridge, 1994, p. 234.

8 Данин, Отто: *Нации и национализм в Германии 1770–1990*. Санкт-Петербург, Наука, 2003. С. 66.

9 *Väterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 10. 5. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080510&zoom=56>. (5. 12. 2016).

One of the key laws of reform discussion era published in the newspaper, was a patent on mobilization of citizens to the military reserve units (*Landwehr*) from 20th of May 1808, which demonstrated a new level of interaction between state and society within war preparations.¹⁰ A new approach towards the military service became active: instead of army based on mercenaries and recruits the imperial armed forces based on the state ideology referring to loyalty towards the sovereign and the Empire. Some scholars recognize it as a transition towards a national army.¹¹ The act itself has changed the social representation of power in Austria, whose state system started publishing the acts in media, what also led to transition from subjective political culture to civil one. Before that, the law and its text were mostly the priority of officials. New approach also effected the Austrian identity, since the Austrian subject became eligible to be acquainted with the law, and to apply to it within interaction with the official authorities.¹²

For supporting the all-imperial identity, the editors started publishing the essays on topics devoted to development of Habsburg state. The Imperial defense, law reform, educational system, economy of Habsburg state, reorganization of Catholic church, daily life of social groups (e.g. peasantry), literature and cultural events became main subjects of essays published from May 1808 until October 1809. Alongside with the aforementioned articles the information on State awards has appeared on the pages of newspaper, including the extracts from Order Statutes.¹³

A newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* became involved into spreading the knowledge on Austrian territories, what can be recognized as the impact on Austrian identity as a basis for a multiethnic Empire.¹⁴ Within chosen period numerous essays on Habsburg possessions became available for the public. An essay could be published in several issues of a newspaper, sometimes occupying a half of the issue. During the selected period essays on lands and cities, which were within Habsburg possessions, including the transited to Napoleon's allies in 1805, what had the aim to construct an image of territories connected with Habsburg power. The first essays were devoted to Berchtesgaden, Marchfeld, Krajin, Königssee, Brünn (Brno), Moravia, Salzburg, Linz, Bilin, Steyr, Eisenstadt. Essays touched upon the daily life elements, regional traditions and economy. Non-Germanic population also became a part of these essays, what meant the preparedness of Austrian authorities to integrate Hungarian and Slavic peoples into Habsburg *Gesamtstaat*, what led to a contradiction with the “War of German national honor” idea against Napoleon, which was popular at that time.

The cultural life of Austria also became an object of newspaper's attention. Articles devoted to musical life of Vienna, positioning Austria as a “musical capital of Europe”,

10 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 20. 5. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080520&seite=1&zoom=56>. (5. 12. 2016).

11 Ingrao, Ch.: *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815*, p. 234–235.

12 Ibidem.

13 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 13. 1. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090113&seite=1&zoom=33>. (12. 1. 2017).

14 Этим термином обозначаются территории Австрии, Тироля, Богемии и Моравии, составлявшие ядро державы Габсбургов до войны 1683–1699 годов.

was working on the image of Empire abroad within conflict with France.¹⁵ One of the articles was devoted to a tribute to Joseph Haydn from Philharmonic society of Saint-Petersburg. Austrian literature¹⁶ and visual arts also got its attention alongside with the replies on it from the other countries.¹⁷ In addition to it, reviews on works devoted to theory of state, economy, statistics, military training, philosophy, mathematics and science also appeared on the pages of *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*. Starting as a mobilization pamphlet, the newspaper also became a cultural and educational bulletin, working for the myths on cultural supremacy of Austria and leadership of Habsburgs in the Empire.

Turn to a mobilization took place with publishing the issue from 19th of July 1808, when a series of essays called «*Rückerinnerungen an die Österreichische Helden*» appeared on the pages of a newspaper.¹⁸ The authors started to refer to recent wars with France, what had an impact on the enemy image of a reader. In addition to it, several essays on the participants of 1780's war with Ottoman Empire became available on the pages of a newspaper. Alongside with the commanding officers, the soldiers and junior officers started being an object of propaganda. On the other hand, Prussian army as a main opponent in Germany continued to be an object of humoristic essays, what meant that the struggle for liberation of Germany from Napoleon should be in Austrian hands.¹⁹ Irony became a method for constructing a basis for Austrian supremacy in solution German problem.

The language of essays on distinguished Austrian soldiers was constructing the image of hero with following constructions and epithets: „Held“ (Hero), „Heldentod“ (heroic death), „... Mich nicht zurückziehen viel weniger mein Leben durch eine schimpfliche Gefangenschaft zu erlaufen, sondern lieber als Soldat auf dem uns anvertrauten wichtigen Posten zu sterben“ (Instead of a shameful life in imprisonment it is better to die as a soldier on a duty).²⁰ These constructions became a model for a hero image about participants of a fortress defense in Serbia, which ended with explosion of a powder depot and the following death of Turkish soldiers alongside with the last garrisoned soldiers. Using such constructions was relevant towards a request from Austrian authorities in constructing the heroic image with the following spread in propagandist discourse for Imperial army.

One of the results of these actions was the perception of the war against France in 1809 in positive way by Austrian multiethnic society. The launch of military operations

15 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 27. 5. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080527&seite=1&zoom=40>. (7. 2. 2017).

16 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 12. 7. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080712&seite=5&zoom=40>. (7. 2. 2017).

17 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 1. 7. 1808. (7. 2. 2016). URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080701&seite=6&zoom=40>. (7. 2. 2017).

18 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 19. 7. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080719&seite=7&zoom=40>. (7. 2. 2017).

19 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 16. 8. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080816&seite=6&zoom=40>. (12. 2. 2017).

20 Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 19. 7. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18080719&seite=8&zoom=40>. (12. 2. 2017).

quickly gained the name of “German national war of 1809”, later this name became common for Austrian historiography.²¹ The attempt to create a new coalition was unsuccessful, so Austria entered the war alone. During this period in newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* the letters of an Austrian commander and public official, president of *Hofkriegsrat* prince Eugene von Savoy became available for reading. A myth on this general as a “defender of an empire and Catholicism”, broadcasted earlier throughout the XVIII century, and the newspaper continued to do it. This fact proves the active usage of national and state myths in effecting the Austrian public opinion within struggle against Napoleon.²²

These publications were not just a reprint of letters from the archive of a general, but creation of a warlord image, which included such personal features as ability to communicate both with the higher and lower rank soldiers and officers. One of the issues contained the excerpts from letters as the anecdotic stories, which had a purpose to make the image of prince Eugene von Savoy closer to majority of Austrian society.²³ Sarcasm and irony were typical element of this correspondence, which made the material more readable for the public. As a result, it was not a construction of a monumental myth of “hero and savior”, but an image of a leader, who was able to percept his subordinates, other generals and the higher officials of the state alongside with the surrounding events with a certain sense of humour. Such example of “humanization” of a mythic character meant a shift in an approach towards the interaction of official policy and public discourse during the period of 1805-1809. A discussion on the reforms made the officials and society more active alongside with an idea of a new war with France, and became a mean of mobilization under a motto of “German national honour” and a revenge.

Antiprussian views of prince Eugen, who believed the consent of emperor Leopold I. to allocate a status of kingdom to Prussia, did not become a part of the narrative in this period. On the contrary, there was one of the letters, where general has presented a positive reply on personal features of Leopold, prince von Anhalt-Dessau, who was a commanding officer of Prussian troops during the war of Spanish succession in Italy.²⁴ Within partial reorganization of education system, law, bank affairs and military recruitment it was an ideological proof of ruling house and government social representation. This feature became possible due to weakening of repressive measures after retirement of Johann Anton von Pergen, a conservative head of secret police in 1804.

Alongside with prince Eugene von Savoy, the newspaper also paid attention to biography of Charles VI, a last Habsburg in the male lineage, whose death became a reason

21 Rumpler, Helmut: *Österreichische Geschichte 1804–1914: eine Chance für Mitteleuropa*. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie. Wien 1997, S. 200.

22 *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 31. 3. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090331&seite=4&zoom=33>. (12. 12. 2016).

23 *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 31. 3. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090331&seite=5&zoom=33>. (12. 12. 2016).

24 *Prinz Eugen an den Hofkanzler Grafen von Strattman*, 19. 8. 1704. *Vaterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 31. 3. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090331&seite=5&zoom=46>. (12. 2. 2017).

for an Austrian Succession war. Several excerpts from emperor's correspondence with Prussian king Frederick William I have appeared on the pages of a newspaper. On the contrast with Frederick William's successor Frederick II, who started a war against Austria for Silesia, the letter of an old king made an image of a loyalty and support towards a last Habsburg, showing Prussia as a state breaking its duties and promises.²⁵ In a certain reason this publication was a reply on kingdom's actions during the revolutionary wars, when Prussia left the military operations without negotiating that fact with the other allies. The editors and supporting officials continued to construct an ambivalent image of Austrian opponent in Germany before Napoleon's era: on one hand, the professional features of Prussian military, what was correlating with "a myth on Prussia"²⁶, on the other hand – a critical review of kingdom's foreign policy. Next letter of Charles VI to *Hofkriegsrat* president Eugene von Savoy contained the doubt in loyalty of Prussian monarch and his heir's possible plans regarding Austria, offering the enforcement of Imperial armed forces in case of possible war. As an attachment to this letter, an essay was published, broadcasting a myth on prince Eugene, using such epithets like "a defender of Germany", "a warlord, who broke the greatness of Turkey". In addition to it, his victories and characteristics of his diplomatic achievements and advisor's activities became an object of a broadcast.

Though a newspaper *Väterlandische Blätter für Österreichischen Staat* paid attention to the images of other Austrian officials and monarchs, such active interest towards prince Eugene von Savoy became a key feature in chosen period. Within war preparations, when several initiatives of Archduke Charles and foreign minister count Philipp von Stadion failed to get a positive reply in a State council, the reformist officials tried to pursue the public to support their initiatives. The reason was to enforce their own positions in Austrian state hierarchy and to use the historical narrative as a mean of mobilization in favor of war against France as fair, reasonable and appropriate within current situation. A newspaper *Väterlandische Blätter für Österreichischen Staat* became the best possible option for these actions.

When the escalation of war took place, the newspaper paid its attention to the reform results, concentrating on the military aspect. Analysis and broadcast of a newly established Landwehr became a topic for several essays. Actions of militia soldiers were shown as a heroic virtue in struggle with a foreign invaders, information on participants of campaign, who were awarded the distinguished service rewards was published alongside with putting a main emphasis on defending their civil compatriots against the actions of French troops. Such method had a purpose to create an Austrian army image as a "national" and closely connected to Austrian Germans first. Thus, in a series of essays called «*Charakterzüge Österreichischer Patrioten*» alongside with Germans, there were also

25 *Brief des Königs in Preußen Friedrich Wilhelm I. an Kaiser Karl IV. von 20. November 1730.* Vaterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 1. 11. 1808. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18081101&seite=1&zoom=33>. (12. 2. 2017).

26 Münkler, Herfried: *Die Deutschen und Ihre Mythen*. Berlin, 2009, p. 273.

mentioned the defendants of an Italian city Triest, what was a part of bringing the non-German peoples to mobilization.²⁷

In fact it became a part of a transition towards a civil political culture, even despite a motto of a war sounding as «Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland». In addition, the Hofkriegsrat president Archduke Charles was using a motto “A cause of Austria is also a cause of Germany”. The first one claimed that the main elements of Austrian state and society were Catholic Church, sacred character of a ruling Emperor and a state led by him. The second claimed the heritage of an “Old Empire”, and tried to effect on the nostalgic groups within society, paying attention to sacred elements of its representation. Both elements of new state ideology became active on the pages of a newspaper, both in essays and published documents. This was a construction method for creating a positive image of the participants and supporters of war on the side of Austria, willing to join the cause of their country and liberation of Germany.²⁸

Despite of active public opinion during 1805 till 1809 with a support of mass media accompanied with governmental assistance, Austria did not achieve its goals during the war with France.²⁹ The motto “A cause of Austria is also a cause of Germany” during this period was on its highest point: in the address of Archduke Charles to Austrian army, published in *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, it became an ideological base for struggle against France and for mastery in Germany. A leading revenge thesis was accompanying a “national honor resurrection” idea.³⁰ The war ended with a second major defeat of Austrian army, even despite it took more resources from Napoleon to achieve this victory. According to Schönbrunn peace treaty of 1809, Austria lost several territories to Duchy of Warsaw, Russia and France. Paris acquired a control over Austrian maritime trade with obtaining the Adriatic harbors.³¹ On the other hand, an amnesty to all the participants of rebellion in Tirol and Vorarlberg was one of the guarantees. In fact, it was a recognition of motto «Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland», which was also popular among the rebels led by Andreas Hofer, who defined the ideological base of rebellion under an influence of dynastic and imperial patriotism alongside with religious ideas of “sacred land”, supported by Vienna.³² The result of 1809 was a transition of Austria into a secondary European state, forced to make an alliance with Napoleon and to participate in a war against Russia. But the ideological sense of 1809 campaign has been more significant: it was a demonstration of abilities for Austrian authorities

27 Vaterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Kaiserstaat. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090418&seite=22&zoom=46>. (12. 2. 2017).

28 Vaterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 11. 4. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090411&seite=7&zoom=46>. (12. 2. 2017)

29 Vocolka, K.: *Österreichische Geschichte 1699–1815*, p. 180.

30 *Armee-Befehl Sr. Kaiserl. Hoheit des Generalissimus Erzherzog Karl*. Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 4. 4. 1809. URL: <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=vlb&datum=18090404&seite=1&zoom=33>. (12. 12. 2016).

31 *Friede von Schönbrunn, 14. 10. 1809*. URL: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10934753_00001.html (10. 12. 2016).

32 Sévillia, Jean: *Le Chouan du Tyrol: Andreas Hofer contre Napoléon*. Paris 1991, p. 14.

to maintain a resistance, and to interact with a public opinion and national movement, predominantly Austro-German and referring to Habsburg supremacy.³³

The dialogue between authorities and society within war preparations in 1808-1809 became a base for a successful mobilization policy. Use of media with a governmental support meant a change of an approach towards the relations with subjects: in fact, it started a transition from subjective to civil political culture. It can be traced through the language of texts, and through publication of laws and addresses of politicians to the public. A newspaper *Väterländische Blätter für Österreichischen Staat* became one of the media, able to participate in social representation of current official ideology in Austria, and thus became an object of attention from reformist officials, claiming for an uncompromising struggle against Napoleon. Publication of materials on history, culture, state system, public life became a turning point in relations between state and society during the reform discussion, and gave it a support. With an attention paid to development issues of Austrian territories, aimed to make a knowledge on different parts of Habsburg monarchy more popular, it was also working on the formalized in 1804 ideology of *Gesamtstaat*, defining the Habsburg interaction policy with *Erbländer* and other territories within personal union. It was a making of a unified state image, which was resisting a foreign invasion, defending not only a ruling sovereign, but its own lands as well. It was a part of transition process to civil political culture and change of the relationships between state and society within wartime.

Broadcasting the images of Austrian history mostly referred to military aspect and with tight connection to war against France started in 1809: in the essays presented in a newspaper, the main attention was paid to soldiers and generals, who were shown as heroes. In general, the newspaper presented the next understanding of concepts “hero” and “heroic”, broadcasting them with a use of examples given by lower rank soldiers and commanders in connection with sacrifice in favor of both sovereign, state and society for a common victory. In a certain part it was an outcome of Archduke Charles’ theses on breaking the caste system elements still existing in the army and creating a gap between soldiers and commanders. So, the hero image meant a higher significance of collective over private, and constructing of an image was based on “sacrifice”, what meant that a subject also became a part of social representation after his mobilization.

In this context, the narrative of military history of Austria became a corner stone, especially the image of Prince Eugene von Savoy, a warlord and an official representing “a generation of 1683” in Austrian politics and military. As a broadcasting method for myths about him as “a victorious general”, “great warlord”, “hero”, the publication of his correspondance referring to both military and state affairs, especially foreign policy and attitude towards Prussia. Previously known as hostile towards Hohenzollern monarchs and an opponent of allocating them a royal title, prince became an advocate of military enforcement of Austria due to a Prussian threat, what was a contrast with positive replies on Prussian military command. In conditions of 1808-1809 it meant that Austria

33 Vocelka, K.: *Österreichische Geschichte 1699–1815*, p. 181–182.

preserved and proved its claims for mastery in Germany also with references on historical narrative under certain angle.

A newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* became one of the most successful examples of public opinion mobilization in Germany and Austria in favor of struggle against foreign aggression. The editors used such methods of impacting on the public opinion, like references on historical narrative and historical memory when constructing the heroic images and presenting them. The newspaper made the idea of a new war with France more popular, and brought more attention to officials referring to it, like *Hofkriegsrat* president Archduke Charles and foreign affairs minister Philipp von Stadion. Both officials were active protagonists in impacting the public with using the myths and “heroic” narrative in mobilization discourse, assisting the work of such newspapers and journals supporting the anti-French resistance in ideological context.

„Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland!“ Газета „Väterlandische Blätter für den Österreichischen Staat“ как средство пропаганды в борьбе против Наполеона (1808–1809).

Статья посвящена проблеме мобилизации общества в пользу внешнеполитических акций правительства в Австрии 1808-1809 годов, связанных с противостоянием наполеоновской Франции. Высшее руководство Австрийской империи в период между 1805 и 1809 годами ставило перед собой цель восстановления своего влияния в Германии и Европе, бывшего неотъемлемой составляющей идеологии австрийского универсализма и её репрезентации внутри страны. Коронация императора Священной Римской империи и эрцгерцога Австрии Франца II как императора Австрии Франца I, а затем его отречение от германской короны означали демонтаж универсализма Габсбургов, с одной стороны, и господство в идеологическом дискурсе новой империи идеи *Gesamtstaat*, нацеленной на централизацию связанных личной унией земель в единое государство имперского типа, и формирование общеимперской идентичности.

Под руководством министра иностранных дел Филиппа фон Штадиона начинается дискуссия о реформах государственной и социальной систем, с одной стороны, и о начале новой войны с Францией, с другой. Несмотря на раскол в государственном аппарате и значительный авторитет в обществе и при императорском дворе таких консервативных деятелей, как Фридрих фон Гентц, Адам Мюллер и Йозеф фон Хормайр, чья деятельность развернулась в это же время, редакция газеты смогла начать работу по воздействию на общественное мнение немецкоязычной общественности в Австрии. С этого момента начинается конструирование мифа о «войне немецкой национальной чести», для легитимации которого началось обращение к мобилизации общественного мнения. Тиражирование мифа сопровождалось обращением, в том числе, к историческому нарративу и знаковым фигурам для государственного и династического мифотворчества.

Для получения одобрения от общественного мнения в своих планах Штадион и его соратники при дворе, в том числе инициатор военной реформы и президент Гофкригсрата

эрцгерцог Карл, начинают обращаться к возможностям печатных СМИ, одним из которых стала газета *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Staat*. Газета ориентировалась не только на миф о «войне немецкой национальной чести», хотя и уделяла ему значительное внимание, но и на общеимперскую идентичность, публикуя очерки о повседневной жизни тех или иных земель и городов монархии Габсбургов, в том числе населённых негерманскими народами. Этим она способствовала трансляции идеи *Gesamtstaat*, которая начала свою трансформацию в официальную идеологию уже после поражения в войне с Францией и отставки Штадиона с поста министра иностранных дел Австрии.

Деятельность газеты стала одним из первых опытов государства при воздействии на общественное мнение несилевыми способами, в противовес первым годам противостояния с революционной Францией, что означало изменение подхода к общественному мнению и взаимодействию власти и общества в австрийском государственном аппарате по сравнению с предшествующими периодами. Вместо полицейских методов, характерных для периода нахождения на посту главы тайной полиции Иоганна Антона фон Пергена, начался поиск механизмов по воздействию на общественно-политический дискурс, одним из которых и стало использование печатных средств массовой информации, в том числе и только что созданной газеты *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Staat*

